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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1858.

Art. I.—FRIAR BACON AND LORD BACON.

1. *Lord Bacon's Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, and Henry VII;* with Introductory Dissertations and Notes, by J. Devey, M. A. London: H. G. Bohn. 1 vol. 12mo.
2. *The Entire Works of Francis Bacon,* Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. A new Edition, revised and elucidated; and enlarged by the addition of many pieces not printed before. Collected and edited by Robert Leslie Ellis, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge: James Spedding, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Douglas Denon Heath, Esq., Barrister at Law, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. [Announced in Oct., 1848.]

In the opening chapter of his acrimonious and unfair tirade against the Baconian Philosophy, which is always amusing and sometimes witty, De Maistre remarks, that "Bacon spoke slightingly enough of the only monk who had borne his name, but who had, nevertheless, inserted in his writings more truths than the Chancellor of England was acquainted with, and more than he could even have comprehended had he attempted to study them."* The same criticism is repeated in another place: "Without leaving his own island, two cotemporaries, I mean the illustrious friar of his own name, and Joannes De Sacro Bosco, might have sufficed to teach Bacon that in the thirteenth century others had made a thousand times further advances in the science than himself, and that he was himself incompetent to understand what those two men had known."†

Count Joseph De Maistre, notwithstanding the extravagance of his opinions, was unquestionably endowed with a very vigorous and

* De Maistre, Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon, chap. i.

† De Maistre, Examen, chap. x.

profound intellect, and is justly regarded as one of the great names which adorn the earlier part of the current century. But the flippancy of the language in the above quotations is utterly unbefitting both the author and the object of his censure. Unfortunately for the influence of De Maistre's malicious assault on the fame of Lord Bacon, he has in this instance, as in many others, displayed the insufficiency of his own knowledge, while reprehending the ignorance of the philosopher attacked. Had he known or suspected that Lord Bacon was acquainted with the writings of his celebrated namesake, he could scarcely have written the former of the above passages; but he might have imparted to his censure even greater severity, with a more scrupulous observance of justice, and he might have fixed his fangs in the flesh, where his venom was certain to mingle with the blood.

The knowledge which was denied to De Maistre, and the suspicion which did not visit even his suspicious mind, have been possessed and entertained to a very limited extent by others. Loose and incidental intimations of the obligations of the chancellor to the works of the friar, occasionally meet us in the literature of science and philosophy. No one, however, so far as we are aware, has yet attempted the task, which might have proved so serviceable to De Maistre, of exhibiting carefully and methodically the character and degree of that indebtedness, or of determining how far the merits and claims of the later reformer of philosophy are affected by the unacknowledged assistance derived from his memorable precursor. We have had no opportunity of consulting Humboldt's Critical Examination of the History of Geography, in which he has collected all the passages (of the *Opus Majus*) "relating to Roger Bacon's physical knowledge, and to his proposals for various inventions;"* and, therefore, we cannot venture to assert that he has neglected to exhibit the relation between the earlier and the latter Bacon. But no intimations of any close connection between them are contained in the Cosmos, though the citations in that work from the Opus Majus might have supplied a suitable occasion for the mention of any suspicions, had they existed. So far as our knowledge extends, little more than hurried conjectures and rare testimonies have been applied to the determination of this interesting question.

From our past experience of the slovenly manner and imperfect learning with which recondite problems of philosophy are ordinarily treated by the scholars of England, and especially by those who have been hatched under the wing of Professor Whewell, and have chipped the egg in Trinity College, Cambridge, we have little reason to an-

* Humboldt's Cosmos, vol. ii, p. 619, note. Ed. Bohn.

ticipate the satisfactory execution of this important inquiry by Messrs. Ellis, Spedding, and Heath:

tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai;

the three Cantabrigian fellows, who have proposed to themselves the revision, elucidation, and purification of Lord Bacon's remains, and who have been now for several years engaged, with little perceptible result, in preparing a new and complete edition of his works. Like their amiable predecessor in the same labor, the late Basil Montagu, they will, in all probability, either negligently or ignorantly overlook this significant question, notwithstanding its direct bearing on the history of modern science and philosophy, and its interest in relation to the legitimate claims of Lord Bacon on the admiration and regard of posterity. It is strange that works so celebrated and so important as Bacon's should never yet have been edited by a philosopher, a scholar, or a man of science; but should have been left to the inadequate attentions of persons having no natural or acquired aptitude for their proper treatment, and possessing but very moderate literary attainments. Hobbes was engaged in the original preparation of some of these treatises, and presented them with a Latin dress; but no name of celebrity, in England at least, has since been connected with their publication.

It might, perhaps, be regarded as a favorable symptom of the times that so many republications of the writings of Francis Bacon have been issued from the press during the late years; sometimes of his whole works, more frequently of his master-pieces, or of his exoteric and popular productions. This may minister merely to a literary fashion, and cater to that taste, which is so strongly exemplified in our day, of acquiring a superficial and ostentatious acquaintance with the principal works of all the classical authors of our own and other tongues. There is much reason to apprehend that the lately increased circulation of solid and celebrated books is, in great measure, due to the prevalence of such an appetite; but it is not unreasonable to suppose, at least to hope, that the earnest study and genuine appreciation of the Baconian philosophy may be extended among the elect, as one consequence of the fashion. Such an extension is greatly to be desired; for, amid all the eulogy of Bacon and the inductive method with which our ears are, and have long been habitually stunned, we are sorry to say that the indications are rare of any familiarity with the intrinsic merits or demerits of either. The result has been a noisy and inane arrogance, pluming itself on knowledge never possessed, and running headlong into error and danger, with a most amusing confidence of security and miraculous illumination.

But, while new editions of Lord Bacon and other celebrities, some forgotten, some dimly remembered, are streaming from the presses of different nations, no one thinks of reproducing the greater work (*Opus Majus*) of Roger Bacon, and introducing him to the curious regards of an inquisitive generation, cognizant of his name, but having little further acquaintance with him. Amid all the exhumations, of buried philosophies, and the unexpected resuscitations of the dry bones of defunct sages, neither private necromancers, nor corporate resurrectionists, neither French eclectics nor Camden clubs, neither Cambridge dons nor London publishers, dream of a new edition or translation of the writings of the "*Doctor Admirabilis*," whose profound speculations illumined the ages of alleged darkness, and secured admiration by the display of a light almost as brilliant as that of the "*Novum Organon*," and certainly more amazing when considered with reference to the time of its appearance. The most eminent of the forgotten philosophers of the mediæval centuries has been entirely disregarded by a generation solicitous for the re-production of any relic, whether priceless gem or useless rubbish, which has received the sanctifying mold of obscure antiquity. Bohn has already merited public gratitude by his valuable and judiciously selected libraries of cheap classics, from the midst of which we have picked his neat edition of Bacon's popular works for the text and occasion of our present remarks. He would render an additional service to the English-reading community, if he would annex to his scientific, or to his Antiquarian Library, or to his new series, the Philologico-Philosophical Library, a skillfully abridged translation of the *Opus Majus* of Friar Bacon. The middle and larger portion of the work treats of the Reformation of the Calendar, of mathematics, of optics, and the other sciences; and, although it originated views of much significance in the history of scientific progress, it is loaded with mistaken speculations and antiquated learning, which would be tedious, cumbrous, and repulsive, if exhibited in their full extent. But the vigorous original doctrines, which have either been adopted by succeeding generations, or have aided in the subsequent discovery of truth, though now thrown aside themselves, might be dexterously extracted, with so much of the wild menstruum in which they float as would show their connection with the philosophy of their author, their relation to the convictions and modes of thought of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and would also illustrate the characteristics of the intellect of Roger Bacon, in its strength and in its weakness. A complete edition of all the surviving remains of that remarkable man, prepared by a diligent and competent scholar, and furnished with a copious com-

mentary to explain the many difficulties which occur in his writings, and trace his dependence on his predecessors and his cotemporaries, and his influence on his successors, would be exceedingly desirable for students of the history of science and philosophy. His *Opus Majus* has alone been edited as yet; even that has been but once edited, for, though the edition of Jebb was republished at Venice, the addition of the *Prologus Galeatus*, designed to exculpate Bacon from the charge of magic, scarcely renders the Venetian republication a new edition. Among the manuscripts of his works preserved at Paris, and more abundantly at Oxford, neither of which collections was carefully examined by Dr. Jebb, other treatises than his principal composition might be discovered, and might aid us in determining the progress and the range of his speculations, if they rendered no further service. It may be that he inserted in the *Opus Majus*, which he composed to be submitted to Pope Clement IV., and sent to his holiness by his pupil, John of London, all that was essential and distinctive in his philosophical labors. But this is scarcely probable or possible. It can hardly be conceived that all the hardy and novel dogmas contained in the numerous treatises, of which the titles are given by Jebb, could have been compressed in their full integrity into the scanty limits of the specimen addressed to the pontifical judgment. Nor is the hypothesis of such a compression sustained by an examination of the work itself. Many discoveries and acquisitions were attributed to Roger Bacon in cotemporary, or nearly cotemporary times, of which there is either no trace or a very insufficient intimation in his single printed work. It is exceedingly probable that, in his case, as in the list of the productions of Aristotle exhibited by Diogenes Laertius,* separate books and chapters have been represented as distinct works in many instances. But, as we would commit a grave error if the recognition of this blunder of the Greek gossip led us to infer that Aristotle's surviving works had been reduced to the *Organon*, so we are in danger of committing a similar, and perhaps equally grievous mistake, if we conclude that all of Roger Bacon's writings are virtually contained in the *Opus Majus*.

A complete and thoroughly annotated edition of Roger Bacon's writings would be interesting only to scholars and men of science; it would be too ponderous for those who desire simply a cursory acquaintance with his philosophical career. The wishes of the former class of readers have never been sufficiently enthusiastic to invite a repetition of the labors of Dr. Jebb, on an ampler scale; and the

* St. Hilaire, De La Logique d'Aristotle, part I, chap. iii, vol. i, pp. 25, 26. Vide Jebb, Preface, Opus Majus, pp. xi–xiv, ed. Ven.

circle of those who are to be attracted by any new publication of his works must be considerably enlarged before any such publication will be hazarded. This can only be effected by such an abridgment as we have suggested. Whatever illustration of the intermediate books it might be desirable to introduce, could be very conveniently incorporated into the pages of a full and luminous introduction to the translation of the other parts. But who, in these days, is familiar enough with the learning, and philosophy, and science of the Saracens, Alchemists, and Schoolmen, to compose a satisfactory introduction to such a work? It would be a very meager achievement of this task to offer a mere biography of Roger Bacon. We should require, in addition to this, an instructive account of the intellectual condition of his age; of the influences under which his mental aspirations were formed; of the circumstances which favored, and of those which impeded his attempts at philosophical reform; and of everything which may reflect light upon his true position in the history of philosophical and scientific progress. But, whether embodied in the introduction, or inserted in its original order, a condensed statement of the substance of the middle books would be all that could prove generally useful. It would be necessary to translate *in extenso*, only the opening books and the conclusion, for it is in these that the philosophy of science is discussed, and the foundations of experimental philosophy are laid. It is principally from these that Lord Bacon has borrowed those doctrines and expressions, which have suggested the suspicion of his obligations to the old Franciscan, and which may be found to constitute characteristic elements of his own philosophy.

What we have indicated as alone expedient to be introduced into an abridged version of the *Opus Majus*, would furnish the contents for a volume suitable to be included in Bohn's series, and would form an attractive and instructive addition to his collection. If such an addition were published by him, or by any other member of the worshipful fraternity of bibliopoles, it might compel the editors and indiscriminate eulogists of Lord Bacon to take cognizance of his obligations to earlier philosophers, and especially to his namesake, whom he so rarely and grudgingly mentions; or, if this duty were still neglected, as has hitherto been usual, it would invite and enable others to investigate the relations and agreements of these homologous and homonymous philosophers, and discover the extent to which the younger reformer was indebted to his precursor, and the degree of criminality attending the concealment of this indebtedness. To expedite such a consummation, we propose to give here some of the principal results derived from our own examination.

It may be expedient to prefix a few dates to the observations which we are about to offer. The period of Roger Bacon's birth and that of his death are uncertain. Neither date has been accurately determined. The discrepancy, however, on this subject between the various authorities is too slight to merit much attention at present. The year 1214 has been accepted as the date of his nativity, and his death has been assigned to 1292 or 1294. He was born at Ilchester, in the County of Somerset, studied at Oxford and Paris, and, at the instigation of his friend, Robert Grosse-Tête, Bishop of Lincoln, entered into the Order of Franciscans, after his return to England, and subsequently to the year 1240. He devoted himself assiduously, perhaps exclusively, to scientific pursuits intimately connected at that time with Alchemy, and not very favorably regarded by his Franciscan brethren, who were by no means distinguished among the great monastic orders by intellectual attainments. The works of Aristotle had been condemned and proscribed by the Council of Scissons in 1209, and the condemnation had been reaffirmed by the Papal Legate at Paris in 1215. The influence of the Church, alarmed by the multiplication of heresies, was at this period decidedly adverse to the studies in which Roger Bacon was engaged; and these studies were rendered more suspicious in his case by his connection with Robert Grosse-Tête one of the earliest leaders of ecclesiastical reform in England. His illiterate brethren regarded him and his avocations with no favorable feelings; and the *Opus Majus* was written and dispatched to Pope Clement IV., as a defense against their accusations by the exposition of his views. After the death of Clement, and under the pontificate of one of his successors, Nicholas III., Jerome d'Ascoli, the Superior of the Franciscans, in 1278 condemned the works of Bacon, and sentenced him to prison. In this confinement he was detained ten years. In 1288, he addressed himself to the compassion of the pope, and sought his favor by transmitting to him a tractate, *De retardandis senectutis accidentibus;* a subject which has a strong flavor of Alchemical associations, but which engrossed much of Lord Bacon's attention. The pope was Nicholas IV., Jerome d'Ascoli, the former Superior of the Franciscans, the judge by whom Roger Bacon had been condemned. Nicholas IV. remanded him to closer imprisonment; but the intercession of powerful friends at length procured his liberation. The release came in time only to accord him liberty in death, for he expired at Oxford not long after, at the age of seventy-eight, in 1292 or 1294.

A still briefer chronology of the better known life of Francis Bacon will be sufficient. He was born at York House, in the Strand,

London, the residence of his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper of the Seals, on the 22d of January, 1560. His mother, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, who had been tutor to Edward VI., was a woman of remarkable intellect, and distinguished by her published translations from the Latin and the Italian. At the age of nineteen, on the 10th of June, 1573, Bacon was matriculated as a member of the University of Cambridge. After a brief sojourn of two or three years* at that seat of learning, he was sent by his father to Paris, under the care of Sir Amyas Paulet, the English embassador at the Court of France. The death of his father in 1579 compelled him to pursue a profession for a livelihood. He selected the law, in which his promotion was too slow for his desire, though it seems to have been more rapid than could be reasonably expected. The impatience of genius chafed at delay; and the postponement of the studious retirement so ardently longed for, so constantly contemplated, fretted him in the dull course of legal practice. Bacon's first publication, a small volume of Essays, did not appear till 1597. In 1605 he gave to the world his treatise on the Advancement of Learning. On the 25th of June, 1607, he was appointed solicitor general; and attorney general in due course, on the 27th of October, 1612. Through the interest of the favorite, Villiers, the notorious Duke of Buckingham, he was intrusted with the seals on the 7th of March, 1616–17; he was placed at the head of the council in the course of a week, during the king's absence in Scotland; and on the 4th of January, 1619, he was created Lord High Chancellor of England, and in July, Baron of Verulam. During the next year, 1620, the *Novum Organon* was first published; and on the 27th of January, 1621, he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount St. Albans, and solemnly invested with great pomp with his new rank. His triumph was of short duration. Three days later the Parliament met, which inaugurated the agitation ultimately resulting in the Great Rebellion. Lord Bacon was among the earliest objects of its censures, and he was the first of its victims. On the 17th of March, he took his seat on the woolsack for the last time. On the 2d of May, the seals were sequestered; on the 3d the Lords adjudged him guilty of the charges preferred against him, and condemned him "to undergo fine and ransom of £40,000; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; to be forever incapable of any office, place, or appointment in the State or Commonwealth; never to sit in Parliament, nor come within the verge of the court." The

* Basil Montagu, in his Life of Bacon, p. x, p. xvi, gives both periods; but that biography is exceedingly slipshod and slovenly, and often unintelligible from its constant confusion of the old and new style.

greater part of these penalties was afterward remitted by the king, but the character of Bacon was ruined, and his public life ended. Such was the result of his impeachment. This is not the place to inquire into its justice. The short remainder of his life was devoted to his studies. In the summer of 1621, he commenced his Life of Henry VII., which is a marvelous combination of history, biography, political philosophy, and satire. In 1623, he published his treatise *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, which is a Latin version and expansion of the early essay on the Advancement of Learning. The last of his works published during his lifetime was his History of Life and Death, which reminds us of the latest work of Roger Bacon. In the year 1625, serious sickness attacked Lord Bacon; and his death ensued on the 9th of April, 1626.

By comparing the chronology of the lives of Roger Bacon and Francis Bacon, it will be perceived that their births and deaths, their misfortunes, and their great works, were separated from each other by an average period of three centuries and a half. If Francis Bacon is entitled to immortal renown for services rendered to the cause of experimental science in the seventeenth century, what honors must be due to Roger Bacon, if he should be found to have rendered similar services in the middle of the thirteenth, and to have prepared the way for the triumphs of his successor, who never acknowledges the assistance afforded?

Every one at all acquainted with Lord Bacon's philosophical writings, either by direct study or through the criticisms and expositions of others, is familiar with his constant crimination of Aristotle for concealing his obligations to previous philosophers, and for only mentioning their names when he finds the opportunity of reprehending their doctrines. We have studied Aristotle more closely than Lord Bacon appears ever to have deemed it necessary to do, and must candidly assert that we have been unable to discover any indications of this spirit; but, on the contrary, have found frequent traces of a generous and considerate disposition, lenient in the exposure of error, respectful to his adversaries, frank in his distribution of commendation to others by name, and grateful to his predecessors even for dubious services. Yet the charge is constantly repeated by Lord Bacon: "And herein I cannot a little marvel at the philosopher Aristotle, that did proceed in such a spirit of difference and contradiction toward all antiquity, undertaking not only to frame new words of science at pleasure, but to confound and extinguish all ancient wisdom; insomuch as he never nameth or mentioneth an ancient author or opinion, but to confute and reprove; wherein for glory, and drawing followers and disciples, he took the

right course."* In another place, he says that "Aristotle, as though he had been of the race of the Ottomans, thought he could not reign, except the first thing he did, he killed all his brethren."† Other passages, similar to these, are scattered through Lord Bacon's works.‡ Yet it would not be difficult to show that each separate statement is unfounded or unjust. The spirit of difference and contradiction, wherever exhibited, is directed against the erroneous and pernicious theories of the Atheists, Pantheists, and Sophists, who were his predecessors or cotemporaries; but it is in a genial tone of admiration and respect that he speaks of Empedocles, Thales, Anaxagoras, Heraclitus, Parmenides, Socrates, and the chiefs of the Ionic and Italic schools. Lord Bacon was too imperfectly acquainted with the history of Greek speculation, and with its genuine remains, to comprehend the position and relation of Aristotle with respect to the course of philosophy. He was jealous of the fame of the Stagyrite, and greedily accepted all the slanders and vulgar calumnies circulated by Aristoxenus of Tarentum, and later scandal-mongers, in disparagement of the founder of the Peripatetic school.§ We doubt much whether his acquaintance with the great master extended much further than that second-hand knowledge which might have been picked up from the abundant tirades of Patrizzi, Telesio, Campanella, Peter Ramus, and other cotemporary reformers of philosophy. From such sources as these, eked out by his own imaginations, Lord Bacon drew his opinion of Aristotle, and he settled the merits of the Greek sages by bold conjecture. His criticism on these topics was just as dazzling and unsound, as his brilliant, oft-repeated, and oft-quoted maxim, that "Time, like a river, bears down to us that which is light and inflated, and sinks that which is heavy and solid."|| As far as Greek philosophy is concerned, and to that philosophy this striking expression is applied, we know that its fate has exactly contradicted this representation. There is just occasion to regret the loss of the works of Parmenides, Empedocles,

* Advancement of Learning, book II, vol. ii, pp. 132, 133. Redargutio Philosophiarum, vol. xi, pp. 448–50.

† Adv. of Learning, book II, vol. ii, pp. 150, 151. A similar remark in regard to Aristotle had been made in the twelfth century, by John of Salisbury. It is cited by Jourdain. Trad. Lat. d'Aristote. Note F, p. 249, 2d ed.

‡ Nov. Org., I, Aph. lxvii, vol. ix, p. 217. Fable of Cupid, vol. xv, p. 48. Our references are to Basil Montagu's edition, which is still the most complete, though very disorderly, and in many respects unsatisfactory.

§ The endless libels on Aristotle, propagated by the malignity of the Greeks, are noticed and refuted by ancient testimony, in Blakesley's Life of Aristotle.

|| Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. lxxi. Essays, liii, vol. i, p. 173. Adv. of Learning, vol. ii, p. 48. Fab. Cup., vol. xv, p. 48.

Zeno, Heraclitus, and Democritus; though in all there appears to have been more fancy than sobriety or fact; but we have nearly everything that was most valuable in the productions of Plato and Aristotle, and a good deal that is spurious. The collection of Political Constitutions compiled by Aristotle is the only very serious loss; and these, however useful for the illustration of Greek politics and Greek history, were, as appears from their mutilated remains, rather the materials of philosophy, (*memoires pour servir,*) than any part of philosophy themselves. The essence of these lost or fragmentary collections, in the legitimate form contemplated by their industrious compiler, is still preserved in the Politics of Aristotle himself. Amid all the possible lamentations over the lost treasures of ancient literature, no regret can be more misplaced than that which deplores the devastations effected by time in the Greek Philosophy. Only ignorance, or malevolence, or caprice could pretend that the solid parts had been overwhelmed, and the superficial preserved.

Whatever truth or error may be involved in Bacon's imaginations on this subject, and in his complaints against Aristotle, there is no room for doubting that he himself systematically pursued the course which he charged on Aristotle as a crime. The demonstration of his guilt on each separate count may be left to the acute bitterness of De Maistre, from whom, however, we will repeat, rather than borrow, the assertion that Bacon himself desired to act like a veritable Ottoman.* De Maistre's own researches did not enable him to prove or to suspect that he had actually endeavored to strangle his brethren, and entomb them in a silent oblivion; but the evidence which we shall produce may afford a foundation for some suspicion of that sort.

We shall first direct our attention to the subjects and titles of the works of Francis and Roger Bacon. In this inquiry, it is unimportant for our purposes to determine whether all the disquisitions of Roger Bacon, of which the titles have been preserved, were separate treatises, or whether the majority of them were only constituent portions of his extended work; for many of the treatises of Lord Bacon are only unfinished members of his incomplete work, the *Instauratio Magna.* Our object is only to indicate the similarity of the special investigations of the friar to those afterward pursued

* " . . . j'observe seulement la singulière maladie de Bacon d'insulter constamment dans les autres ses défauts et ses ridicules propres. C'ést lui qui aurait été le véritable Ottoman; c'est lui qui aurait tout égorgé, si l'on eût eu la complaisance d'obéir á *un eunuque noir* qui voulait régner à la place des *princes du sang,*" etc. Examen de la Phil. de Bacon, c. xii, note.

by his namesake, the chancellor, and the resemblance of their respective designations.

Lord Bacon's procedure in the selection of his subjects has often appeared to us exceedingly arbitrary and almost inexplicable. The connection and development of his main productions are obvious. It was natural and logical to commence the enterprise of renovating scientific studies with a careful delineation of the Advancement of Learning to his own times, and an intimation of the *desideranda* to be supplied for the facilitation of their further advancement. The same course has recently been pursued by M. Comte in his *Systême de Philosophie Positive.** The contemplated scope of Lord Bacon's labors, and the example suggested by the received nomenclature of Aristotle's logical system, whose *Organon* he proposed to exclude from the domain of physical science, might readily suggest the name of the *Novum Organon*, for the outline of inductive logic which he was desirous of substituting in its place. But when he passed from the elaboration of theoretic generalities to their practical illustration, he certainly made a singular choice of subjects for this exposition; as he also did of the designations for these and other smaller works. The *Filum Labyrinthi*, or clew to these difficulties, may be partially detected in the career of his predecessor; and the eccentricity of the titles of Lord Bacon's productions will lose much of their peculiar idiosyncrasy, if there should be reason to regard them as borrowed or imitated.

To prevent unnecessary prolixity, though at the hazard of some apparent confusion, we shall blend, in our exposition, those instances in which Lord Bacon borrowed his subjects from the ancient friar with those in which he imitated his title-pages. In the prosecution of this part of our task, however, we begin to feel the want of a copious index to Lord Bacon's works, in Basil Montagu's and all other editions; a want which becomes more painful as we proceed, and so serious that we cannot refrain from censuring bitterly that grave omission, and expressing the hope that in Messrs. Ellis, Spedding, and Heath's edition, and in all subsequent publications of *Francis Bacon's Opera Omnia*, an ample and well-digested index may be appended. The indices given in some of the separate volumes of Montagu's edition are not sufficiently full, nor would sixteen separate indices render the same service which would be readily afforded by a single index which was complete.

In the catalogue of the various writings attributed by different authors to Roger Bacon, which is published by Dr. Jebb in his

* Whewell's History and Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences furnish a more recent example.

Preface to the *Opus Majus*, we find the following which may have supplied Francis Bacon with the titles of some of his works, or suggested subjects to him, or furnished ideas and materials for particular portions of his larger treatises: *De Materia Prima; De Ponderibus; De Potestate Mirabili Artis et Naturæ; Communia Naturalis Philosophiæ; In Naturalem Philosophiam; Ars Experimentalis; De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris; Venti Novem Districtiones; De Retardatione Senectutis; De Universali Regimine Senum; De Prolongatione Vitæ; Antidotarium Vitæ Humanæ; De Impedimentis Sapientiæ; De Causis Ignorantiæ Humanæ; De Utilitate Scientiarum; De Arte Memorativa; De Rebus Metallicis; De Cœlo et Mundo.*

We are far from indulging the supposition that each of these subjects was discussed in a separate treatise. Several of the titles are evidently nothing more than variations. Many of them can still be discerned among the divisions and chapters of the *Opus Majus*, under such forms as might permit reference to them by distinct designations; nor do they all re-appear in Lord Bacon's works under exactly the same names, or as the epigraphs of separate productions. As, in many instances, they seem to have been originally distributed through the body of the *Opus Majus*, so the greater portion of them are in their supposed derivative form intermingled with the different productions of Lord Bacon; and any one who is familiar with the writings of the latter will at once perceive, or strongly suspect, the intimate connection between the earlier and latter schemes of the same philosophy. The following treatises of the chancellor may, however, be specially noted as exhibiting such a dependence: *De Motu; De Sectione Corporum*; *Natural History, or Sylva Sylvarum; Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis ad condendam Philosophiam, sive Phænomena Universi; Indicia vera de Interpretatione Naturæ; Parasceve ad Historiam Naturalem et Experimentalem; De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris; Historia Ventorum; Historia Vitæ et Mortis; Of the Prolongation of Life; Historia Densi et Rari; De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum; Partitio artis retinendi sive retentivæ in doctrinam de adminiculis memoriæ, et doctrinam de memoria ipsa;* Historia Gravis et Levis; Articuli Quæstionum circa Mineralia; Thema Cœli.* It is to be observed, too, that as Roger Bacon had entitled his principal work, containing his proposed reform of philosophy, *Opus Majus*, or the Greater Work, manifestly with reference to his smaller detached essays, so Lord Bacon, for a

* This is only the caption of De Augm. Scient., lib. V, cap. v.

very different reason, and in a vain-glorious spirit, proposed for his complete system of reform the title of *Instauratio Magna*, and applied to its third division the name of *Partus Maximus Temporis*, a high-sounding pretension which had haunted his mind from the commencement of his career.

But we shall not lay any exaggerated stress upon the correspondence between the two lists presented, although they are separated from each other in time by an interval of three hundred and fifty years. It may be necessary for the discernment of the interdependence between them that the relations of the authors should have been previously determined by a close scrutiny of their respective doctrines and productions; and thus what is perfectly evident to us may not be in any degree apparent to those to whom the subject is still novel. The progress of our investigations may, therefore, be indispensable to the revelation of the connection subsisting between the subjects and titles selected by the two philosophers, and may reflect back upon these lists the light which it kindles with other materials. But, to show even at this stage of our inquiries, that the resemblance indicated is neither slight in itself, nor an arbitrary imagination, we will illustrate our suspicions in connection with one of the works of Lord Bacon above mentioned.

The History of Life and Death is the most elaborate and the most complete of the special investigations comprising the Third Part of the contemplated *Instauratio Magna*. The conduct and arrangement of the inquiry, and frequent intimations scattered through its pages, prove that the direct aim and intention of the author was to discover artificial means for the prolongation of human life, and to conquer by science that Elixir of Life which had so long been the dream of the Alchemists. That such was its design is evident from the language employed in the dedication, "To the Present Age and to Posterity." "For I hope, and wish, that it may conduce to a common good; and that the noble sort of physicians will advance their thoughts, and not employ their time wholly in the sordidness of cures, neither be honored for necessity only, but that they will become coadjutors and instruments of the Divine omnipotence and clemency in *prolonging* and *renewing* the life of man; especially, seeing I prescribe it to be done by safe, and convenient, and civil ways, though hitherto unassayed."* This hope is of constant recurrence in Lord Bacon's works, though it is inconceivable how he could candidly represent it to be unassayed after the labors of the Saracens, the writings of Roger Bacon, and the experiments of the

* Bacon's Works, vol. xiv, p. 308; vol. x, p. 109.

Alchemists. In the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum* he divides medicine into three heads; the maintenance of health, the cure of diseases, and the prolongation of life.* In another part of the same work he asserts the possibility of discovering the means of retarding old age, and restoring any degree of youth, notwithstanding his acknowledgment of the incredibility of such achievements.† He has also prescribed medicines for the prolongation of life,‡ and the latter part of the *Historia Vitæ et Mortis* is devoted to this topic and to artificial rejuvenescence.

There are four of the works ascribed to Roger Bacon, which must have been devoted wholly or in part to this attractive investigation. These are *De Retardatione Senectutis*, probably the treatise addressed to Pope Nicholas IV.; *De Universali Regimine Senum; De Prolongatione Vitæ;* and *Antidotarium Vitæ Humanæ.* But our investigations are not limited to a consideration of these titles. In the last part of the *Opus Majus* we find a brief indication of the views of the Franciscan friar. "Another example of the capabilities of experimental science may be borrowed from medicine; and this is with respect to the prolongation of human life, since the art of medicine has no remedy beyond the preservation of health. But the further extension of long life is possible."§ Like Lord Bacon, he asserts that "medical writers have not given any statement of the medicines which might conduce to this result, nor are they to be found in their works, but they have confined themselves solely to the art of maintaining health."|| Like Francis Bacon, too, he alleges that "experimental science can discover methods of attaining the desired end far superior to any that had been theretofore sought."¶ If the hurried indications of Roger Bacon's brief outline be compared with the elaborate essay of his namesake, a singular agreement in the details will be discovered in the two writers. Both appeal to the longevity of the patriarchs; both refer to the remarkable vitality of certain animals; both record remarkable instances of the duration of human life; both cite the singular case of Artephius; both attribute the weakness of old age and death to the desiccation of the body, but as this doctrine descends from Aristotle,** they might both have borrowed it independently and indirectly from that source. Both recommend pearls, the bezoar stone, ambergris, rosemary, as useful medicines for the purpose

* De Augm. Scient., lib. IV, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 219.

† De Augm. Scient., lib. III, cap. v, vol. viii, p. 197.

‡ Hist. Vitæ et Mortis, vol. x, pp. 177–180.

§ Opus Majus, Pars VI, cap. xii, p. 352. Ed. Ven., 1750. || *Ib.*, 354. ¶ *Ib.*, p. 355.

** Aristot., Probl., lib. I, II, III.

contemplated; and both urge the importance of attending to the general regimen in the same particulars. The latter and longer portion of Lord Bacon's essays is, indeed, little more than an ample commentary on Friar Bacon's concise indications.* In addition to these numerous and striking correspondences, there is a general similarity of ideas, views, and even expressions, which would be very surprising as an accidental coincidence.

Another example of similar indebtedness is furnished in the case of the rainbow. In the varied circle of the natural phenomena, there is none to which the "Lord High Chancellor of England," and "of nature," as he has been sometimes termed, more frequently recurs than to the colors of the rainbow. On every possible occasion the Iris is introduced as a thesis, or as an illustration.† Roger Bacon had preceded him in paying marked attention to this topic;‡ and, though there is considerable similarity between his explanation of its production and that offered by his successor, he has explained the phenomena more clearly and more accurately. In the course of his remarks, he shows that he had observed the properties of the reflection and refraction of light; the equality of the angles of incidence and reflection, and probably also the polarization of light.

A notable expression occurs in Lord Bacon's Topics of Inquiry concerning light, which seems almost an anticipation of the theory of the prismatic colors. He says beautifully that "every color is the broken image of light."§ It is a pregnant phrase, especially after Newton's experiments with the prism. But the expression of Roger Bacon is still more significant, when taken in connection with the context wherein it appears, and interpreted by the more modern discoveries of Young and Fresnel. After speaking of the decomposition of the solar rays into the colors of the rainbow by transmission through crystals, he adds, "*rugarum diversitas facit diversitatem coloris.*"‖

While indicating, rather than demonstrating Lord Bacon's unavowed obligations to his predecessors, we may add an instance of his practice which may, perhaps, elucidate his customary procedure. He informs us that "the modes of destroying light must also be

* Opus Majus, p. 353. "Cum enim regimen sanitatis debeat esse in cibo et potu, somno et vigilia, motu et quiete, evacuatione et retentione, aeris dispositione, et passionibus animæ, ut hæc in debito temperamento habeantur ab infantia; de his temperandis nullus homo vult curare, etiam nec medici," etc.

† De Augm. Sci., lib. II, cap, ii, vol. viii, p. 91; lib. V, cap. ii, p. 269.

‡ Opus Majus, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 22; Pars VI, cc. ii–xii, pp. 338–351.

§ Bacon's Works, vol. xv, p. 84.

‖ Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. ii, p. 339; et vide cap. iii, and compare Nov. Org., lib. ii, aph. xxii.

remarked; as by the exuberance of greater light, and by dense and opaque mediums. The sun's rays, certainly, falling on the flame of a fire, make the flame seem like a kind of whiter smoke."* When this observation was employed by Lord Bacon, it must have been either vulgar and well-known, or unfamiliar. In the former case it is unnecessarily or improperly mentioned; in the latter it must have been regarded by him either as a novelty of his own detection, or as a fact noticed by others before him. Aristotle had stated that the sun's rays would extinguish fire.† Lord Bacon must have been either cognizant or ignorant of Aristotle's observation. If he was ignorant of it, he certainly had not studied Aristotle's writings with that attention which he should have bestowed before he pretended to overthrow his system, or before he launched his unseemly and inappropriate vituperations against him. If he was aware of the fact, he should not have concealed his authority in order to produce this observation as a novelty. We leave his lordship amid the boughs of this branching tree of dilemmas; he may fall from one fork to another, but on whichever he rests he is likely to meet with ultimate impalement.

Francis Bacon hazards a short disquisition on the ebb and flow of the sea, which has been mercilessly criticised by De Maistre. Roger Bacon presents a still briefer examination of the same problem.‡ The subject continued to be a favorite bait for philosophers from the days when Aristotle was fabled to have drowned himself in the Euripus from despair of explaining its tides, till the time of Euler, McLaurin, and La Place. The chancellor does not imitate the Franciscan friar, when the former leaves the moon entirely out of the question, but his refutation of the notion of elevation is apparently directed against the exposition given by his predecessor, and the conclusion finally adopted bears a very suspicious resemblance to a remark uttered by Roger.§ The explanation offered by the former fails

* Bacon's Works, vol. xv, p. 84. † Aristot., Probl., lib III, c. xxiii, xxvi.

‡ Opus Majus, Ps. IV, Dist. iv, cap. v, pp. 63, 64.

§ Opus Majus, Ps. IV, Dist. iv, cap. v, p. 63. "Sed motus aquæ a motu cœli est confusus et inordinatus, et irregularis, propter hoc, quod virtus cœli primi nimis elongatur ab ejus origine," etc. Fr. Bacon, Op., vol. xv, p. 198. "We think that the motion of rotation, or of turning from east to west, is not properly a motion merely of the heavenly bodies, but manifestly of the universe, and a primary motion in all the great fluids, found to prevail from the highest part of heaven to the lowest part of the waters, in direction the same in all, in impulse, that is, in rapidity and slowness, widely different; in such wise, however, that in an order not in the least confused, (Roger Bacon had said, *confusus, et inordinatus, et irregularis,*) the rapidity is diminished as the bodies approach the globe of the earth," etc.

utterly and ridiculously, and merits the sarcasms of De Maistre;* while that presented by the latter approximates to the truth, and needs only to be received indulgently under the inspiration of the doctrine of gravitation, for he possesses the idea of the lunar attraction, though unable to give it an appropriate name.

So far the coincidence noticed between Francis Bacon and Roger Bacon may be regarded as trivial, or may be represented as accidental. Such accidents, it is true, ought not to have occurred in the case of an author who accuses Aristotle so bitterly of having concealed and obliterated the names and services of his precursors that he might reign alone. Nevertheless, human nature is frail, and inclined to self-deception. We are willing, therefore, that no great weight should be attached to the agreements hitherto indicated; but there are other consonances which cannot be explained away by the most indulgent criticism.

Lord Bacon charges Aristotle with the crime of framing new words at pleasure, and this accusation is promptly and much more justly retorted on his lordship by De Maistre. The quaint, imaginative, innovating character of his technical vocabulary is a prominent feature of his own style. But De Maistre was entirely ignorant that these neoterisms were not always new, that they might often be traced to the writings of the Alchemists, and that they were sometimes mere repetitions of terms previously employed by Roger Bacon. This was the case frequently, and the instances in which such was the fact are exactly those which are most important and significant in the tenor of the Baconian Philosophy.

The fine expression "*magnalia naturæ*,"† to which Lord Bacon is justly partial, is found in nearly the same form in Friar Bacon, who speaks of the "*magnalia scientiarum et artium.*"‡ As the word *magnalia*, however, is not uncommon in the Latin fathers, is found in the Vulgate, and is frequent in the mediæval writers of poetry and prose, it must have been familiar to the cotemporaries of Roger Bacon, and might have continued so to the times of Francis Bacon. In the Hymn to the Virgin, composed by Rufus Asterius, we find the word,

> "Signa movent populos, cernunt *Magnalia* cœli."

In a hymn on the Descent of the Holy Ghost, we have

> "Hæc tuba, profecta de Sion, *Magnalibus*,
> Orbem replevit Messiæ."

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* The sixth chapter of De Maistre castigates these loose speculations. Francis Bacon was no more a Copernican than Roger Bacon had been.

† De Augm. Scient., lib. III, cap. v; lib. V, cap, ii, vol. viii, p. 195 and p. 275.

‡ Opus Majus, Pars II, cap. viii, p. 23.

In the more worldly poem of a cotemporary of Roger Bacon, the Philippis of William of Brittany, we meet with it again:

> Cur ego, quæ novi, proprio quæ lumine vidi,
> Non ausim magni *Magnalia* scribere Regis ?°

The transition is not difficult from these applications of the phrase to Roger Bacon's "*magnalia scientiarum et artium*," though it may be a step which only genius could originally make. Still easier is the further change to Lord Bacon's "*magnalia naturæ*." But the analogy of the two expressions is worthy of note, although there may be no possibility of proving, and perhaps little propriety in supposing any direct obligation in this case.

There is less uncertainty in regard to the employment of another characteristic phrase. Lord Bacon employs too frequently, and too emphatically, his *Prerogative Instances*, and these play too important a part in the *Novum Organon*, to permit any hesitation in considering this application of the term *prerogatives* as distinctly claimed to be his own. It is introduced and used in such a manner as to assure us that he considered, or wished to represent it in this light. The want of a copious index to Bacon's works to facilitate reference, and the space which would be requisite, alone prevent us from demonstrating this point by extensive quotations. It is, however, so flagrantly manifest, that it needs no proof. After all the parade which Lord Bacon makes over his prerogative instances, or rather prerogatives among instances, (*Prærogativæ Instantiarum*,) it is a little startling to read in Roger Bacon, "Experimental science has three grand prerogatives with respect to other sciences."† There is no ecclesiastical or mediæval usage to explain the common and distinctive employment of the term by the two philosophers. They both go back to its original classical signification, to its technical sense, and not to any barbarous Latinity. But Roger Bacon does no violence to that sense; he attaches to it the significance which it primitively bore, and implies by it a science which has the right to be heard in advance of all others, in consequence of its preponderant vote. Lord Bacon, though expressly referring to its primary meaning, applies it in a secondary sense by making it indicate simply those instances which have a special preference over others. After illustrating the First Prerogative of Experimental Science, Roger Bacon proceeds

° These quotations are borrowed from Du Cange, Gloss. Med. and Inf. Latin: sub voce, *Magnalia*.

† Opus Majus, Pars VI, cap. ii, p. 338. See Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. ix, pt. II, vol. ii, p. 490. 9th English edition.

to give two examples of its Second Prerogative.* Certainly the *Exempla Prærogativæ* are sufficiently analogous to the *Prærogativæ Instantiarum* to justify the belief that the one phrase was borrowed from the other. This conviction is strengthened by the consideration that the usage in both instances is unfamiliar and similar, though not identical; that they are employed in a similar connection; and that they occur in works and systems of philosophy singularly cognate.

Roger Bacon frequently indulges in expressions that seem to be only echoed in the pregnant, sententious, poetic, and aphoristic style of Francis Bacon. He speaks of the "*arcana naturæ et artis;*" of the "*secreta naturæ et artis complentis naturam.*"† These phrases ring in our ears like the magnificent gems of Lord Bacon, and seem almost stolen from him. "Some things," says Roger, "have the beauty of knowledge combined with other utilities."‡ "Truth, therefore, and utility are perfectly identical," says Francis, "and the effects are of more value as pledges of truth than from the benefit they confer on man."§ Here is a fine sentiment from the friar: "We gladly taste of the tree of knowledge of good and evil; but we are unwilling to eat of the tree of life, that we may embrace the dignity of virtue for the sake of future happiness."‖ Then turn to the still more beautiful sentiment of the chancellor: "From the lust of power the angels fell, and men from the lust of knowledge; but of charity there is no excess, and neither angel nor man was ever imperiled thereby."¶ We may also fitly compare the *Philosophia Prima* of Lord Bacon with the *Scientia divinorum* or *Theologia perfecta* of the friar.**

The resemblances, indeed, between the two authors increase in number as they increase in importance. There is an occasional agreement in subjects and titles between their separate treatises and parts of treatises; there is a more intimate correspondence in their employment of particular words; the examples of coincident phrases are still more frequent; the recurrence of similar ideas is even more obvious; but the general procedure and the characteristic

* Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. xii, p. 352. Capitulum de Secunda *Prærogativæ scientiæ experimentalis.* Exemplum I. II.

† Opus Majus, Ps. I, cap. x, p. 11.

‡ Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. xii, p. 358.

§ Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. CXXIV, vol. ix. p. 276.

‖ Opus Majus, Ps. III, p. 35.

¶ Præf. Instaur. Magna, vol. ix, p. 161, and note De Augm. Sci., lib. VII, cap. i, vol. viii, p. 390.

** De Augm. Sci., lib. III, cap. i, vol. viii, p. 152, 153. Opus Majus, Pars II, cap. viii, p. 30.

doctrines of the two philosophers are so nearly identical, as well as their aims, that one must have copied from the other. Chronology decides which is the original.

In Jebb's catalogue of the works attributed to Roger Bacon are mentioned, one book, *De Causis Ignorantiæ Humanæ*, one *De Impedimentis Sapientiæ*, and two *De Utilitate Scientiarum*. These, he thinks, may all be recognized in the First and Second Books of the *Opus Majus*, and there is every reason to admit the correctness of his opinion. These opening books of the Greater Work are succeeded by others which treat separately of all the sciences then known, explaining their capacities, indicating their uses, and suggesting the ameliorations which they admitted. The whole is concluded by a part devoted to the illustration of the principles, character, and excellence of the experimental method, which is advocated throughout. Lord Bacon did not live to complete his vast designs; but the outlines of his system are drawn in the *Advancement of Learning;* and two parts of it are completed and filled up in the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and the *Novum Organon.** The other parts of the *Instauratio Magna*, which were never finished, were only amplifications and practical applications of his doctrine, corresponding with the intermediate parts of Roger Bacon's work. If the *Advancement of Learning*, or the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and the *Novum Organon*, be compared with the *Opus Majus*, the methods and order contemplated by the two Bacons will appear virtually the same. Both descant upon the dignity and benefits of learning; both devote themselves assiduously to the exposure of the obstacles to true knowledge, and to the causes of ignorance or false knowledge among men; and both take a survey of the whole field of science, present and prospective, and propose experimentation as the remedy for defects, and the means of further improvement.

When we descend from generalities to details, the resemblance is more remarkable. At the commencement of the Second Book of the Advancement of Learning,† Lord Bacon dedicates his Essay to James I., speaks humbly of himself, and invokes the royal co-operation in carrying the proposed reform of science into effect. He dwells upon the necessity of ampler academical and other public institutions, and expresses the confident hope that what is

* We cannot regard the Second Book of the *Novum Organon*, however, otherwise than as a merely provisional sketch, intended to be enlarged, modified, corrected, and perhaps superseded, but not finished.

† Bacon's Works, vol. ii, pp. 89–100; vol. viii, pp. 75–87. We prefer quoting from the *De Augm. Scientiarum.*

beyond private means and private abilities to accomplish, will be achieved by the combination of labor and the exertions of successive generations. Roger Bacon addresses himself to the pope at the close of the First Book of the *Opus Majus*,* invites his assistance, that the multitude, guided by his munificence, may prosecute the great enterprise with energy and success. He says: "* * * non tamen credat Serenitas Vestra, quod ego * * * indignus sub umbra Gloriæ Vestræ suscitem aliquam super facto studii molestiam: sed ut mensa Domini ferculis sapientibus cumulata, ego pauperculus micas mihi colligam decidentes." Lord Bacon exclaims: "* * * cum me comparo et accingor, non sum nescius quantum opus moveam, quamque difficilem provinciam sustineam; etiam quam sint vires minime voluntati pares; attamen magnam in spem venio, si ardentior meus erga litteras amor me longius provexerit, usurum me excusatione affectus; quia non simul cuiquam conceditur, Amare et Sapere."† Again, Roger Bacon looks forward with hope to the results of future investigation, and to the achievements of posterity. "Quod si non est temporis vestri omnia apud vulgum consummare, poterit Vestra Magnificentia locare fundamenta, fontes eruere, radices figere, ut Vestræ Serenitatis successores, quod feliciter inceptum fuerit, valeant felicius adimplere." Let the whole tenor of Francis Bacon's Dedication to James I. be compared with this remark, and then let particular attention be paid to these remarks of the chancellor's: "Circa postremum de impossibilitate ita statuo; ea omnia possibilia et præstabilia censenda quæ ab aliquibus perfici possint, licet non a quibusvis; et quæ a multis conjunctum, licet non ab uno; et quæ in successione sæculorum licet non eodem ævo; et denique quæ publica cura et sumptu licet, non opibus et industria singulorum."

The firm conviction of Lord Bacon in the ultimate success of the reform heralded by him, and the lofty enthusiasm of that conviction, breathe through the whole course of his writings. These traits are so indelibly impressed upon his pages that it would be useless and tedious to exemplify them by quotations. But the same generous confidence, combined with the utmost personal humility, is manifested on several occasions by the friar. "Let us freely tolerate," says he,‡ "the introduction of investigations which kindly minister to truth, because truth will always prevail, though not without a struggle, until Antichrist and his precursors appear. For the goodness of God is ever ready to multiply the gift of

* Opus Majus, Pars I, c. xvi, pp. 16, 17.

† De Augm. Scient., lib. II, vol. viii, p. 86.

‡ Opus Majus, Pars I, cap. ix, p. 11.

knowledge through the succession of generations, and to transform for the better the opinions of the new ages." He adds: "Later times have in some points corrected Aristotle, and greatly extended his discoveries; and this extension will proceed even to the end of the world, because in human inventions there is nothing perfect or complete."* The idea contained in these extracts is not original with "the admirable doctor;" it is found in the Natural Questions of Seneca, which were in his hands,† and were a common text-book in the Middle Ages. It had been the common-place of philosophers before the times of Lord Bacon;‡ for the reformation of philosophy had already become, not merely a vague anticipation, but the avowed object of numerous tentatives. If it should be discovered that Lord Bacon has borrowed or imitated the utterance, the sentiments, the style, the expressions, and the doctrines of the Franciscan monk, it would be still easier to prove that he had levied heavy contributions, without acknowledgment, upon the other reformers less remote from his own times.§ This point we may have the opportunity of illustrating incidentally.

Art. II.—BRITISH METHODISM AND SLAVERY:

AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE INFLUENCE OF METHODISM IN EFFECTING THE CHRISTIAN WORK OF EMANCIPATION.

By William J. Shrewsbury, Twenty Years a Wesleyan Missionary.

Methodism has been characterized by an eminent Scotch divine as "Christianity in earnest." The justness of that high eulogium cannot fail to be manifest to every one who candidly examines the labors of the Wesleys and of their coadjutors, whose lives

* Opus Majus, Pars II, cap. viii, p. 27.

† Opus Majus, Pars III, p. 36. "Et nos sumus filii et successores sanctorum et sapientum philosophorum, ut Boëthii, Senecæ, Tullii, Varronis, et aliorum sapientum usque ad hæc ultima tempora."

‡ So Henry Cornelius Agrippa, De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum, cap. C: "* * * non solum hæ scientiæ et artes, sed et hæ litteræ et characteres quibus utunur peribunt, et resurgent aliæ, et fortasse jam sæpius extinctæ fuerunt, et sæpius iterum resurrexerunt." Vide Seneca, Nat. Quæst., lib. VIII, c. xxv, §§ 4, 5; c. xxx, § 5.

§ Morhofius, Polyhistor, Ps. I, lib. II, cap. iv, § 14, tom. I, p. 345, says: "* * * non pauci etiam barbara illa ætate fuerunt, quibus his similia, quæ Verulamius proponit, in mentem venerunt."

were spent in spreading, not unimportant theories or systems, but "Scriptural holiness," throughout the world. That was their avowed object; and in prosecuting it they considered themselves as "debtors both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise;" and when Providence set before them an open door, they sought alike the salvation of the bond and of the free. Nor would it be difficult to show that there is a striking agreement between the rise and progress of Christianity in the beginning, and of Methodism in later times, as to their principles, operations, and results. For Methodism is simply Christianity revived, and adapting its agencies and appliances to the existing moral necessities of mankind. Spiritual in its principles and direct aims, it carries along with it energies that produce collateral and consequential benefits and blessings on the civil condition and temporal interests of men. In no part of its history is this more apparent than in its bearing on the great work of elevating from slavery to freedom the hereditary bondmen of the British empire.

It is well known how early Christianity brought its healing balm to the slaves of ancient nations, and became to them, as "to all people, glad tidings of great joy." Paul and his fellow helpers gathered them into the Church of Christ; and effectually, yet unostentatiously, and without offense, acknowledged them as a part of the Christian family, and as equal members of its spiritual rights and privileges. Their successors were of the same spirit. Ignatius, one of the fathers, has a striking passage, showing how sacredly the slave population were cared for, especially in regard to marriage, a point in which modern slavery is awfully criminal. Describing the duty of a bishop, Ignatius says, that "it is required of him to speak to each member of the Church separately, to seek out all by name, *even the slaves of both sexes*, and to advise *every one of the flock in the affair of marriage*." By thus infusing Christian principles and laws throughout the minds of men of every rank and condition, and by laying a good foundation in domestic virtue, Christianity prepared the way for universal freedom; and gradually, but successfully, abolished the degradation of serfdom in various regions. In like manner, Methodism first proclaimed salvation from sin to all men, bond or free; and having by that means, with other churches, prepared the way, with them it then wrought out the magnificent scheme of emancipation, and restored the slave to the common rights of mankind.

In tracing this matter historically, it will be seen that at the beginning, and for a considerable period after, the action of Methodism on slavery was indirect, and not positive or legislative; and

that civil freedom was rather the *result* than the *design* of those who "preached the gospel to the poor." Their great aim cannot be better expressed than in the glowing missionary language of Dr. Coke, in his work on the West Indies:

"To meet, in a world of spirits, thousands of our negro brethren, who shall have happily escaped from the corruptions of their own hearts, and the miseries which result from guilt, through the merits of that Saviour whose infinite love we have been made instrumental in communicating, must be a source of joy which we have not language sufficiently energetic to express, and which will submit to no description. The arduous task imposes silence on me; and my powers are absorbed in the pleasing contemplation. I anticipate the scene with an ecstasy that overwhelms me. I sink beneath the pressure of that glory which is too exalted to be told, and too dazzling to be pursued; and humbly join my prayers to yours who are friends to this mission, that 'we may be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as we know that our labor shall not be in vain in the Lord.'"

But though emancipation was not contemplated, or even thought of, by the earlier missionaries, yet, as a consequence, it was inevitable; for the gospel of Christ will produce its own fruits in every land. The eloquent remarks of the late Rev. Richard Watson are pertinent on this subject:

"Christianity found a great portion of society in the civilized world, to which it was first communicated, in a state of absolute servitude; but it neither sanctioned the practice of slavery, nor directly abrogated it. It taught men duties suitable to the circumstances in which it found them. It gave no plans of civil government, nor systems of political regulation. It taught all men mercy, justice, peace, sobriety, diligence, and brotherly love; and left those great principles gradually to work that amelioration in the civil state and relations of society in which all would be equally interested. By this model the Methodist missionaries have been directed to conduct themselves in the West Indies; and if, indeed, the indirect and ultimate effect of the Christianity they preach should be the same as (that of) the Christianity of the first ages, with which they hope it accords; if there should be in it a principle averse to slavery, and in its issue destructive of it, a position which the friends of missions do not affect to deny; yet it is to be recollected, that the modern missionaries are not, on this account, any more than the primitive preachers of Christianity, political characters; that their objects are still purely religious; that any objections to them on probable ultimate results, lie with equal force against Christianity itself, and against all missionaries who teach it, to whatever denomination they may belong."—*Defense of Missions.*

Elsewhere he says:

"Christianity must destroy modern bondage, as it destroyed the slavery existing in ancient Europe. For though, in states very partially Christianized, slavery may continue, as one of many evils not yet fully reached by the remedy; yet, when the mass of a community is leavened by its influence, the subjection of man to man, as a slave, must cease. The reason of this is, that our religion, on the principle of its own two great social laws, to love

our neighbor as ourselves, and to do to others as we would have them do to us, makes it an imperative duty to render every man's condition as felicitous as the present mixed state of things, where the rich and the poor must still exist, and toil and suffering cannot be excluded, will allow. Slavery is a blot which cannot remain amid the glories of Messiah's reign."

For the sake of distinctness in our review, it may be well to divide Methodism into three periods. The first may be reckoned from its origin to the formation of the first negro societies; then, to the abolition of the slave-trade; and finally, from that abolition to the extinction of slavery. The first period reaches from 1739 to 1760; the second from 1760 to 1807; and the third from 1807 to 1834.

First period.—Mr. Wesley dates the rise of Methodism from "the latter end of the year 1739, when eight or ten persons came to him in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption." Their number soon increased, and in two or three years, many in a similar state of mind were collected together in several other places. For their benefit and guidance, a few simple rules were published so early as May 1, 1743, and signed by the two brothers, John and Charles Wesley. Though simple and brief, they are very complete and efficient; and, in fact, they are the basis of Methodistic legislation in every part of the world. Nothing is sound in the economy of Methodism that is inconsistent with the spirit or letter of those comprehensive rules; which is to be attributed, not so much to the wisdom of the framers, as to their piety, in adhering closely to the written word. "These," say they, "are the General Rules of our societies; all of which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice." Now slavery is a system inimical to those rules; you cannot consistently graft it on any of them, whether classed under the general heading of "doing no harm, avoiding evil of every kind;" or, of "doing good, being in every kind merciful after our power;" such rules, honestly observed, would work out the extinction of slavery. This is a great truth, and a mighty Methodistic argument; it is not the less forcible because it is incidental, and was never so applied before. We must not lose sight of this starting point in reviewing the influence of Methodism on slavery; for these rules will never tolerate it, unless men be so circumstanced as to be unavoidably prevented from extricating themselves at once from all connection with so complicated a system of evils. But even while it lasts, as masters and servants in the Methodist societies, as was the case in the West Indies, being placed under *the same code of laws*, the rules, to some

extent, exerted an ameliorating influence, and practically prepared the way for freedom; and they remain the permanent laws for all parties now that emancipation is accomplished. Mr. Wesley's rules supposed freedom, and were made for free men; there never was *a separate slave code* in Methodism.

But prior to the existence of those excellent rules, to the spirit and bearing of which our entire ecclesiastical arrangements in our conferences must be conformed, in order to their being constitutional, we find the Rev. John Wesley himself actually an instructor of slaves. On his way to Georgia he heard something of the condition of negro slaves from Bishop Nitschman, who had been concerned in the establishment of a Moravian mission among the negroes. We may suppose that this occurrence was the first thing that drew his attention to that afflicted race; although, as his special mission was to the Indians, he had no opportunity of immediately preaching to them the Gospel of the kingdom. But in his Journal of July 31, 1736, he writes as follows:

"We came to Charleston. *Next day* about three hundred persons were present at the morning service, when Mr. Garden, the minister, desired me to preach. *I was glad to see several negroes at church;* one of whom told me she was there constantly, and that her old mistress (now dead) had many times instructed her in the Christian religion. O God, where are thy tender mercies? Are they not over all thy works? When shall the Sun of Righteousness arise on these outcasts of men with healing in his wings?"

Here we have the first Wesleyan prayer on record in behalf of slaves! How tender, how pathetic! It was connected, too, with preaching the Gospel to them. What a foreshadowing of the care of Methodism for men in bonds! Nor should the date be unnoticed. John Wesley preached his first sermon to slaves *on the first of August*, and it was in that same month, and on that same day of the month, ninety-eight years after, Britain bade her slaves be free. Then his prayer was fulfilled, and on that morning "the Sun of Righteousness arose on those outcasts of men with healing in his wings."

Shortly after, we find Mr. Wesley a private teacher, we might almost say a class-leader, to a negro. He says on the 23d of April, 1737:

"I met with a young female negro at Carolina, born in Barbadoes. The attention with which this poor creature listened to instruction is inexpressible. The next day she remembered all, readily answered every question, and said that she would ask Him that made her, to show her how to be good."

Next we find him itinerating, that he might preach, not in a church, but on a plantation:

"April 27. At Mr. Belinger's plantation I met with a half-caste Indian and several negroes, who were very desirous of instruction. One of them said: 'Though I am so lame I cannot walk, yet if there was any church within five or six miles I would crawl thither.'"

Mr. Wesley then adds, and the words are remarkable, for he might be here sketching an outline for the future guidance of West India missionaries:

"Perhaps one of the easiest and shortest ways to instruct the American negroes in Christianity would be, first, To inquire after and find out some of the most serious of the planters. Then, having inquired of them which of their slaves were best inclined, to go to them from plantation to plantation, staying as long as appeared necessary at each. Three or four gentlemen of Carolina I have been with, that would be sincerely glad of such an assistant, who might pursue his work with no more hinderances than must everywhere attend the preaching of the gospel."

From this quotation, it is highly gratifying to find that some of the planters were friendly to godliness, and desirous of having their negroes instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; and that they would be ready to afford facilities, and not oppose obstructions, to any minister who might engage in so good a work. It is only fair to testify that in most slave countries there have been gentlemen similarly disposed, although this fact has been sometimes too much lost sight of in the heat of public controversies. The last mention of negro teaching he gives in the following extracts; he was then on his voyage to England: "December 26, 1737. I began instructing a negro lad in the principles of Christianity." And again: "January 8, 1738. I began to read and explain some passages of the Bible to the young negro. The next morning another negro who was on board desired to be a hearer too." These are the first instances on record in which Methodism, in the person of its founder himself, came in contact with slavery; and we see that its influence was wholly of a religious character, similar to that which was afterward exerted by the Wesleyan missionaries who labored among colonial slaves. Nothing is said by him concerning their social condition. His brother Charles, who was in the country at the same time, speaks in terms of strongest indignation in his Journal, of certain horrid cruelties that he had both heard of and seen. But John Wesley does not seem to have met with anything of the kind; his intercourse lay with milder men, who were sincerely desirous of the welfare of their slaves; for beside Mr. Belinger, already noticed, he mentions, in his "Thoughts on Slavery," one Hugh Bryan, whom he knew, and extols, though a large master of slaves, as a man of high benevolence and virtue. By comparing these accounts, we shall perceive that Methodism,

from the beginning, exercised a wise discrimination; and this has marked its proceedings in every stage of its operations on slavery. It was willing to allow that in some instances men were better than the system; and that the considerate humanity of some worthy masters kept its hideous evils in abeyance, and made the condition of the slave not only tolerable, but in some respects comfortable. It was by adducing such cases, the truth of which no honorable opponent would wish to deny or conceal, that the planters endeavored to prove that the negroes were better off than many of the hard-working laborers in the free cities of Europe. But still the slave had no legal security as to the continuance of such advantages, nor, in fact, any *legal right* to them at all; everything depended on the sole will of one man, on the preservation of that kind master's life; and on his prosperity, so as not to be compelled to indemnify his losses by trenching on the comforts allowed his slaves. In the beginning, however, of Methodistic operations for the benefit of the enslaved, far less was known about their civil condition than in subsequent years.

When the Wesleys returned from Georgia and Carolina to England, they seem to have lost sight of the slave population, in the multiplicity of labors in their own country. For full twenty years after, Methodism had no kind of connection with a slave community. But about that time, Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq., who was speaker of the House of Assembly, in the Island of Antigua, and owner of two large plantations, visited England for the benefit of his health, taking with him two or three of his negro servants. This was some ten years before the decision of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield (for which we are indebted to the legal knowledge and untiring activity of Granville Sharpe) settled it forever as the law of the land, that a slave on touching British soil is free, even though he were in the colonies legally a slave. Mr. Gilbert heard the Rev. John Wesley preach on Kennington Common, and became deeply concerned for the salvation of his soul. He invited Mr. Wesley to his house, and from that time an intimacy and correspondence was maintained till Mr. Gilbert's death. In his Journal, January 17, 1758, Mr. Wesley writes:

"I preached at Wandsworth. A gentleman come from America [he means from the West Indies] has again opened a door in that desolate place. In the morning I preached in Mr. Gilbert's house. Two negro servants of his and a mulatto appeared to be much awakened. Shall not His saving health be made known to all nations?"

Again, November 29, 1758, (that is, ten months later:)

"I rode to Wandsworth, and *baptized* two negroes belonging to Mr. Gilbert, a gentleman lately come from Antigua. One of these is deeply convinced of sin, the other rejoices in God her Saviour, *and is the first African Christian I have known.*"

We mark this last clause because of its weightiness in regard to the future of Methodism. "Surely a little one hath since become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation; the Lord hath hastened it in his time."

Thus it appears, that as Mr. Wesley preached to slaves in America long before Methodist missionaries were sent to them, so he himself baptized the earliest converts of that class, and received them into his society in England. And what is more remarkable still, the master and slaves were made partakers of the same grace by his instrumentality, and in their master's house; so that Mr. Wesley's position in regard to Mr. Gilbert was somewhat analogous to that of Paul to Philemon. Mr. Wesley did not discuss with him the general question of freedom or slavery; indeed, it does not seem to have occurred to their mind on either side. All parties were so intent on securing salvation, that a secondary matter, however important, entered not into their calculations. Nor shall we probably err if we conclude that at that time a providential direction was given to the current of their thoughts, whereby hostility was not provoked by premature debates, which might have formed a barrier to that blessed sphere of missionary operations which God was about to open in the West Indies. The germinant principle of freedom was left to grow up under the shadow of the Gospel; and it was effectually, though incidentally, guarded by those excellent Rules, which equally applied to Gilbert and his slaves as members of "the United Society" of "the people called Methodists."

On returning to Antigua Mr. Gilbert and his servants carried with them that true godliness which they had obtained in England. And now for the first time, Methodism, as a system, began to take root in a slave soil, and in the midst of a slave population. In the West Indies, as in England, the Methodists attended service in the Established Church. But there being no service in the church on the afternoon of the Sabbath, Mr. Gilbert expounded the Scriptures to his own domestic household, and allowed such of his neighbors as desired to join with them. He next proceeded a step further, and preached the Gospel to the slaves on his own plantations. About the same time his brother Francis became converted to God, and was made useful at St. John's, the capital of the island, where he resided, and probably formed the first society. Of their proceedings Mr. Gilbert informed Mr. Wesley from time to time, who

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published some of his letters in the Arminian Magazine. The first of these is dated May 10, 1760, which Mr. Wesley designates "A copy of a Letter from Antigua, giving an Account of the Dawn of a Gospel Day." Of the slaves Mr. Wesley had baptized, Gilbert says: "My negro woman, Bessy, whom you baptized at Wandsworth, has been kept ever since, and is still able to rejoice in God." September 18, 1764, Mr. Gilbert writes of the society as having been then some time established. "When my brother," says he, "left this island, I determined to meet this people twice or thrice a week; but after meeting them a few times, I was hindered by sickness. Before I had entirely recovered I went twice to St. John's, where I stayed several days each time, and endeavored to get a house, and designed to continue meeting the society three times a week." But, fearing his own incompetency, he informs Mr. Wesley that he had relinquished that purpose; he adds, however: "The members meet among themselves thrice a week; and, as far as I can understand, they are going on much in the same manner as when my brother left them." Within that society were raised up two or three individuals of considerable ability as class-leaders, who were instrumental in keeping the society together, and even increasing it, till more efficient provisions could be made for their spiritual necessities. This did not take place till after Mr. Gilbert's death; but the labors of that good man, and his brother, had been the means of gathering two hundred souls into the fold of Methodism, the greater portion of them being of the colored and slave population.

Here we may pause, to dwell upon a fact which some might wish to conceal from any particular observation. But historic truth requires us to mark the instrumentality which God chose to employ in the introduction of Methodism into the West India Isles. A planter and slaveholder was himself the first preacher, and, with his brother, the founder of the first society; a great part of them were his own slaves; and as there was no missionary during his lifetime, he was in some sort their spiritual overseer or bishop, on whom they chiefly depended for guidance in the way to heaven. However ardently any one may love freedom and hate slavery, still no intensity of feeling or strength of party should induce a distortion of undoubted facts; for fairness and candor will most effectually win over opponents to the cause of liberty and truth. What Mr. Wesley remarks of the vehement Reformer, John Knox, may be here applied to the excellent Mr. Gilbert. God did not employ him to do good *because* he was a slaveholder, but he made him useful, *notwithstanding* he occupied such an objectionable position in relation to his fellow-men. He certainly was a gentleman of high respect-

ability, of sincere piety, of disinterested benevolence, and greatly beloved by his slaves, which says much for his worth; and though more than *seventy years* have passed away since his decease, his name and memory are reverenced in Antigua to the present day. Nor is it a little remarkable that as a slaveholder introduced, so far as Methodism is concerned, the Gospel which undermines slavery; so, when emancipation came, the slave masters of that same island were the most forward to accept it; the Legislature of Antigua assigned as a reason for immediate emancipation, that missionary teaching had well prepared the slaves of that island for freedom. We are thus brought to the conclusion of the first period, the formation of a society, chiefly of slaves, about the year 1760. One fact more, remotely connected with this period, is worthy of being preserved from oblivion. On some unknown occasion, the Rev. George Whitefield had been led to visit the island of Bermuda, where he preached a few sermons. Some years ago a very aged member of the Methodist Society, who was then awakened under Whitefield's ministry, died in peace, and gave to the missionary stationed there a frequent account of her conversion through the instrumentality of that servant of God. The precise date of Whitefield's preaching in Bermuda is not mentioned; but probably it was before Gilbert had heard Mr. Wesley in England. He sowed the seed, and left for the continent; and Methodism, many years afterward, gathered in some of the fruit of his labors.

II. We now proceed to the second period of nearly half a century; from the formation of the first society in a slave community to the abolition of the slave-trade, extending from 1760 to 1807. To exhibit clearly the growing influence of Methodism on the anti-slavery movement in so large a portion of time, it will be necessary to incorporate a few events that properly belong to America, while the United States were British colonies.

We have seen that the Rev. John Wesley preached to slaves on that continent in 1736. It does not appear that his brother Charles ever had an opportunity of instructing them, deep as were his sympathies for that oppressed race. But of Mr. Whitefield in 1740 it is remarked, that "an incredible number of people flocked to hear him, among whom were abundance of negroes." His ministry prepared the way for the large success which, thirty years afterward, attended Methodist preachers on that continent, both among "the bond and free." Indeed, they only entered upon their work in America a few months before his removal to heaven. And though there was no direct connection between them and Whitefield's converts, yet, as they traveled to a great extent among the same popu-

lation, the general effect of Whitefield's preaching must have caused the earlier Methodist preachers to find in those parts "a people prepared for the Lord." Boardman and Pilmoor landed in 1769, and Whitefield died in 1770. And though no joint action was intended either by them or Mr. Wesley, the Head of the Church ordained that appointment in infinite wisdom, that his word might the more abundantly have "free course, and be glorified" in the land.

Between the years 1756 and 1760, if not earlier, several Methodists had emigrated from England and Ireland to the continental colonies. About the latter date, and while Methodism was being introduced into Antigua, two men in youth emigrated from Ireland, to whom was assigned the honor of forming the two first societies in America; Philip Embury, at New-York, and Robert Strawbridge, in Maryland. Thus Methodism struck its roots in a free soil, and in a slave territory, at nearly the same time, although priority is generally given to New-York.* The Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, recently deceased, and who was the oldest minister in the Wesleyan connection, gives in a written account Hembury instead of Embury, as the true orthography of the name of the former of those excellent men; and affirms that, at the time he emigrated, his name stood on the Minutes of the Irish Conference as a candidate for the itinerant ministry.† It is said that the small society which he gathered together "consisted of his own countrymen and the citizens." It was not long, however, before the first ministers sent out by Mr. Wesley had to rejoice in the conversion of some of the sable sons of Ham to the knowledge of Christ. In his first communication to Mr. Wesley, November 4, 1769, Boardman writes: "The number of blacks that attend the preaching affects me much." This was in the city of New-York; so that whether those blacks were slaves or free, does not appear; probably they were of both classes, as slavery then existed in the Northern colonies. Pilmoor, who had been left at Philadelphia, "proceeded to Maryland, Virginia, and NorthCarolina, where he preached with considerable success, forming societies in various parts, and witnessing the happy effects resulting from the mission in which he was engaged." Here, Methodism from the commencement must have exerted an ameliorating influence on the condition of the slaves; for that benefit is inseparable from the earliest reception of the Gospel.

In a subsequent letter of Mr. Boardman, New-York, April 2, 1771, we have a paragraph of more than ordinary interest. He says:

* Both were at that time slave territory.—Ed. Meth. Qu. Rev.

† Mr. Embury's own autograph is extant in this country, authorizing the ordinary orthography as unquestionably correct.—Ed. Meth. Qu. Rev.

"I have lately been much comforted by the death of some poor negroes, who have gone off the stage of time rejoicing in the God of their salvation. I asked one on the point of death, Are you afraid to die? 'O no,' said she; 'I have my blessed Saviour in my heart; I should be glad to die; I want to be gone, that I may be with him forever. I know that he loves me; and I feel I love him with all my heart.' She continued to declare the great things God had done for her soul, to the astonishment of many, till the Lord took her to himself."

This is the first happy death of the negro race in the annals of Methodism, and is probably the first received by Mr. Wesley; though Mr. Gilbert from Antigua had informed him of the peaceful end of some who moved in the higher walks of life. But whatever success may have attended the earliest Methodist preachers in the conversion of the negroes to Christ, from some unexplained reason they were not enrolled as members of society. For Dr. Coke says: "About 1776, the number of members in America amounted to seven thousand, and the preachers to forty. The blacks also had received the good word of life; and great numbers among them had experienced that it was the power of God to the salvation of their souls; *but these are not included in the above account.*" In this respect there was a deviation from the more correct procedure of Methodism in the West Indies, where the slave members were reckoned from the beginning. Probably the unsettled state of the country, owing to the war of Independence, occasioned it. Before that great event, six preachers had been sent out from England; the two first were joined by Asbury and Wright, and they were followed by Rankin and Shadford. None of the six had been on the continent previous to their ministerial appointments except Mr. Rankin, who, "when a young man, and soon after his conversion, went out to Charleston," it seems, on some mercantile business; but he soon returned, and entered the Wesleyan ministry. It does not appear that the English preachers interfered with the civil condition of the slaves, or made any communications to Mr. Wesley or the conference concerning it. The influence of Methodism was wholly thus far of a spiritual kind, bringing many of the poor slaves to experience salvation; but it could not place them under that equal and equitable ecclesiastical regimen contained in the Rules while they were not acknowledged as *members* of "the United Society;" who are one in spiritual rights and privileges all the world over. In regard to outward things, its chief action was on the mind of the masters, inducing them, in proportion to the power of religion which they felt in their own hearts, to exercise as large an amount of equity and kindness toward their servants as a state of slavery would admit.

When the war terminated the venerable Asbury alone was found in America. Guided by an upright conscience, and by an unseen

hand, his five brethren returned to England; and, equally guided by an upright conscience, and by an unseen hand, he still remained: for, in certain critical and difficult positions, the path of duty may not always to godly men be, or appear to be, the same. God directed them! If all had remained, the loyalty of Methodism might have been impeached at home; if none had tarried, who should have looked after the desolate sheep in the wilderness? Diversity of judgment in this matter, one only continuing in the States, facilitated Mr. Wesley's subsequent arrangements for the ecclesiastical settlement of Methodism in America. Asbury formed a resolution, says Drew, in his life of Dr. Coke, "to have no concern with political opinions;" and he was sheltered for two years in a quiet retreat, till the storm had blown over. He had previously often preached "in the villages, and on the slave plantations." And afterward "his own black servant, Harry," was encouraged by him to preach; for which service, Dr. Coke, who several times heard him, testifies, that "he had considerable abilities." This was, perhaps, the first instance in Methodism of a man of that race preaching in the midst of a slave community. Herein Methodism in America was, at that time, certainly in advance of Methodism in the West Indies. Even if he were a free man, it was a repudiation of that prejudice of caste and color which is so predominant in the lands of slavery; a prejudice not shared by Asbury. When the commotions settled down, it was in the slave state of Maryland that Methodist preachers were first allowed to exercise their ministry without further interruption; an act to that effect passed the Legislature, even though the preachers should have conscientious scruples about taking an oath of allegiance to the newly created government. This might anywhere be done; for godly and conscientious men, whatever their opinions, will never make political disturbance. Nevertheless, it was highly honorable to Maryland, and was a strong expression of the confidence of a slave-holding community in the integrity of Methodist preachers, and in the peaceableness of their doctrines among a slave population. The Gospel soon had an extensive spread, and extraordinary revivals of religion took place in Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia; and that, at several times; insomuch that Asbury on one occasion remarked, that while much spiritual deadness prevailed in the North, in the slave states there were overwhelming manifestations of Divine grace and power. The masses of the white people seem to have been very generally wrought upon by the preaching of the Gospel.

One might here inquire, was not this a fit time for Methodism—

the united Methodism of Britain and America—to interpose on behalf of the liberation of the slaves? That is a question more easily asked than answered, however promptly some might reply in the affirmative. Good men in America would have been afraid of evoking a temporal excitement that might be dangerous to the spiritual work then in progress; and certain it is, that British Methodists were so much taken up with the account of conversions to God by hundreds, not to say thousands, that it did not occur to their thoughts to offer any suggestions for the emancipation of those who were in bondage. In truth, it was for many years pretty much the same, with regard to our mission in the West Indies. Mr. Watson's observation, "No man can be concerned for the spiritual welfare of the negro, without caring also for his temporal condition," is correct, *when that condition is prominently set before the mind:* but for all that, it is no less a matter of fact that, for a long season, nothing directly bearing on the civil state of the slaves was attempted; and chiefly for the reason that the hearts of pious people were almost exclusively engrossed with a concern for their salvation. Their outward lot seemed to have been generally regarded as a kind of settled condition, and the Gospel their only solace in this world, as well as the means of preparing them for the world to come. There was, however, this wide difference in the two cases. In the West Indies, the masses who were brought to receive salvation by the missionaries were slaves; the white people in our societies were scarcely in the proportion of one to a hundred; whereas, in those great revivals in the slave states of America, the whites seem to have been the largest sharers in its benefits: a course of action, therefore, that would have been fitting in one case might have been inexpedient in the other; even supposing that the public mind were at that time alive to the claims of Christian benevolence and duty. But we, who live in an age of clearer light, ought not to be severe in our reproaches of those of earlier generations. Nevertheless, much as we desire to avoid the imputation of blame, it must be a source of deep regret to call to mind that such glorious visitations of grace were permitted to pass away without any attempt to remove this stumbling-block, which is now seen to be so great an occasion of scandal in the world.

It requires, however, prudence of the highest kind on the part of those who preach the word of life in a slave region, so to observe the exact line of duty, as neither to compromise the principles of the Gospel on the one hand, nor, on the other hand, so to intermeddle with the civil state of society as to exasperate evil passions and prejudices, and thereby neutralize, or even nullify the great spiritual

objects of their mission. There is a Christian expediency which is wise and right, as well as a worldly expediency which is unprincipled and wrong. The position in which some men are providentially placed, requires in them that they should follow a particular course of action, which, as it is not in itself sinful, is allowable for the sake of usefulness; in order that, in the sense intended by the apostle, they "may become all things to all men, that by all means they may save some" of every class and of every opinion. The history of Methodism at this period will elucidate this matter; and it is the more worthy of special notice, because it seems to have modified the course of proceeding in the conducting of our West Indian mission.

About the time of those great revivals of religion in America, there were two eminent men connected with it, the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, and Dr. Thomas Coke, who was Mr. Wesley's right hand; and who, for a considerable portion of his life, in carrying out the work of Methodism, belonged equally to England and America. Both were determined enemies of slavery. They never patronized it; on the contrary, they did not fail to declare their aversion to the system as evil and unjust; and so far, every Christian missionary may, and ought to concur with them. But they did not act with equal prudence; and the result was, that one raised against himself a violent storm of hatred and prejudice, which the other, without any sinful compromise, avoided. The case of Mr. Garrettson was remarkable. His "great grandfather," he tells us, "was among the first settlers in Maryland," so that he was one of the fourth generation of a slaveholding family. Yet, when he was converted, he received a conviction immediately from God that his connection with slavery ought to be, without delay, relinquished. The account is so deeply impressive that it cannot be better given than in his own words, taken from the Arminian Magazine of 1794. He says, (this was in the year 1775, and soon after he had found peace with God:)

"One Sabbath morning, I continued reading the Bible till eight o'clock, and then, under a sense of duty, called the family together for prayer. While I was giving out a hymn this thought powerfully struck my mind: It is not right for you to keep your fellow-creatures in bondage. You must let the oppressed go free. I knew this was the voice of the Lord. *Till this moment, I never suspected that the practice of slave-keeping was wrong; having neither read anything on the subject, nor conversed with persons respecting its sinfulness.* After a minute's pause I replied, 'Lord, the oppressed shall go free.' I then addressed the slaves, and told them, 'You do not belong to me: I will not desire your service without making you a sufficient compensation.' I now found liberty to proceed in family worship. After singing I kneeled down to pray. But if I had the tongue of an angel I could never fully describe

what I felt. All that dejection and melancholy gloom which I had groaned under, vanished away in a moment. A Divine sweetness ran through my whole frame. My soul was admitted into the depths of the Redeemer's love in an inexpressible manner! Praise and glory to his name forever!"

The annals of Methodism do not furnish a more striking passage, in relation to slavery, than that wonderful, simple, and devout record. There the true genius of Methodism, and of pure, unsophisticated Christianity, appears without a cloud. What honor redounded to the risen Saviour on that Sabbath morning! How appropriately was that noble act propounded at once in simple words, inaugurated with songs and prayer! How fitly it came in, after two hours' reading of the Bible in secret! How admirably it was associated with "family worship!" Now master and freed servants were one family indeed! How gracious the attestation of Divine approval, when "the depths of the Redeemer's love in an inexpressible manner" filled his soul! O, if all Christian masters, instead of reasoning themselves into the allowableness of slavery, would but "go and do likewise," they would have much larger enjoyment of the love of Christ than they are ever likely to experience if, in these latter days of Gospel light and grace, they continue to hold their fellow-men, and some of them their fellow-Christians, in the bondage of slavery.

Immediately after the performing of this act of justice, Garrettson felt a desire "to spread his Redeemer's glory to the ends of the world." He soon became a Methodist preacher, and "having clean hands, he waxed stronger and stronger." But he never altered his sentiments respecting slavery. "It was God," says he, "and not man, that taught me the impropriety of holding slaves; and I shall never be able to praise him enough for it. My very heart bleeds for slaveholders, especially those who make a profession of religion." He was not their reviler or enemy; he was full of Divine tenderness and compassion for them. It is deeply interesting, and very instructive, to notice the conduct of such a minister in his extensive travels through slaveholding States. "The cruelties," he says, "which the poor negroes suffered affected me greatly. I endeavored *frequently* to inculcate the doctrine of freedom *in a private way*, which procured me the displeasure of some interested persons." By "private way," he seems to mean personal conversation with the masters and others; but he would not introduce such a topic in his pulpit ministrations, or preach it openly in a mixed congregation, and in the midst of a slave community. On the contrary, he was careful that the minds of the slaves should be directed only to spiritual blessings. Hence, he adds, "I set apart times to

preach to the blacks, and adapted my discourses to their capacity; these were refreshing seasons from the presence of the Lord. Often were their sable faces overflowed with penitential tears, while their hands of faith were stretched out to embrace salvation through Jesus Christ. Their captivity and sufferings were sanctified, and drove them to the Friend of sinners; many of them were exceedingly happy, through the manifestations of pardoning mercy." It does not appear, indeed, that he had any considerable success in promoting the cause of freedom. Two instances only are mentioned in his personal narrative. One relates to an individual. "Colonel F.," says he, "near James River, is an excellent man, speaks boldly for his Master, and has liberated *many* of his slaves." That, however, was not the relinquishing of the principle; he had no more right to one than to many. Still it shows the Christian spirit of Garrettson, who did not condemn him because he came short of his own consistent conduct, but commended him for his approach toward it. The other instance relates to a whole society, though a small one. Of them he says, "They would not detain their fellow-creatures in bondage, but freely liberated their poor slaves." Thus, with prudent boldness he advocated the cause of the slave; and yet, by remembering there is "a time to every purpose under the heaven," he avoided that collision with slaveholders which, without doing any good, would have hindered the Gospel of Christ. So far as he suffered persecution, it was solely "for righteousness' sake," and not from a failure of observing the Christian direction, "Walk in wisdom toward them that are without."

It was in 1784 that Mr. Wesley, as a presbyter of the Church of England, ordained Dr. Coke to the office of superintendent of the work in America. In as regular a manner as the case would admit, Mr. Asbury was associated with him, after he had received the suffrages of his brethren, at a conference speedily assembled at Baltimore. In the Letter of Ordination which Mr. Wesley drew up, he states that "many of the people in the Southern provinces," that is, the slave provinces, "desired to remain under his care;" and yet Dr. Coke does not seem to have received any instructions, written or verbal, concerning slavery. In his subsequent zeal against it, the doctor acted under the impulse of his own fervent spirit, and never pretended that he had been directed by a superior authority to such a procedure. This silence of Mr. Wesley is the more remarkable, considering that ten years before, in his "Thoughts on Slavery," he had most vehemently denounced the whole system. But on this occasion the circumstances of the white population, and their religious necessities, appear to have entirely engrossed his attention;

for it was they only who demanded the ordinances, and required some immediate provision for their administration. Indeed, the slaves had no voice in the matter; for, as we have already seen, they were not reckoned in the number of society members, although many of them had been savingly brought to the knowledge of Christ. Probably one reason of that omission was, not their condition as slaves, but because they were unbaptized; for, until the ecclesiastical economy of Methodism was established, the preachers did not consider themselves at liberty to administer the ordinances at all. Pious negroes would afterward come in for the same benefits incidentally, although they had done nothing to obtain them, nor were they immediately thought of when the arrangements were first made. The condition of the slaves in the West Indies was, in respect to the ordinances, very similar for many years. For there was no Methodist preacher to baptize them; and few, if any, were baptized by the clergy; so that, with the exception of Mr. Gilbert's servants, whom Mr. Wesley baptized in London, none had been thus introduced into the Church, although they were, in those islands, reckoned as members. These were some of the ecclesiastical anomalies and irregularities in those early days of Methodism, consequent on the existence of slavery.

When Dr. Coke assembled the first conference in Baltimore, at the close of 1784, Mr. Garrettson was present; but we cannot gather from Drew's Life of Coke, that any discussions on slavery took place in that assembly. The doctor, in conjunction with Mr. Asbury, published a small volume, which was a kind of manual of the doctrines and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as settled at that conference. "This early conference being ended, and the necessary arrangements for the future government of the societies made, Dr. Coke took his leave of Baltimore, and proceeded on an extensive tour to visit various churches throughout the States, before he embarked for England." That tour was chiefly through the slave states, or, as Mr. Wesley called them, "the Southern provinces," which had applied to him for spiritual assistance and recognition. "Hitherto," says his biographer, "Dr. Coke had preserved a profound silence on the subject of negro slavery." But now, and in a slave state, he altogether adopted another course; and, as it appears to us, in a very injudicious manner. Not content with opposing it in the manly, yet safe and prudent way that Garrettson had done, he openly preached against it in his public ministry. "In the province of Virginia, while preaching in a barn, on Sunday, the 9th of April, 1785, he took occasion to introduce the subject of slavery, and expatiated on its injustice, in

terms that were not calculated to flatter his auditors. Many were provoked to hear those truths which, from their earliest infancy, they had been taught to stifle, and which their interest still instructed them to conceal." The result was, he raised against himself a violent storm of persecution, and effected no good, comparable to the evil that ensued. He even compromised the welfare of those whose interest he was zealous to promote. For, on returning to the same state a few days afterward, he found "a revolt among the slaves was greatly dreaded by their masters," insomuch that he "found it necessary to enforce on the negroes the duty of obedience while they were held in bondage." His biographer acknowledges that the doctor "learned wisdom by what he had suffered;" and that wisdom never afterward forsook him, for he was not known to try the experiment in the West Indies subsequently, of making slavery a pulpit topic in the midst of a slaveholding community. And it may be safely affirmed, that no Wesleyan missionary attempted it prior to emancipation; however right it was for them, *after* that event, to lead the freed slave to acknowledge the goodness of God, and even to feel grateful to their masters for the blessings of freedom which they had obtained. If the doctor or the missionaries had inveighed against slavery from the pulpit in the West Indies, they would have closed at once the door against their own usefulness; and, if resolved to persevere, however persecuted in the colonies, they would have obtained no redress from the government at home. To that government the Methodists were often compelled to appeal for protection from arbitrary colonial laws, and never in vain. The appeal was generally presented by Dr. Coke himself, or under his direction; but it was always based on the truthful plea of the simplicity and singleness of purpose manifested by the missionaries, who, in their public ministrations, confined themselves exclusively to the work of preaching the Gospel, after the manner of the apostles, without debating, arbitrating, or judging between the master and the slave. This portion of Methodistic history, in connection with slavery, and drawn from America, is highly valuable, inasmuch as it is seen to have produced a powerful impression on the mind of Dr. Coke, and to have moderated his proceedings when, *in the year following*, he was led to the establishment of the West Indian mission.

Although Methodism began its benign operations in favor of the slave race of the West Indies and America at nearly the same time, the latter country had greatly the advantage in regard to an appointed ministry. Within a few years after the societies were formed at New York and Maryland, Boardman and Pilmoor arrived

to watch over and guide them; whereas *more than a quarter of a century* passed away after the formation of the first society in Antigua before the arrival of the first missionary there. In 1760 Gilbert began to preach on his plantations; in 1786, at the Conference, Mr. Wesley ordained the Rev. William Warrener to go and minister to the people, by which time *one thousand* members had been gathered together. In that long interval Mr. Wesley had not lost sight of the work, nor had God forgotten the people. To supply the lack of ministerial service, about the time Mr. Gilbert died, God raised up for them an intermediate helper. "In 1779," says Myles, "Mr. John Baxter, a local preacher, went from the royal dock at Chatham to the Island of Antigua. He watered the seed sown by Mr. Gilbert. In the year 1786 he resigned his office of under-storekeeper at English Harbor, for which he had £400 per annum currency, and became," (for less than half that sum,) "from that time to his death, which happened in 1806, a West Indian missionary, except one year which he spent in England." So that for seven years Methodism was *gratuitously* benefiting the slaves, by Baxter's disinterested labors. His days were employed in the king's service, and his evenings in preaching on the plantations to which he was permitted access, or in visiting St. John's, twelve miles distant, to attend to the principal society; and there also he chiefly labored on the Sabbath days. It was by his instrumentality mainly that the two hundred left by Gilbert increased to a thousand. So eminently good and useful a man was worthy of high honor; and, though unordained, Mr. Wesley took him out as a minister in the same year that he ordained Warrener, and gave Baxter the precedence in the appointment made. They were both designated "elders;" from which circumstance it is thought that Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke designed to form the West Indian mission after the American model; but after Mr. Wesley's death the term fell into disuse, and the English arrangement of districts and chairmen was adopted.

Methodism was now fairly established, with its whole economy; and it spread from island to island, and the number of its missionaries increased, till many thousands of the poor slaves were brought into the glorious spiritual liberty of the children of God; and multitudes who knew nothing better than slavery on earth obtained an immortal crown in heaven. A mere moiety of the members were whites; there was a good sprinkling of free colored people and blacks; but the vast majority were slaves. For half a century from the commencement of Methodism the slaves never expected freedom, and the missionaries never taught them to expect it; and when the agitations of later years unavoidably affected them more

or less, as they learned, chiefly through the violent speeches of their own masters or overseers, what was going on in their favor in England, it was missionary influence that moderated their passions, kept them in the steady course of duty, and prevented them from sinning against God by offending against the laws of man. Whatever outbreaks or insurrections at any time occurred, *no Methodist slave was ever proved guilty of incendiarism or rebellion for more than seventy years, namely, from* 1760 *to* 1834. An extensive examination of their correspondence throughout that lengthened period, and an acquaintance with their general character and history, enables one confidently to affirm that a more humble, laborious, zealous, and unoffending class of Christian missionaries were never employed by any section of the Church of God, than those sent out by the British Conference to the West India isles. They were eminently men of one business, unconnected with any political party, though often strongly suspected by the jealousies so rife in slaveholding communities. A curious instance of this occurred in regard to one who was firmly believed to be a correspondent of the Anti-Slavery Society in England. "I did not know," said Fowell Buxton, in the House of Commons, "that such a man was in existence, till I heard that he was to be hung for corresponding with me."

As a specimen of one for all the rest, of the circumstances in which the missionaries were often placed, and of their singleness of purpose and aim, we select the following from the Memoirs of the Rev. John Brownell, who was then stationed in the island of St. Kitts. In his journal he writes thus, March 10, 1801:

"In the forenoon of this day I received a letter from the late commander-in-chief, requesting me to attend him immediately at the council-room. On my appearance before him, an Address was presented to me, purporting to be written by the General Conference in America, to the body of people called Methodists, requesting them to petition the Legislature for the abolition of the slave-trade. This address was signed by Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and several others, inserted in the newspapers, and published in the form of hand-bills. The Council imagined that it had originated with the English Conference, and by them had been transmitted to the Conference in America; and desired to know whether I had received any orders to carry it into effect. I informed the Council that the English Conference had no authority over the Methodist societies in the United States of America; and distinctly asserted that I had received no instructions in the matter, and that the English Conference had no desire or intention that the missionaries should interfere with the political affairs of the islands, our only design being to bring the people to the knowledge of God. On the following day there appeared in one of the public papers a vile letter, accusing the missionaries of seditious designs."

"Tuesday, the 14th, I waited upon the commander-in-chief, in company with Mr. Shipley," (his colleague.) "We laid before him a considerable number of facts and arguments, to prove that we had not the slightest intention to interfere with the civil condition of the slaves. We were ready to

attest, upon oath, that we had never inculcated any doctrine tending to sedition; but uniformly exhorted 'as many servants as are under the yoke to count their masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.' That no principles contrary to these had been taught by us in any of the society meetings, we stated to be manifest from this consideration: that great numbers of whites, or free people of color, who held slaves, were in religious connection with us, and attended those meetings as well as the slaves; and yet such people, who would of course be tenacious of their own interests, so far from making any complaint against us, were anxious to prevail upon us to admit their slaves into society. We also pledged ourselves that we would rather quit the colonies than disturb the public peace; and further urged, that if these reasons were not satisfactory to the local government, the affair might be referred to the Duke of Portland, and an explanation required of the English Conference. This proposal was acceded to, and here the business ended. I afterward drew up a reply to the infamous letter which had been published against us. But the man who had given publicity to the unprincipled defamations of an adversary, had not the honor to print the vindication of the accused."

As was Brownell, so were his brethren; and such was the spirit, temper, and demeanor of the Methodist missionaries in carrying out their mission to the West Indian slaves. They were the negroes' true friends. "It is surprising," says Dr. Coke, "with what affection the negroes look upon us when we pass by them. One of them was overheard telling his companions, '*These men were imported for us.*'" The missionaries were quiet emancipators without aiming at it; for the Gospel is the forerunner of freedom. In the meantime they were conservators of the masters' interests, and especially on critical occasions, as will yet be made to appear. It was in that way Methodism acted upon slavery, so far as the missionaries themselves and their personal labors were concerned. The instructions furnished them by the committee in London run thus:

"As in the colonies in which you are called to labor a great proportion of the inhabitants are in a state of slavery, the Committee most strongly call to your recollection what was so fully stated to you when you were accepted as a missionary to the West Indies, that your only business is to promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves to whom you may have access, without in the least degree, in public or private, interfering with their civil condition. On all persons, in the state of slaves, you are diligently and implicitly to enforce the same exhortations which the apostles of our Lord administered to the slaves of ancient nations, when by their ministry they embraced Christianity. Ephesians vi, 5–8; Col. iii, 22–25."

These scriptures are quoted at length, after which is added: "In all cases you are to meet even unreasonable prejudices," (as to the hour and place of meeting,) "and attempt to disarm suspicions, however groundless, so far as you can do it consistently with your duties as a faithful and laborious minister of the Gospel." Again:

"The Committee caution you against engaging in any of the civil disputes

or local politics of the colony to which you may be appointed, either verbally or by correspondence with any persons at home or in the colonies. The whole period of your temporary residence in the West Indies is to be filled up with the proper work of your mission. You are not to become parties in any civil quarrel; but are to 'please all men for their good to edification;' intent upon the solemn work of your office, and upon that eternal state in the view of which the Committee trust you will ever think and act."

Those extracts from the printed instructions, drawn up by the late Rev. Richard Watson, and put into the hand of every missionary on receiving his appointment, will show, more clearly than anything else can do, the precise and single aim of the missionaries to a slave population. No missionary was ever accused of violating those instructions; and their course was certainly more moderate than brethren of some other denominations thought to be right; and it occasionally exposed them to the reproaches of those whose zeal was more conspicuous than their "meekness of wisdom." It must be obvious that missionaries guided by instructions worded with so much accuracy and precision, could not possibly operate against slavery otherwise than by spiritual means; which, however, after all, are the safest, best, and most effectual than can be employed. The hope of the slave lies in the purity and power of the Gospel; and nothing short of the leaven of Christianity pervading political legislation, will insure the slave freedom, or prepare him to receive his right with advantage.

But although the missionaries were thus restricted to one object and one work, the Methodists in Great Britain were not under such restraint; although the public managers of missions were for a long season less active in the cause of freedom than they otherwise would have been, lest they should involve the missionaries in trouble and hinder their spiritual usefulness. It is now time to trace the progress of Methodistic action on the slave-trade and slavery in England. We must begin with Mr. Wesley. His attention was first directed to the slave-trade by a member of the Society of Friends, who put a valuable tract into his hands. Pre-eminent honor is due to that excellent community of philanthropists for their uniform testimony in favor of the oppressed of every race. Though themselves a small people in respect to numbers, they have been beyond all others powerful in influence in this great cause; for they have been a practical people, having completely purged themselves from any continuous participation in the evils of slavery. They awoke Wesley and the Methodists to a sense of duty. In his Journal, February 12, 1772, he says: "I read a book published by an honest Quaker, *on that execrable sum of all villainies*, commonly called the slave-trade. I have read nothing like it in the heathen

world, whether ancient or modern; and it infinitely exceeds, in every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mohammedan countries." From that time he never lost sight of the matter, or omitted what in his natural judgment he thought a fitting occasion for bearing testimony against it. And although it was the slave-trade to which he applies the strong epithet, "execrable sum of all villainies," yet he conjoined slavery with it in the tract entitled "Thoughts on Slavery," which he published in 1774; and which, according to Myles, went through *five* editions before his decease.

We may here pause to make a sober use of liberty of thought, and freedom of observation. The greater part of that energetic pamphlet of sixteen pages is admirable; but yet it cannot be maintained that everything advanced in it is strictly correct. Neither our abhorrence of slavery, nor our veneration for the writer, should prevent a calm critique on two particulars, in which his vehemence has carried him beyond the bounds of truth, and involved him in self-contradictions. The first is in the description of the morals of the Africans in their native country. Most certainly no people answering thereto were ever found in any heathen land. His authorities were certain authors who had lived among them, and with whom it seems to have been a favorite passion, as with some modern writers, to whitewash heathenism; yea, even to give in perspective a beautiful picture of the unsophisticated sons of nature. We cannot but wonder that so great a divine should have listened to them, and forgot Saint Paul. One of those writers says, as quoted by Mr. Wesley: "The man (among them) who wrongs another is the abomination of all." Again: "They are punctually just and honest in their dealings; and are also very charitable. Those that are utterly helpless they keep for God's sake." Another remarks: "The whole of their manners revived in my mind the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state." Now that is about as pretty a piece of sentimentalism as was ever penned. The wonder is that the tide of emigration has not caused such a paradise to be by this time inconveniently full! And how was it that our romancers could ever bring themselves to leave such an exquisite region, and return to inferior associations with civilized men? Surely they had need rather to have remained, and persuaded men of such virtue to have the further goodness of undertaking a mission to the Christian world. Indeed, Mr. Wesley himself intimates something of this kind when he says: "Supposing these accounts to be true," only he adds with too easy credulity, "which I see no reason or pretense

to doubt of, we may leave England and France to seek genuine honesty in Benin, Congo, or Angola." Now for the contradictions. In another part of his pamphlet Mr. Wesley writes: "When the King of Barsalli wants goods or brandy, he sends to the English governor at James's Fort, who immediately sends a sloop. Against the time it arrives, he plunders some of his neighbors' towns, selling the people for the goods he wants. At other times he falls upon one of his own towns, and makes bold to sell his own subjects." Again: "Some of the natives are always ready, when well paid, to surprise and carry off their own countrymen." Now that is a poor specimen of "our first parents in their primitive state." Such abominations could have never prevailed if the majority of the people had been virtuous. Without at all extenuating that "execrable sum of all villainies," the slave-trade, or minifying what Wilberforce called the "complicated villainies" of Europeans engaged in it, still, it is impossible to believe that Africans could have been so easily induced to commit such gross outrages on their own countrymen, if "the man who wronged another had been held in universal abomination;" or that they were "just, honest, and charitable, and kept the poor for God's sake." Modern accounts of Dahomy, Ashanti, and the Gold Coast, as furnished by resident missionaries, do not tally with such a glaring representation of the virtues of the inhabitants of those regions. Nor did the first missionaries to the West Indies find any relics of such existing virtues among that down-trodden people, as many of their mournful letters concerning their moral wretchedness abundantly testify. On the other hand, the iniquitous slave-trader, with an almost unparalleled hypocrisy, drew in deepest shades the vices of the African, that he might be proved on that ground a fit article of merchandize, and show that he was not injured, but rather benefited by European robbery. In 1791 pamphlets were published in England, and circulated among members of the House of Commons, affirming that the Africans were "stupid and unenlightened hordes, immersed in the most gross and impenetrable gloom of barbarism, dark in mind as in body, prodigiously populous, impatient of all control, unteachably lazy, ferocious as their own congenial tigers, nor in any respect superior to those rapacious beasts in intellectual advancement; and being accustomed to destroy one another in battle, the slave traffic *has proved a fortunate event to such miserable captives.*" Another writer, whose work passed through repeated editions, and who "speaks from a long residence" on the African coast, says: "*It is a humane trade*, preventing human sacrifices, *and civilizing the people!*" So the slave-trade was a charity, and the slave-traders

philanthropists after all! We may believe this when the emancipated slaves propose to raise a monument to their memory.

We take exceptions next to Mr. Wesley's broad and sweeping declaration against slaveholders. We mark the emphatic words, to show at once the strength of the passage. He says: "I *absolutely* deny *all* slaveholding to be consistent *with any degree* of natural justice." Again: "All slaveholders, *of whatever rank or degree*, are *exactly on a level* with men-stealers." Now in strict fairness these unqualified maxims cannot be maintained. Mr. Wesley himself overthrows their *absoluteness*, and weakens their force in the very pamphlet from which these quotations are made. Reasoning with the planters, he says: "Have you ever tried what mildness and gentleness would do" (with the slaves, in overcoming) "their stubbornness and wickedness? *I know one that did;* that had prudence and patience to make the experiment; Mr. Hugh Bryan, who then lived on the borders of South Carolina. *And what was the effect?* Why, that *all* his negroes, *and he had no small number of them*, loved and reverenced him *as a father*, and cheerfully obeyed him out of love." Now surely such a man was not "*exactly on a level* with men-stealers," or to be designated as "a wolf, a devourer of the human species." Nor Mr. Belinger, and those other serious planters of whom Mr. Wesley speaks in the journal of his visit to their plantations. Moreover, not his words only, but his practice contradicts the absoluteness of his theory, or rather assertions, when writing under the influence of strong impressions, after reading a true statement of the abominations of the infamous slave-trade. For if the extreme and universal condemnation of *every* slaveholder, "of whatever rank or degree," be correct, reason would have required that the missionaries he sent to the West Indies should have shut the door of admission into his society against the slaveholder, as such; and that he should have apologized for his intimacy and correspondence with Gilbert and others, on the ground of his unacquaintedness in those days with the evils which now so strongly affected his mind. Such reflections should induce a modification of certain phrases in the "Thoughts on Slavery;" and we may then acknowledge, concerning all the rest, that it is worthy of the highest commendation for the truth, benevolence, and energy it contains. But these observations go to show how difficult it is to deal with an enormous evil with due discrimination; and how insensibly the human mind may be impelled, by the best feelings of an honest heart, to views and assertions which, in their unqualified sense, cannot with truth be sustained.

A calmer, and, as we take it, a perfectly correct and unobjection-

able statement of the whole subject, and one that is at once practicable, is comprised in the following extract from Watson's Institutes. It is too important to be abridged. Every sentence comes with the demonstration of truth to "every man's conscience in the sight of God."

"As to the existence of slavery *in Christian states*, every government, *as soon as it professes to be Christian*, binds itself to be regulated by the principles of the New Testament; and though a part of its subjects should at that time be in a state of servitude, and their sudden emancipation might be obviously an injury to society at large, *it is bound to show that its spirit and tendency* are as inimical to slavery as is the Christianity which it professes. All the injustice and oppression *against which it can guard* that condition, and *all the mitigating regulations* it can adopt, are obligatory upon it; and since also every Christian slave is enjoined by apostolic authority to choose freedom, when it is possible to attain it, as being a better state and more befitting a Christian man, so is every Christian master bound, by the principle of loving his neighbor, and more especially his 'brother in Christ,' as himself, to promote his passing into that better and more Christian state. To *the instruction* of the slaves in religion would every such Christian government also be bound, and still further to adopt measures for the *final extinction* of slavery; *the rule* of its proceeding in this case being the accomplishment of this object *as soon* as is compatible with the real welfare of the enslaved portion of its subjects themselves, and not the consideration of the losses which might be sustained by their proprietors, which, however, *ought to be compensated* by other means, as far as they are just and equitably estimated.

"If this be the mode of proceeding clearly pointed out by Christianity to a state on its first becoming Christian, when previously and for ages the practice of slavery had grown up with it, *how much more* forcibly does it impose its obligation upon nations involved in the guilt of the modern African slavery. They professed Christianity when they commenced the practice. They entered upon a traffic which *ab initio* was, upon their own principles, unjust and cruel. They had no rights of war to plead against the natural rights of the first captives, who were in fact stolen, or purchased from the stealers, knowing them to be so. The governments themselves never acquired any right of property in the parents; they have none in their descendants, and can acquire none; as the thief who steals cattle cannot, should he feed and defend them, acquire any right of property, either in them or the stock they may produce, although he may be at the charge of rearing them. These governments, not having a right of property in their colonial slaves, could not transfer any right of property in them to their present masters, for they could not give what they never had; nor, by their connivance at the robberies and purchases of stolen human beings, alter the essential injustice of the transaction. All such governments are therefore clearly bound, as they fear God and dread his displeasure, to restore all their slaves to the condition of freemen. Restoration to their friends and country is now out of the question; they are bound to protect them where they are, and have the right to exact their obedience to good laws in return; but property in them they cannot obtain; *their natural right to liberty is untouched and inviolable.* The manner in which this right is to be restored, we grant, it is in the power of such governments to determine, *provided* that proceeding be regulated by the principles above laid down. First, That the emancipation be *sincerely determined upon*, at some time future; Secondly, That it *be not delayed beyond* the period which the general interests of the slaves themselves prescribe, and which is to be judged of benevolently, and without any bias of judgment, giving the advantage of

every doubt to the injured party; Thirdly, *That all possible means be adopted to render freedom a good to them.* It is only under such circumstances that the continuance of slavery among us can cease to be a national sin, calling down, as it has done, and must do until a process of emancipation be honestly commenced, the just displeasure of God. *What compensation* may be claimed from the governments, *that is, the public*, of those countries who have entangled themselves in this species of unjust dealing, by those who have purchased men and women whom no one had the right to sell, and no one had the right to buy, *is a perfectly distinct question*, and ought not to turn repentance and justice out of their course, or delay their operations for a moment. Perhaps, such is the unfruitful nature of all wrong, it may be found that, as free laborers, the slaves would be of equal or more value to those who employ them, than at present. If otherwise, as in some degree 'all have sinned,' the real loss ought to be borne by all, when that loss is fairly and impartially ascertained; but of which loss the slave-interest, if we may so call it, ought in justice to bear more than an equal share, as having had the greatest gain."—*Watson's Works*, vol. xii, pp. 112–114.

Such calm and forcible reasoning thoroughly convinced the Methodists that the whole of the transactions connected with slavery were based on injustice; and that the original injustice of the slave-trade could never wear itself out, nor any legislation convert a wrong into a right. But yet they conceived that a long-continued and widely-extended course of injustice might have such complicated ramifications, that benevolence, and even justice itself, would require caution with activity in producing a legal rectification, and demand a prudent regard to the present actual position of the sufferers. Recompense could never be made; for, besides the injustice of having caused them to be born in a state of slavery through the enslaving of their ancestors, when emancipated they would have to begin life in a new condition, under circumstances greatly to their disadvantage, and below the ordinary level of society; for the *effects* of the servile state and spirit would continue for many years, it may be generations. Freedom would be simply a negation of injustice, the restoration of a theft without restitution. Convinced in their impartial judgment by such sober truths as these, which none can deny, the Methodists agreed as one man to two resolutions: First, That it became the Christian duty of the nation *at once* to renounce the *principle* of slavery; and, Secondly, That in *practice* the system itself should cease at the earliest time compatible with the interests of all parties concerned in it. Those were their *ultimate* resolutions, *to which they gradually came*, after the slave-trade itself had been brought to an end. But we must first glance at their further efforts in the abolition of the trade, which we propose to do in a second article.

Art. III.—THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

1. *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* By GILBERT BURNET, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Salisbury. With a copious Index. Revised and corrected, with additional Notes, and a Preface calculated to remove certain Difficulties attending the Perusal of this important History. By the Rev. E. NARES, D. D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. In three volumes. New-York: D. Appleton & Company, 1843.
2. *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D. D., President of the Theological School of Geneva, etc. Translated by H. WHITE, B. A. Vol. V. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.

WE place before our readers the title-pages of these great historical works, not for the purpose of review or criticism, but as authorities from which the principal part of the facts referred to in this paper are derived, and constituting the basis of an important argument. The reputation of Bishop Burnet's history has long been established, and criticism bestowed upon it now would appear to be presumptuous. The merit of D'Aubigné as an historian is universally conceded, and is not now to be argued. The question is not, whether these celebrated authors are to be regarded as high authority, but, what do they teach us in relation to the great change in the faith and religious life of the Church of England effected by what is called THE REFORMATION?

The real character and importance of the Reformation in England has been a matter of controversy for three centuries, and yet the positions of the combatants are maintained, without the concession of a hair's breadth of ground on either side. Roman Catholics maintain that it was a mere political revolution, achieved by Henry VIII. out of resentment because the pope refused to grant him a divorce from Catharine of Aragon; while, upon the other hand, Protestants maintain that it was a great work of God, consisting in an awakening of the consciences of the people, through the instrumentality of the Holy Scriptures and the preaching of the Word. We propose in this paper a brief examination of this question.

Early in the seventh century, the Church of Rome established her dominion in the British Isles. This was a step toward the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church, which was claimed by Hildebrand in the eleventh century. Collisions between the priests and the civil authorities, from time to time, occasioned no little trouble to the ruling sovereigns; but the wily emis-

saries of the pope, by working upon their superstitious fears, and by varied arts, so managed as to hold the ascendency down to the twelfth century. The famous Thomas à Becket, both a soldier and a priest, was, by the pope, made Archbishop of Canterbury, having been previously appointed Chancellor of England by Henry II. He was as ambitious as he was cunning, and as wicked as he was ambitious. He knew Henry well, and took every advantage of his weakness. When he received the appointment of Archbishop of Canterbury, he said to the king, with a smile, "Now, sire, when I shall have to choose between God's favor and yours, remember it is yours that I shall sacrifice."

Popery had now asserted its right to "the two swords," and the meaning of the archbishop was, that he would obey the king when his commands did not clash with those of the pope, but no further! We have an archbishop in this country who vaunts the patriotism of Roman Catholics, upon the ground that they hold that God is to be obeyed *first*, and the civil power *next*. And we have simpletons enough among us who believe this to be orthodox doctrine. They seem to forget that, to every Romanist, the voice of the pope is the voice of God, and that the mass of the people only know what the pope requires, from what they are told by their ghostly guides. Popery is now what it was in the days Hildebrand, and Archbishop Hughes is just as good a citizen as Becket was a subject. Their notions of the relation of the civil power to the spiritual are of precisely the same class.

Becket assumed great pomp, and lived in the greatest extravagance. With him, the pope and the Church were all, while the king and the state were nothing. Henry became weary of this arrogant and unmanageable ecclesiastic, and incautiously dropped an expression which was understood to imply a wish for his assassination; and, accordingly, four knights proceeded to his cathedral church, and murdered him at the foot of the altar. He was canonized, and, if we may believe the stories of the Romish priests, a multitude of miracles have been wrought at his tomb. The public mind was filled with horror at the wickedness of the murder, and Henry, becoming alarmed, gave up the perpetrators of the crime to the demands of justice, and humbled himself before his holiness the pope. John, the successor of Henry, laid down his crown at the pope's feet, and made over the kingdom to him, May 15, 1215.

The barons were not so pliable. They did not quite relish the idea of being bartered away to a foreign power, like serfs of the soil. They drew their swords, being followed by their knights and servants, and two thousand soldiers, and proceeded to occupy London.

On the 5th of June, 1215, the king signed "*Magna Charta*," which secured the rights and liberties of the people of England. The pope pronounced the Great Charter "null and void." John was between two fires, and was driven almost to madness. He gnashed his teeth and rolled his eyes; he tore sticks from the hedge, and ground them like a maniac. In this mighty struggle between the pope and priests on the one hand, and the barons and people on the other, the principles of the Reformation began to be evolved. The outrageous exactions of the pope, the insolence of the priests, and the scandalous corruptions of the monasteries, disgusted the people. The barons exclaimed: "Alas, poor country! wretched England! And thou, O pope, a curse light upon thee!" "Is it the pope's business," asked they, "to regulate temporal matters? By what right do vile usurers and foul simoniacs domineer over our country, and excommunicate the whole world?"

The conflict proceeded. Protests against the exorbitant claims of the pope and clergy were entered; and the pope sometimes made concessions, and at other times made resistance; sometimes cursed and at other times blessed; but kept his eye upon the mark at which Rome always aims—the spiritual and temporal supremacy over the whole world.

Amid these conflicts a mighty champion for the truth arose. *John Wiclif* was born in 1324. He attended the lectures of the famous Bradwardine, at Morton College. During "the plague" in 1348, he became much awakened, and passed sleepless nights in his cell, groaning and praying to God for light and comfort. He was led to the only source of relief by the instructions of the Holy Scriptures, which he now incessantly studied. He was elected warden of Baliol College in 1361, and of Canterbury in 1365. In his lectures and sermons he now began to teach the doctrines of faith, and to reprove the licentiousness of the monks.

Wiclif was a profound thinker and an eloquent preacher. His public lectures and sermons were crowded. He accused the clergy with having banished the Scriptures, and demanded that they should be restored to the Church. Papal arrogance had now reached its height in England, and had stirred the mind and heart of the nation to their utmost depths. Wiclif was as able a politician as he was a divine; and he came forward boldly in defense of the rights of the crown against the aggressions of Rome. His arguments were repeated in Parliament. The war was between the demands of the pope for tribute and the claims of the crown to independence; between the canon law and the Holy Scriptures. The reformer finally fully bared his breast to the storm, and declared that "the

Gospel is the only source of religion. The Roman pontiff is a mere *cut-purse*, and far from having the right to reprimand the whole world, he may be lawfully reproved by his inferiors, and even by laymen." The ecclesiastics were much scandalized at this bold stand, and the transgressor was arraigned before the convocation of St. Paul's cathedral. He was defended by Lord Percy and the Duke of Lancaster, for purely political considerations. A tumult followed between the noble advocates of the reformer and the ecclesiastical functionaries, and the cause exploded.

Wiclif pressed the battle, and the friars sought, by all possible means, to entangle and ruin him. But God was on his side; he was a chosen instrument for the accomplishment of a great work, and He who can make the wrath of men to praise him, and restrain the remainder, took care of his servant, turning the counsels of his enemies into foolishness.

In 1379 Wiclif was attacked by a dangerous disease, and his enemies hoped that his end had come. They now conceived the project of procuring from him a recantation upon his dying bed. Four learned doctors, together with as many senators, were dispatched to his sick-room. They first expressed great sympathy for him in his suffering, and then reminding him of the grievous wrongs he had heaped upon the holy orders, they expressed a hope that he would improve his last moments in making reparation. He listened to the whole tale in silence, and then, calling upon his servants to raise his head, he fixed his eyes upon the company and said: "I shall not die, but live; and again declare the evil deeds of the friars." The consternation of the doctors was overwhelming; they retired in the utmost confusion, and Wiclif soon recovered, and renewed the fight.

The Roman hierarchy was now rendered powerless in England by a feud between two rival popes. In 1378, Gregory XI. died, and the conclave elected an Italian, who assumed the name of Urban VI. He was an abandoned tyrant, and soon drove the cardinals from Rome. They assembled at Naples, and pronounced the election a nullity, and proceeded to elect another. Robert, Count of Geneva, was elected, who took the name of Clement VII. The former set up his throne in Rome, and the latter at Avignon; but which really occupied the chair of St. Peter, is a question not yet settled.

This great schism so fully occupied the mind of the Romish Church, that there was neither time nor strength left her to look after heresies or heretics. Wiclif improved the occasion to lay deadly blows upon the apostate Church. "Trust we in the help of Christ," he exclaimed, "for he hath begun already to help us graciously, in

that he hath cloven the head of antichrist, and made the two parts fight against each other; for it cannot be doubtful, that the sin of the popes, which hath so long continued, hath brought in this division."

The pulpit and pen were now employed by the reformer with tremendous effect against the great apostasy. As yet, however, he had but assailed the outposts and van-guards of the enemy. He next proceeded to storm the citadel. He commenced a translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue. He was a thorough Latin scholar, but not well acquainted with Hebrew and Greek. The text from which he made his translation was the Latin Vulgate. He had labored upon this work with the greatest industry for ten or fifteen years, and it was finally completed in 1580. There were no printing-presses then in existence, but every copy had to be written out with a pen, with the same manual labor which it cost to execute the original copy. Although the labor of making one copy was immense, copies were greatly multiplied, and the word of God was read by thousands, not excepting the laboring classes, both males and females.

The work was denounced as heretical, and highly offensive to God, being an effort to lay bare and expose to the jests of infidels the secrets of God's counsels. A controversy followed, in which Master John Wiclif met his opponents with plain common-sense arguments, deferring nothing to mere human authority. The Romanists urged that "to open the Bible to all, was, in effect, to set aside the office and to supplant the authority of those who were appointed to teach its doctrines to the people." To this the reformer replied: "According to the faith which the apostle teaches, all Christians must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and be answerable to him for all the goods wherewith he has intrusted them. It is, therefore, necessary that all the faithful should know these goods, and the use of them; for an answer by prelate or attorney will not then avail, but every one must then answer in his own person." Here the Romish assumption that God has committed to priests the business of reading the Scriptures, and doling them out to the people according to their own notions, whims, and caprices, is met by the plain fact that God had made every man responsible for reading and understanding the Scriptures for himself. No learned Protestant, in these glorious days of evangelical light and liberty, can reason more conclusively.

The circulation of the Scriptures in English was a terrible blow to the papacy; it was the explosion of a magazine under the very chair of his holiness. The fact that copies of Wiclif's Bible were

found not only in the universities, and in literary circles, but also, entire or in parts, in the rural districts among the laboring classes, proves conclusively that the labors of the reformer had made a deep impression on the national mind. Copyists and readers of the sacred records were not wanting, although the bishops and clergy were incessant in their denunciations against any and all who should be found with a line of the Scriptures, in the vulgar tongue, in their possession.

Wiclif was summoned to Rome to answer to the charge of heresy, but he did not appear. The two rival popes were spending their time and strength in intrigues and stratagems for each other's overthrow, and were wholly inadequate to the exigencies of the times in England. The local ecclesiastical authorities did their utmost, but, for the time, were unable to stem the tide of popular feeling in favor of the new movement. The day was anxiously looked for by the priests, when they should be able to immolate the great object of their malice, but God had not in reserve for him the crown of martyrdom. His excessive labors sapped the foundations of his physical frame, and he fell in his church, by a paralytic shock, Dec. 29, 1384, and in forty-eight hours his spirit passed from earth to heaven.

Wiclif had many followers, who were nicknamed *Lollards.* They were the butt of a most furious persecution, which continued to rage until their enemies supposed they were completely exterminated. Their blood was poured out like rivers. Lords and gentlemen were led to the stake, and simple-minded peasants, in great numbers, sealed the truth of their testimony with their blood. The Lollards' prison still remains in the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with some of the grim memorials of the fiendish tortures inflicted upon the children of God by the servants of antichrist. This ancient prison is lined and ceiled with thick oak plank. The door is of the same material, nearly covered with the heads of iron spikes, and grating mournfully upon its hinges when forced open. The iron rings to which the poor creatures were chained, are still in the sides of the cell, some five feet above the floor. And here, in rude carving, are to be seen some of the precious promises of the Bible, which were the source of consolation and hope to those holy martyrs and confessors, when all human support had fled forever. While gazing upon these remains of the age of Romish persecution in England, we were forcibly reminded of the language heard by the Revelator from the souls "under the altar:" "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

"The Reformation" began in England, under the labors of John

Wiclif, in the fourteenth century. Its flame was repressed for a period, but some of its burning coals, though covered in the ashes, were still, in God's good providence, kept from being utterly extinguished, until they were fanned to a fierce and burning heat in the sixteenth century. The Reformation, under Luther and the English Reformers, was but a revival of the glorious work of God which, two centuries before, had made a deadly thrust at the man of sin, and had been sanctified and dignified by the blood of a noble band of martyrs and confessors. Hence D'Aubigné quaintly remarks, that "if Luther and Calvin were the fathers of the Reformation, Wiclif was its grandfather."

The human mind was struggling desperately for emancipation, and had already commenced its flight from the dark recesses and death-damps of the Middle Ages. In 1438 a new era was ushered into the world by the discovery of the art of printing. The book of Psalms was printed in 1457, and the first complete copy of the Bible in 1460. This glorious discovery was made just in time to aid the great reforms which had just commenced their triumphant march.

In 1517 Luther commenced his public opposition to the sale of indulgences, and thenceforward the Reformation proceeded in Germany. Three years previous to this, Erasmus published his edition of the Greek Testament, with a Latin translation and notes; and the same year he sent out his famous "Colloquies." In the latter work he gave the monks such a terrible castigation, that they were accustomed to say that "Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched."

Erasmus was a man of transcendent intellect, and of religious convictions and moral sentiments entirely in advance of the times in which he commenced his brilliant career. He was born in the city of Rotterdam, in 1467, in a small brick building, which has survived the ruin of time, and is still pointed out to the curious traveler as one of the lions of that ancient city. Erasmus saw the necessity of reform, but his theory of the method of achieving it was wholly impracticable. He would have a reform of the religious orders by the diffusion of light, under the guidance and control of the supreme ecclesiastical authority. He appeared not to see that the Romish Church was a dead mass, a putrid carcass, which could not be galvanized into life, but which must be buried out of human sight, and the world ridded of it as a monstrous nuisance and a universal curse. He tried his theory of reform, and learned much by his experiment; but the great Dutchman was not made for a martyr. He had visited England, and contracted friendships in the

universities and in the court of Henry VIII., and his name gave a passport to any literary production throughout the literary circles of England. The New Testament, in Greek and Latin, was eagerly seized, and soon produced great changes. The doctors and students of the universities hailed it as a messenger directly from heaven. The work had been brought out with great labor, and with high expectations of the approbation, and even the applause, of all Christendom. The learned editor and translator assumed the right ground, but his position was anything but acceptable to the priests. He says: "A spiritual temple must be raised in dissolute Christendom. The mighty in this world will contribute toward it their marble, their ivory, and their gold; I, who am poor and humble, offer the foundation stone." Again he says: "It is not from human reservoirs, fetid with stagnant waters, that we should draw the doctrine of salvation; but from the pure and abundant streams that flow from the heart of God." This was a thunderbolt hurled, perhaps unwittingly, at the papacy. The priests took the alarm, and commenced a storm of declamation against the innovator. Franciscans and Dominicans, bishops and priests, set up a fearful howling. "Here are horrible heresies!" they exclaimed. "Here are frightful antichrists! If this book is tolerated it will be the death of the papacy. We must drive this man from the university; we must turn him out of the Church. He corrects the Vulgate, and puts himself in the place of St. Jerome. He sets aside a work authorized by the consent of ages and inspired by the Holy Ghost. What audacity!" "Look here," said one, turning over the leaves; "this book enjoins upon men to *repent*, instead of requiring them, as the Vulgate does, *to do penance*." "This man," said another, "has committed the unpardonable sin; for he maintains that there is nothing in common between the Holy Ghost and the monks." Another roars out: "He is a heretic, a heresiarch, a forger of lies; he's a goose—what do I say? he's a very antichrist." A famous Romish doctor by the name of Lee, at a dinner party, asserted that, "In this New Testament there are three hundred dangerous, frightful passages. Three hundred did I say? There are more than a thousand. If we do not stop this leak it will sink the ship."

This storm of popish wrath and nonsense took the scholar by surprise. Mingled disgust and terror almost overwhelmed him. "I call God to witness," said he, "I thought I was doing a work acceptable to the Lord, and necessary to the cause of Christ. Wretch that I am, who could have foreseen this horrible tempest?"

Amid this "horrible tempest," generated in the foul atmosphere of popery, which made the scholar groan and writhe so fearfully,

students of the Bible were multiplying by scores and hundreds in Oxford, Cambridge, London, and elsewhere; and the Holy Spirit was following the word with his own demonstrations. D'Aubigné says: "In private chambers, in lecture-rooms and refectories, students, and even masters of arts, were to be seen reading the Greek and Latin Testament."

Thomas Bilney was one of the first to come into collision with Rome under the influence of the revival of God's forgotten and concealed word. He was a hard student, and a man of tender conscience and serene manners. He had tried to keep the commandments of God, but always failed. In his agonies of conscience he had recourse to confession, penance, fastings, and vigils; but all without finding relief to his burdened soul. He had spent all his means in paying for indulgences, but was forced to exclaim, "Alas, my last state is worse than the first!" He began to entertain serious doubts whether, after all, the priests might not be seeking their own interests instead of the salvation of his soul. He heard of "the new book," but dared not breathe a desire to see it. Finally, with great misgivings, even with terror and trembling, he procured "the Greek and Latin Testament." He fled to his room, as a thief would fly to a place of concealment with stolen goods, shut himself up, and began to turn over the leaves of the forbidden book. The first words which his eyes caught were these: "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." "What!" exclaimed he; "St. Paul the chief of sinners, and St. Paul is sure of being saved." He read the passage over and over, and then exclaimed, "O assertion of St. Paul, how sweet thou art to my soul!"

He was melted down, and soon found his thirsty soul refreshed with the waters of life. He was never weary with reading the Scriptures; he felt their power and imbibed their spirit until he was seized with an intense desire to publish their doctrines to the world of perishing sinners. He commenced preaching salvation through Christ alone. He was opposed with the Romish dogmas, and he defended himself with the sword of the Spirit. On one occasion he listened to a famous orator, who undertook to prove that it is useless to preach conversion to sinners. He was filled with grief, and exclaimed, "Alas! for so many years that this deadly doctrine has been taught in Christendom not one man has dared to open his mouth against it." This bold language gave great offense to the priests, and they began to plot his ruin. He, retiring to his room, fell upon his knees, and called upon God to come to the help of his Church. Then, rising, he exclaimed with rapture: "A new time is

beginning. The Christian assembly is about to be renovated. Some one is coming unto us; I see him—I hear him; it is Jesus Christ. He is the King, and it is he who will call the true ministers, commissioned to evangelize the world."

Frith and Tyndale were led to Christ by the same process—studying the Scriptures and applying them to their own hearts without priestly intervention. Latimer heard the simple-minded, earnest Bilney, and was won over to "the new method of salvation," as it was called by the priests, and began to proclaim it with great fervor in his lectures and sermons.

True to her hellish instincts, Rome now undertook to quench this flame in blood. Her minions commenced their attacks at what they considered the weakest points. Thomas Man, an artisan, was condemned and burned alive on the 29th of March, 1519; and on the 4th of April five men and a poor widow were burned in Coventry, for teaching their children the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and the ten commandments, in English. Bilney was arrested, and for the time his faith was staggered. The priests prevailed upon him to sign a recantation; but the act harassed his conscience, until he thought nothing could atone for it but martyrdom. He resumed his public preaching, and was again arrested, and now he looked into the fire without alarm. In 1550, with many other noble confessors, Thomas Bilney fell before the cruel and blind zeal of Henry VIII., who, "father of the Reformation," as he is styled by Romish writers, sacrificed the noblest of the English Reformers upon the altar of popery.

Luther was now thundering in Germany, and his works were brought across the Channel and translated into English. Henry VIII. earnestly seconded the persecuting measures of the bishops, and undertook to break a spear with the great German reformer in the field of controversy. He wrote a book against Luther and the Reformation, for which he received from the pope the title of "Defender of the Faith," of which he was particularly proud, and which the Protestant sovereigns of England, with singular inconsistency, have retained.

There was now a loud call for a free circulation of the Scriptures in the English tongue, and a new English version was a desideratum. Wiclif's translation was made from the Vulgate, a version which, although it contains the substantial facts and principles of the original Scriptures, is nevertheless exceedingly defective. Besides this, the English language had undergone considerable changes since that translation was made; and, consequently, a translation, to be intelligible and acceptable, must be made in the improved style

of the language. Tyndale was a good Hebrew and Greek scholar, and he conceived the idea of bringing out the greatly needed new translation of the Bible. When he had made considerable progress in the undertaking, his patron and friend, who had harbored him and given him all necessary facilities for the prosecution of his work, found it impossible to secrete or protect him longer. While Vulcan was forging armor in his closet, Jove was preparing thunderbolts for his head. Tyndale now found means to escape to the continent, where, after the example of Luther at Wortburg, he closeted himself, and prosecuted his work with the greatest zeal. Frith followed Tyndale, and rendered him great assistance. The Bible was finally printed (first in parts, and then entire) in good English, translated from the Hebrew and Greek. The work was sent to England through some Dutch merchants who had trading houses in London, and was scattered everywhere. One edition followed another, and the utmost vigilance of the popish party was not sufficient to prevent them from being purchased and read. Tyndale was hunted by the pope's minions, but, assisted by good friends and God's gracious providence, he escaped them. He forged his weapons in Germany, and they did good service in England. The books were condemned, hunted, and burned; but still they multiplied. Tunstall, Bishop of London, purchased nearly a whole edition of them, and publicly burned them in London; and Tyndale used the money which he received for them from his printer to pay his debts and to bring out a more perfect edition.

Persecution was now fierce. The Bible, the "Gospelers," the readers of the Bible, and the hearers of the Gospel, were seized and burned upon the same pile; and yet Bibles, preachers, readers of the Bible, and hearers of the preaching, were multiplied, to the astonishment of the pope's myrmidons, and in defiance of the iron rod of old Harry, and the sleepless vigilance of his argus-eyed police.

Thus far the English Reformation had been carried on by the instrumentality of Englishmen. It was not an offshoot of the German plant. It had its origin in the exhumation of God's word, first by Wiclif, and then by Erasmus and Tyndale. It was an evident work of God, originating in no human policy, having no connection with governments, cabinets, or courts, and having little connection with the German movement. The English Reformation had an earlier origin than that of Germany, under Luther. The two movements were in the same direction, and originated in the same great necessities, but were not, as has been generally supposed, related as antecedent and sequence.

Let us next take a brief survey of the court of Henry VIII., and the movements prevailing there, which were destined to exert an important influence upon the Reformation. Wolsey was the son of a butcher at Ipswich. By the force of his talents and management, he succeeded in reaching the highest eminence both in Church and state; with the exception, that he was neither king nor pope. He was made Archbishop of York, he received from the pope a cardinal's hat, and was constituted the pope's legate, and he was Lord High Chancellor of England. In fact, Wolsey governed both the Church and the state, and having no need of a Parliament, none was convened during his administration. He lived in the greatest splendor, and amassed great wealth. His arrogance, and the magnificence of his equipage, made him hated by the people. He was a great favorite with the pope, and was courted and flattered by the crowned heads of Europe. The height of his ambition was the *tiara*, and to this end he labored and intrigued during the greater portion of his official life. When Leo X. died he fully expected to succeed him, but his plans were frustrated by the Emperor Charles V., who gave the weight of his influence to the Cardinal of Tortora, and he was consequently elected. Wolsey was outrageous, and swore vengeance.

Henry VIII. had married Catharine of Aragon, a Spanish princess, widow of his brother Arthur, and aunt to the Emperor Charles V. Wolsey, true to his vow, undertook to strike the emperor over the shoulders of Catharine. He accordingly suggested to Henry some pious doubts as to the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. He urged that, in case of his death, the legitimacy of the Princess Mary would be questioned, and this would involve the nation in imminent peril. This was the real origin of the famous question of "the divorce" which figures so largely in the history of the Reformation. It was a spite measure of Wolsey to punish the emperor for preventing his accession to the popedom. "The first terms of the divorce were put forward by me," said Wolsey to the French embassador. "I did it, to cause a lasting separation between the houses of England and Burgundy."

Wolsey well understood the temper of the king, and was not disappointed to find him susceptible at the particular point at which he made his attack. To prepare the way for the more speedy consummation of his nefarious scheme, he made an attempt to turn the attention of the king to Margaret of Valois, sister to Francis I., King of France. Henry set his face in another direction. The wily cardinal soon found that Anne Boleyn, no especial friend of his, was likely to succeed Queen Catharine. Henry revealed his "scru-

ples of conscience" to learned jurists and theologians, who generally gave him opinions according to his known wishes. After many fearful struggles of mind, and under infinite terror lest he should lose his soul for having married contrary to the Divine law, King Henry made an humble prayer to the pope for a decretal of divorce from Catharine. A messenger was dispatched by Catharine to the emperor, who immediately presented her remonstrance to the pope. The successor of St. Peter was now in deep trouble. He was so situated, that he had no alternative between offending Henry or Charles, and either was to him a very serious business. He shuddered at the consequences, whichever course he should pursue. Henry sent to Rome, upon this business, his most skillful diplomatists, and they plied the pope, first with entreaties and then with threats, until the supreme head of the Church was really almost distracted. "Would to God," said he, "that Catharine were in her grave! But, alas! she lives to be the apple of discord, dividing the two greatest monarchs, and the inevitable cause of the ruin of the popedom! Wretched man that I am! how cruel is my perplexity, and around me I can see nothing but horrible confusion." Henry's agents urged the Scripture argument against a man's marrying his brother's wife, and that the supreme head of the Church should do right, regardless of consequences. The pope replied: "I tell you again, I am ignorant of these matters. According to the maxims of the canon law, the pope carries all laws in the tablets of his heart, but, unfortunately, God has never given me the key that opens them." When he was told that the king would proceed without him; he sighed, and wiped his eyes, exclaiming: "Would to God that I were dead!"

What a spectacle! The wearer of the triple crown quails, and trembles, and weeps like a child, when pressed, as his advocates say, to violate his *conscience!* What a vicar of Christ this! Shades of the martyrs! behold this glorious successor of St. Peter suffering a lingering martyrdom for conscience' sake, and give him your sympathies.

The pope finally thought he saw a little light upon the subject of the divorce. Charles V. and Francis I., King of France, were at war, and the French arms were victorious. As matters now shaped, the ruin of the emperor's cause in Italy was probable. The plan now pressed by the anxious Henry was "a *commission*" appointed by the pope to hear the cause in England, and the pope's decretal sanctioning "the judgment." This was not quite the thing for Gardiner, Henry's envoy, as the pope might at any moment annul the judgment, or, indeed, never give it his sanction. Finally, the pope

was pressed into the measure of signing the decretal, and dispatching Cardinal Campeggio to England. The nuncio was instructed to keep the decretal a secret, to move tardily, and watch the progress of events. Campeggio set off for England, and being old and infirm, he proceeded slowly. Before he had left the Continent the fortunes of the war turned in favor of the emperor, and the pope sent a messenger after his nuncio with orders to destroy the decretal, which was accordingly done. Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey were appointed by the pope to examine and decide the momentous question. The court was finally opened, and the parties appeared. Catharine protested against the jurisdiction of the court, and appealed to the pope. One adjournment succeeded another, and the sessions of the dignified judges amounted to nothing. The pope's nuncio was true to his instructions, and he resisted all the solicitations of the king and Wolsey to publish the pope's decretal, and make an end of the matter; for they saw that the cunning old fox was merely killing time, under the pope's secret instructions. They knew not, however, that the decretal had been consigned to the flames.

The pope finally had determined upon his measures. He could not offend the emperor with safety to his rule or even his person, and he resolved to decline granting the divorce, when he could no longer stave off the question. The nuncio was urged by Henry to "restore peace to his troubled conscience," and he promised to "deliver judgment in five days." When that time had expired the court was opened, and all was expectation. The king and his nobles were present. The legates of the holy see were upon their seats. The nuncio arose with great deliberation and dignity, and said: "The general vacation of the harvest and vintage being observed every year by the court of Rome, dating from to-morrow, the 24th of July, the beginning of the dog-days, we adjourn to some future period the conclusion of these pleadings." The audience was thunderstruck. "A high hope and a low having," sure enough. The faithful nuncio, but hypocritical judge, returned to his master to receive the commendation which his fidelity to the holy see had earned.

Henry VIII. now gave up all hope of aid from the pope, and resolved to take another course. He was in the mean time summoned to appear at Rome for the trial of the cause. This summons he treated with contempt. He submitted the question of his divorce to the universities, and took his course in defiance of papal thunder. The breach was complete. Henry assumed the headship of the Church in England, took possession of the immense treasures hoarded up in the monasteries, and deprived the pope's faithful

servants of their honors and emoluments. Wolsey fell into disgrace, and died with anguish, and thus, it is presumed, escaped the block.

The English mind had become thoroughly disgusted with the chicanery and intrigues of the court of Rome in the divorce case, and, in a manner, had become finally reconciled to a proceeding which at first was decidedly unpopular. The principles of the Reformation had taken deep hold of the popular mind. Notwithstanding the ceaseless vigilance of the persecuting bishops and priests, the Scriptures were read in the private rooms of the universities, in the garrets and cellars of the laboring classes, and were working as leaven in the meal. Henry now saw himself in a false position, renouncing his allegiance to the pope, and yet burning and beheading Protestants. The leading Protestant doctors now came into favor, and the interests of Rome declined. Cranmer was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops and priests who refused to give in their adherence to the king's supremacy, either left the kingdom or were committed to the Tower.

The Romish writers say that the English Reformation was a mere political change effected by Henry VIII., in resentment, because the pope had too much conscience to grant him a divorce from his lawful wife. He once heard Archbishop Hughes make this statement. A more outrageous falsehood was never uttered. In the first place, be it known, that the Reformation was fully established in the English mind long before the pope's decision in the divorce case, and achieved its triumphs in spite of the persecuting policy of the papacy, seconded by the power of the crown. In the second place, it must not be forgotten that, according to his own confession, the divorce was first proposed by Cardinal Wolsey, the pope's legate, and, in fact, the greatest man in the Church of Rome, only inferior in office and position to the pope himself. Thirdly, let it be understood, that the pope had no conscience about it. If Charles V. had been driven from Italy by the arms of Francis I., and had thus lost his power over the see of Rome, the divorce would have been proclaimed in the Vatican with great solemnity, without the delay of a week. And how came his holiness so far to tamper with his conscience as to cause to be drawn up, and duly executed, a decretal, declaring the divorce, and to authorize its publication in England upon certain contingencies which were then likely to occur? "The pope too much conscience!" Sorrows of Werter! How many divorces have the popes granted without the least theological or moral reason whatever? What contract is so sacred that they have not annulled it? What social tie have they not rup-

tured? What law of God or man have they not trampled upon? Talk of the pope's *conscience!* A pope can have no conscience. Satan himself has a conscience as much as any pope of Rome for the last thousand years.

Henry VIII. died in 1546, and his son by Jane Seymour, a mere child, succeeded him, taking the name of Edward VI. The prince was educated under Protestant influences, and was in all respects a remarkable youth. He promoted the Reformation, causing the service of the Church of England to be established by act of Parliament. That beautiful prayer which has been adopted and poured forth from thousands upon thousands of pious hearts, was composed by him: "Cleanse thou the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee and worthily magnify thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Edward always had a feeble constitution, and died in 1553, having reigned seven years. Had he been physically as vigorous as his father, and lived as long, the Church of England would have been established upon a more liberal and evangelical footing. That Church has never been so purely *Protestant* as it was during Edward's short reign.

Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catherine of Aragon, succeeded Edward VI.; and, notwithstanding she had given pledges in advance that she would not disturb the existing order of things, she turned over the kingdom to the pope, recalled the Romish bishops, and deprived the Reformers. In 1554, under the promptings of the infamous Bonner, she commenced a furious persecution, in which Hooper, Ferrar, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer were burned at the stake in Smithfield. Many others, among whom were men and women in common life, received the crown of martyrdom under this reign. These sanguinary proceedings procured for this queen the just but unenviable title of "Bloody Mary." Thanks to a merciful Providence, her reign was short. Five years terminated her career of blood.

Smithfield, whence the noble martyrs above referred to went to heaven, was afterward, and until recently, a cattle-market in the midst of London. In1846 we visited the scene of the fearful tragedies enacted under the reign of Catholic Mary, with feelings of mingled pleasure and pain. Thank God, the days of persecution in the British Isles have passed, as we trust, never to return.

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn, succeeded Mary, and was crowned in 1558. Elizabeth expelled the papacy, and restored the Reformation. She repealed all the popish laws which had been enacted under the reign of Mary, and established

her own supremacy over the Church. By a bull of Pius V. she was deprived of her kingdom, and her subjects absolved from their allegiance to her government. Her Tudor spirit did not quail under the pope's anathemas, but flung them back upon his head, and lashed his treacherous vassals out of her dominions. Elizabeth was a lover of learning, and having given herself to study during her imprisonment under the reign of Mary, she had mastered five or six languages. The Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, as at present found, were settled during her reign. Numerous feuds and many executions grew out of the pope's bull of privation and anathema. Elizabeth made no compromise with popish rebels, but they, with their schemes, were dashed to pieces with little ceremony. She administered the government for *forty-five* years, and attained a high rank among the crowned heads of Europe.

Two types of opinions were associated in the English Church, which still remain there. One is the High Church, or Romish type; and the other is the Low Church, or Puritan type. The first is represented by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Sancroft; and the second by Cranmer, Jewell, Hooker, Burnet, Stillingfleet, and others. The ultra spirits of the High Church party became Romanists, while the ultras of the other party became Dissenters. Jewell considered the particular form of Church government a matter for the Church to determine, and he held to episcopacy, and revived episcopal ordination, upon that principle, while he declared the Romish Church to be antichrist. The English Church is like the Shunammite in the Songs: there is seen in her as it were "the company of two armies."

The English Church has been called "the bulwark of Protestantism." As Protestantism becomes a state institution this is just; but as Protestantism is a principle, and a form of spiritual life, it is not true. The principle and vital power of Protestantism constitute but a minor portion of the composition of the English Church. Protestantism is in England, and potent for good there; but its exponent is to be found in the evangelical Churches. The Church of England is more of a state institution than it is a Protestant Church. Its heterogeneous materials never can unite, and it is crippled by its connection with the government, and especially by the royal supremacy. It contains both papists and Puritans, and they are eternal antagonisms.

Separating the royal and parliamentary acts establishing the regimen of the English Church, from the great moral and doctrinal revolutions which were their antecedents, instead of being their fruits or results, it is plain enough that the English Reformation was not

the creature of Henry VIII., or of any other merely human agency; but was one of the great demonstrations of evangelism intervening between the day of pentecost and the millennium.

Art. IV.—WHITTIER'S POEMS.

The Poems of John Greenleaf Whittier. Two volumes, 32mo., pp. 320, 304. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1857.

Here are two neat volumes, bound in tasteful blue and gold, and handsomely printed by one of the most judicious of Boston publishing houses. They contain, it is true, but little that has not before been presented to the reading public in other forms; almost all of the poems in them having been read and weighed long ago, either in other volumes or in the periodical literature of the day. Yet the publication of this many times read and often quoted poetry, in this eye-pleasing form, is a just tribute to the noble-minded author, one of the most truly affectioned and most genuinely inspired poets of modern times. The books, and their binding, their types, paper, and bodily presence, are an honor to the worshipful bookmaking craft of Boston. The writings of Whittier are on such topics, and in such a spirit, as are best suited to the demands of an age like the present. These volumes gather them all, and bind them in as neat a setting as gems could desire; "apples of gold in pictures of silver."

Whittier was born in 1808, in Amesbury, Massachusetts, on the banks of the then idle and rural, but now the busy and city-studded, though still sweet and picturesque Merrimack; a river which these poems fitly celebrate. He is a bachelor, tall and spare; of delicate health; of simple, unostentatious habits; of disposition retiring, even to bashfulness; an ardent lover of nature and of human goodness; a bold admirer of radical freedom of thought, and strict law-abiding acting; a most hearty hater of all cant, hypocrisy, meanness, and illiberality; and an enthusiastic asserter, and a fearless, untiring defender of the inalienable rights of conscience and human liberty. He has written on almost everything, from religion to business, and even the petty details of town politics, and on all these topics he has written in prose and rhyme. His pen has been at all times in his ink-horn, ready to obey the dictates of its master's great and loving heart. And it has been kept busy, writing for the party, the

literary, and the reform newspapers of the age, and for the anniversaries of numerous associations of enthusiastic philanthropists, and the meetings of charitable societies of honest and benevolent women, who labor and pray for the coming of the better time. He has written in honor of the memory of the noble dead, who suffered for truth and freedom in other days, and on topics of current literary and critical interest; deeming, very justly, no subject too humble for his notice, if the attention of men was so aroused as that, upon it, a true and hearty word could be said, which should readily command for itself a patient and a promising hearing. Almost every day, therefore, notwithstanding his feebleness of body, he has sent out a little waif—always with a glowing torch in it—to float its moment, its hour, or its year, upon the disturbed waters of the times, to please the weary watchers for the promises of the coming day, or to light a little space on the gloomy abyss, and guide some one, endangered by the vicinity of cruel rocks, in the direction of safety.

These fragments, for they are hardly more, though made of diamond, are in all its forms; now well polished, and now rough; noble poems at one time, and little more than doggerels at another; essays, tales, novels, odes, sketches, criticisms, biographies, tirades, philippics, orations almost, and almost epics in spirit and conceptions, at least, if not in execution. They touch, of course, on almost every subject of moral interest; but the key-note of nearly all is found in intense hatred both of civil and ecclesiastical oppression and intolerance; in keen and enthusiastic love for nature, truth, right, justice, and freedom; and they display shrewd and patient observation of all the varying moods of nature and humanity. In the literary world Whittier is sometimes regarded as exclusively an anti-slavery poet; yet, among all our American writers of verse, there is not another who better knows nature in all her grandeur and beauty, in all her whims of smile and frown, of peace and strife; who can so heartily sympathize with man in all his trials and aspirations, in all his hopes and fears, in all his agonies and exultations; and who can better describe the varying glories of landscape and season, and better speak the emotions and struggles of the great soul of the race. And his poetry, though bristling with epithets of bitterest denunciation of human bondage and cruel wrong, though burning with almost implacable ire against the practices of Churchmen and statesmen, who fear to utter the true word, or cower to speak the false, has still little that is offensive to any one who hears in it the great cry of human want and woe, and who sympathizes with and admires unflinching courage and noble, heroic devotion to principle.

This collection, called complete, contains separate pieces that count one hundred and ninety-five. They are of divers lengths, from forty pages to less than half of one. They are on a vast variety of topics, many apparently discordant, but all full of lyric fire, tender sweetness, or holy faith. They touch all the keys in the great diapason of song, from the grand anthem of "Peace on earth, good will to man," to the humble song that requites the simple gift of a flower. And while it is safe to say, that it would be tiresome to read them all consecutively, it would by no means be untrue to say that not one is here, that may not, at the proper time, be read with great delight and profit. These poems are grouped together in the volumes, very properly, under several distinct heads, according to their evident design and purpose, or with reference to the topics of which they treat. Thus we have in the opening two of the longer poems, which are tales of the early times of New-England; then a family of ten poems, entitled "Legendary;" following which are thirty-eight, called "The Voices of Freedom;" and last in the first volume, a crowd of some thirty or more, named "Miscellaneous." The second volume contains "The Songs of Labor," "The Chapel of the Hermits," "The Panorama," Ballads, and several groups of Miscellaneous. Some of these divisions are too well known to need any formal introduction to any class of readers. It may not, however, be amiss to analyze them more at large.

By the Songs of Freedom Whittier has been more widely known than by any other of his writings; and in any notice of him and his poems, these very properly may be first commented on. These pieces were written at different times during the discussion of the question of Slavery in New-England, from 1833 to 1849, when they were first collected and published together. They are in many respects the poet's best verses, and many of the miscellaneous poems might be classed among them. They are spirited, are often smooth in versification, sweet in diction, harmonious in rhythm, and contain many of his most vividly sketched and most appropriately colored descriptions. The opening of the poem entitled, "Toussaint l'Overture," is rich and luxuriant almost beyond imagination. It describes a scene of tropical moonlight, such as sinks into the soul, and fills it with a sense of beauty too deep for words. The ability to sketch a broad landscape with a word or an epithet, in the hurried generalizing manner of Sir Walter Scott, is seen in parts of the "World's Convention, and in the "Crisis." In this division, too, are some of his most stirring appeals, as in "The Song of the Free;" and some of his most tender and sympathetic verses, as in the "Farewell—A Slave Mother's Lament over her Daughters;"

and in the "Slaves of Martinique," certainly one of the noblest songs of deathless love and devotion to duty in any language. But the chief excellence of these Songs of Freedom is their elevated moral tone, and the grandeur of their faith in God and his eternal truth and justice, in the midst of the most complete seeming of triumph of wrong and oppression, and even in the failure of all hitherto made attempts to awaken men to a sense of their accountability, and to induce them to remember the truth and to do the right. The grandeur, the dignity, and hardships attendant on the discussion of the practical, every-day sins and wrongs of the world, and the long-waiting, dreary discouragements, and disheartening conflicts of opinion, in any moral warfare, as compared with the severest military and revolutionary struggles of any people, are thus sung in a poem entitled, "*The Moral Warfare.*"

"When Freedom, on her natal day,
Within her war-rock'd cradle lay,
An iron race around her stood,
Baptized her infant brows in blood;
And, through the storm which round her swept,
Their constant ward and watching kept.

"Then, where our quiet herds repose,
The roar of baleful battle rose,
And brethren of a common tongue
To mortal strife as tigers sprung,
And every gift on Freedom's shrine
Was man for beast, and blood for wine.

"Our fathers to their graves have gone;
Their strife is past—their triumph won;
But sterner trials wait the race
Which rises in their honor'd place—
A moral warfare with the crime
And folly of an evil time.

"So let it be. In God's own might
We gird us for the coming fight,
And, strong in Him whose cause is ours,
In conflict with unholy powers,
We grasp the weapons he has given—
The Light, and Truth, and Love of Heaven!"

Vol. i, p. 156.

This division glows with the fire of an ardent and loving sympathy with the labors of the great and good men who have been freedom's champions and her forlorn hope, in her almost reckless attempts upon the bustling citadels of error in all ages. Whittier can feel as they felt, and can speak those feelings as hardly another can. He thus recalls to the recollection of mankind their names

and deeds, covered, indeed, with its own appropriate glory; but still a glory that only anointed eyes can see, till it has been told in words, and by these words he causes the full blaze of a beacon-light to shine out of their ashes to illuminate the dark places of the present, and to irradiate the pathway of ages yet to come. The "Pean," written in 1848, is full of spirit and life, and well illustrates this thought. Its touching and hopeful charity is also worthy of note. It speaks thus of the unselfish lives and the strong courage in death of those who have labored to renovate the earth; but who have passed away before the seed they had sown sprang up from the bloody, war-torn soil where they had scattered it in night and gloom.

> "They died—their brave hearts breathing slow—
> But self-forgetful to the last,
> In words of cheer and bugle blow
> Their breath upon the darkness past."

But when the morning comes, there comes a change; and thus hopefully is a truth of deep significance beautifully spoken:

> "Like mists before the growing light,
> The battle cohorts melt away;
> Our frowning foemen of the night
> Are brothers at the dawn of day!"

Vol. i, pp. 203, 204.

The "Lines suggested by a visit to the City of Washington, in the 12th month, 1845," form a grand poem. They are not cast in the best mold for poetic grace, though the stanza is one capable, beyond almost any other, of carrying a burden of meaning. The long line at the end of each verse interrupts the easy flow and melody of the poetry, though it might be difficult to decide, whether it is the ponderous sentiment or the tardy measure that seems to fetter the verse. The poet stands near the Capitol, and looks over the "half-built town," in the cold moonlight of a winter evening, and as he gazes down on the prison and the gay houses, he hears a voice, still and silent to other ears, and thus makes it audible and powerful to the ear of mankind:

> "'To thy duty now and ever!
> Dream no more of rest or stay!
> Give to Freedom's great endeavor
> All thou hast and art to-day!'
> Thus above the city's murmur saith a voice, or seems to say.

"O, my brothers! O, my sisters!
Would to God that ye were near,
Gazing with me down the vistas
Of a sorrow strange and drear;
Would to God that ye would listen to the voice I seem to hear!

"With the storm above us driving,
With the false earth moved below—
Who shall marvel if thus striving
We have counted friend for foe!
Unto one another giving, in the darkness, blow for blow.

"Be it so. It should not swerve us
From a purpose true and brave;
Dearer Freedom's rugged service
Than the portion of the slave;
Better is the storm above it than the quiet of the grave.

"Let us then uniting, bury
All our idle feuds in dust,
And to future conflicts carry
Mutual faith and common trust;
Always, he who most forgiveth in his brother, is most just."

Vol. i, pp. 192–4.

"The Curse of the Charter Breakers" is as fine in conception as it is sweet in melody, and strong in language and thought. It describes the old ceremony that twice a year took place in the great hall of Westminster, when the bishops, in presence of the king and lords, pronounced the curse of excommunication against the man who should infringe the liberties granted by MAGNA CHARTA. After the description, it goes on to proclaim, in words like those of the old prophets, the duty of the priesthood.

"Tell me not that this must be:
God's true priest is always free;
Free, the needed truth to speak,
Right the wrong'd, and raise the weak.

"His to work as well as pray,
Clearing thorny wrongs away;
Plucking up the weeds of sin,
Letting heaven's warm sunshine in."—Vol. i, p. 213.

But the most touching, and tenderest of all, is "The Slaves of Martinique." It must be read more than once to be fully appreciated; but when understood it tells a sublime lesson to the hearts of all.

"God is Love, saith the Evangel; and our world of woe and sin
Is made light and happy only, when a Love is shining in."

Vol. i, p. 215.

If any one can read the above-named poems, or the "Crisis," written at the conclusion of our late war with Mexico, with dry eyes and unmoved heart, he is by no means to be envied; and if he does

not become a better man all his days thereafter for that reading, and feel his body grow stronger and his blood flow faster, he is not made of that sort of clay which enters into the composition of most men, and of the best men too. Many of these "Songs of Freedom" have been sung all over the country, at elections, mass meetings, anniversaries, and at social concerts; and they have contributed largely to stir the hearts of the young to desire and to labor for a better day in our political affairs. They have thrilled chords in many an American heart, that still vibrate to their self-denying strains, and still echo all their solemn spirit of daring, and their determination both to be free, and free only, in following the dictates of truth and righteousness. Their effect has been almost as magical (though, in the cool calculating Yankee, its manifestations are very different from what they were in the excitable Frenchman) as that of the wonderful Marseillaise. Their mission is not yet fully accomplished. They are on the most exciting topics of this or any other age, and they are among the best songs ever written on topics, in one sense seeming so temporary and of such momentary interest. The secret of their worth and power under such circumstances, is found partly in the insight of the poet to discover in these occasions and incidents a deeper significance than other men see, and in his skill to reveal by words that significance to the eyes of all. It is the sculptor's power, so often alluded to, of finding the perfect form and features of a goddess, in the shapeless block of marble; and his ability to chip off all extraneous matter, and let the divine excellence stand forth for itself. Thus, in every incident of business, in every accident of life, the poet sees something divine, and carefully scales off all that encumbers that divinity, and permits it to be revealed in all its transcendent loveliness.

> "'Tis his, the seer-like power to show
> The secrets of the heart and mind;
> To drop the plummet line below
> Our common world of joy and woe,
> A more intense despair or brighter hope to find."
>
> Vol. i. Dedication.

And although Whittier may deny that he has this power, yet its effect is everywhere visible, throughout all the pages of these songs. And it fills them with a stirring life and magnetic fire that rouse the soul and elevate the moral courage of mankind, as do the notes of the bugle the hearts of a mountain-bred soldiery, when, in the clear air of morning, their echoes play and shout among the beetling crags. As those bugle tones wake all the sleeping tongues of grot and hillside, of rock and vale, and make the whole heaven and earth vocal with redoubled harmonies, so do these soul-inspiring poems

awaken answering voices in millions of hearts, before seemingly silent and dead to the noble harmonies and sublime melodies of love and freedom. Yet, as those echoes cannot be immortal, but must soon fade and die by their own repetition, so these songs cannot always live. The occasions that called them forth must be forgotten, and finally will be erased from the ever-diminishing catalogue of human record; and with this erasure, in many cases, will the song sink into forgetfulness. Still, however, if both the notes of the poet's silver bugle and the answering echoes it has aroused in the hearts of men shall all perish, and even be forgotten, the influences and the forces these have warmed into life in the world will never so perish. From soul to soul this blessed contagion of love and energetic zeal for the holy cause of freedom shall spread, till the last man shall stand in lone despair, or in rapt triumph, on the verge of time's furthest precipice; and even beyond the dismal flood the power and affection here rekindled by them shall labor and glow forever and forever.

It is, however, when Whittier leaves these high and exciting themes, and turns to the tender rehearsal of New England traditions, of Indian wars and Puritan persecutions, and to the description of New England scenery and customs; when he comes to the remembrance of old Quaker legends of bold defiance of power, and of calm, uncomplaining endurance of wrong, he at once abandons all the chanting tones of hortatory sanctimoniousness, and sings and speaks so naturally and so truthfully, that not only saints respond, but even the heart of universal humanity admires. Set him down among the maples of the Merrimack, the oaks of the Amoskeag, or the pines of the Saco; let him wander anywhere in Maine, with her ocean bays, her inland-opening rivers, and her lumber-giving forests; in New Hampshire, with her snow-mantled mountains, and her cloud-fed streams, accumulating power to drive the weaver's shuttle; or in eastern Massachusetts, with her fresh, corn-clad hills, and her fresher traditions of haughty protest against hoary power; and, altogether forgetting the arts of the politician, as well as the drawl and snuffle of the self-conscious philanthropist, he becomes the poet of nature, and sings with a freedom of manner and voice such as characterizes the thrush, which warbles, not because he has been asked to enchant the grove, or because he particularly desires to entertain the neighborhood, but because the sunshine warms the love and music in his soul, and makes them bubble forth in an irrepressible stream of melody. The poems more specially referred to now, are those contained in the first part of each volume, and the miscellaneous pieces scattered throughout the collection; and they

make frequent allusion to those thoughts which are the common seed, as well as the "common soil of song," and which "bloom the wide world over," boyhood's early home and love, and nature's "immortal freshness" and varying beauty. Here he permits the great and unutterable voices of nature, love, human sympathy, and fellowship, to sing themselves in good old English words, the best adapted to poetry, because the best and most speedily understood by the people, and because they do, in fact, bear in themselves a part of the very life and soul of that people. In this division are "The Bridal of Pennacook," and "Mogg Megone," the two longest pieces in the volumes, and the two, apparently, least valued by the author himself.

The Bridal of Pennacook is strictly an Indian legend, and is, in form, a series of pictures and incidents, all having reference to the marriage of the daughter of Passiconnaway, chief and conjurer, or bashaba, of the Pentucket Indians, who dwelt on the Merrimack, in New-Hampshire, to Winneparkit, sachem of the Saugus tribe, who dwelt on the sea-shore to the east of Boston. These pictures are strung together very loosely, though naturally, by connecting them with the history of the maiden who was the Bride of Pennacook. This is the history and plan.

The poet and four companions—two brothers, one a lawyer, the other a clergyman, and a merchant with his daughter—have been wandering among the White Mountains, and are detained by a storm in an excellent inn in Conway. The poet reads an Indian tradition,

> "A story of the marriage of the chief
> Of Saugus to the dusky Westamoo;
> * * * * * * *
> The fair one, in the playful exercise
> Of her prerogative—the right divine
> Of youth and beauty—bade us versify
> The legend."

This the poet proceeds to do in a series of beautiful descriptive songs. First he sings "The Merrimack:"

> "The child of that white-crested mountain, whose springs
> Gush forth in the shade of the cliff-eagle's wings."

Next he sings the "Bashaba," whose wigwam is thus set before us:

> "Roof of bark and walls of pine,
> Through whose chinks the sunbeams shine,
> Tracing many a golden line
> On the ample floor within,

Where, upon the earth-floor stark,
Lay the gaudy mats of bark,
With the bear's skin, rough and dark,
And the red deer's hide.

"Window tracery, small and slight,
Woven of the willow white,
Lent a dimly-checker'd light,
And the night-stars glimmer'd down,
Where the lodge-fire's heavy smoke,
Slowly through the opening broke,
In the low roof, ribb'd with oak,
Sheathed with hemlock brown."

After relating the wonderful tales of the might and power of this bashaba, who could do all things, according to the current tradition among the Indians of the wilderness, he thus proceeds to speak of the power of a resolute will:

"Still, to such, life's elements
With their sterner laws dispense,
And the chain of consequence
Broken in their pathway lies,
Time and change their vassals making,
Flowers from icy pillows waking,
Tresses of the sunrise shaking
Over midnight skies.

"Still, to earnest souls, the sun
Rests on tower'd Gibeon,
And the moon of Ajalon
Lights the battle-ground of life;
To his aid the strong reverses,
Hidden powers of giant forces,
And the high stars in their courses,
Mingle in his strife."—Vol. i, pp. 12, 13.

Another rhyme very enthusiastically sings the "Daughter" of the bashaba; how, when her mother was dead, she grew up to be her father's only joy, a light-hearted Indian maiden, simple and in sympathy with nature:

"Enough for her to be
Of common, natural things a part;
To feel, with bird, and stream, and tree,
The pulses of the same great heart."

But with all her fondness for her cold, stern father and for nature, there

"Rose on the ground of her young dreams
The light of a new home—the lover and the wife!"

Wherefore the next pearl of the string commemorates the "Wedding," in a very tripping, hurried measure, full of liquid Indian names. It sings the feast and the dance in a spirit worthy of the

olden time. Then comes the "New Home" on the sea-shore, where, instead of mountain and waterfalls, the bride saw

> "A wild and broken landscape, spiked with firs;"

yet her woman's heart was content with the cold love of her stern warrior husband, and her affection throve still,

> "As o'er some granite wall,
> Soft ivy leaves open to the morning dew
> And warm bright sun, the love of that young wife
> Found on a hard, cold breast the dew and warmth of life."

But when spring came the bashaba, who had pined the winter through, sent for his daughter to visit his wigwam. Winneparkit sent her with a brave escort, but was too proud to go for her when Passaconnaway sent to tell him the visit was done. So she remained, joyless, among the summer flowers and autumn fruits of her childhood-home. All this is told in a song, "At Pennacook." During the winter, too, she sighed for her new home; and when spring snows were melting, and spring floods were plowing the mountains, her heart can no longer restrain her purpose, and she takes her "Departure," in her frail canoe, down the freshet-swollen Merrimack. The canoe is found whirling idly in an eddy, and the Indian women sing their sad "Lament:"

> "We shall hear thee or see thee no more!"

Such is the brief and imperfect outline of a very sweet story of that olden time which we would gladly remember more of, but which is fast fading from the sight of history. May it never fade from the imagination of poesy! Had Whittier written more on such topics, and introduced a greater variety of incidents, as he undoubtedly has power to do, he might have been more widely beloved as a poet; but he could hardly have been so influential as a teacher of truth or so highly valued as a friend and helper of humanity.

"Mogg Megone" is a poem written, says the author, "in early life; and its subject is not such as he would have chosen at any subsequent period." The design is simply to describe early New-England scenery and incidents. While, therefore, the story is of no account, the descriptions are very fine, and painted with the enthusiasm of an artist. With such a purpose in view, the incidents may be very common, and even indifferent, and the whole structure may be as rude as the wigwam of the Indian described. All a lover of good poetry will ask is, that the pictures hung up in it shall be such

as would be prized anywhere, in a temple or in a church. To be sure, men do not build a cabin to hang pictures in, and this is probably why the author is disposed to undervalue this tale. It is, however, to be judged not as a whole thing, but as a series of descriptive poems, connected by the accident of having reference to a particular locality; and the poem should be held sacred as long as it holds some of the most lovely paintings of New-England scenery. There is no plot or art about the thing, for it is the old tale of maiden innocence and unsophisticated trustfulness, of womanly, self-forgetting passion, betrayed and deserted, turned to gall and wormwood, and bursting out into demoniac desire for revenge. An Indian chief, Mogg Megone, is hired to destroy the seducer. When the deed is accomplished and the scalp is laid at her feet, all the maiden's love returns, and in revenge, she, with her own hand, kills the chief, who was intimately connected with the plots of the French for the extirpation of the English settlers from that coast. Ruth Bonython then becomes mad, and wanders forth in the forests alone; and finally, after confessing her crimes to a priest, and being spurned by him on account of his disappointed hopes, she dies beneath a maple, on the banks of a stream, just when the trees are putting forth leaves, and the birds are building nests and filling the grove with their melody. The various characters that figure in the story are not numerous. Ruth and her father, an outlawed Englishman, Mogg Megone, the Catholic priest, and Boomazeen, another Indian chief, if indeed a company of soldiers, who are described rather than introduced, be excepted, are all whom we see or hear. Almost any other story would have answered the same purpose as this, though few would have suited so well to the wild, wierd scenery to be described; rough and rugged rocks, fretted by foaming streams and overhung by somber pines and wierd spruce, are well adapted to the unnatural passions bred by the outlaw in the bosom of his companionless daughter, and to the fierce conflicts of rival settlers with the untamed natives. And then the versification is in varied measure, now sweeping in a galloping pace through long lines of anapestics, and then tripping in nimble trochees; weaving rhymes in all possible patterns, and tying the whole into one brilliant piece of antique tapestry, making light and beautiful pictures of scenery on the dark and gloomy ground of the melancholy tale. Hear the song of forest worship, and see this picture, while the Indian chief, still bloody with the murder of the betrayer of innocence, and the outlawed Bonython, even now plotting the death of that Indian and the plunder of his lands, are together seeking the girl whom the father has promised to that chief as his bride:

"Quickly glancing to and fro,
Listening to each sound, they go
Round the column of the pine,
  Indistinct in shadow seeming,
Like some old and pillar'd shrine;
With the soft and white moonshine,
Round the foliage-tracery shed,
Of each column's branching head,
  For its lamps of worship gleaming!
And the sounds awaken'd there,
  In the pine leaves, fine and small,
  Soft and sweetly musical,
By the fingers of the air,
For the anthem's dying fall
Lingering round some temple's wall!
Niche and cornice round and round
Wailing like the ghost of sound!
Is not nature's worship thus
  Ceaseless ever, going on?
Hath it not a voice for us
  In the thunder, or the tone
Of the leaf-harp faint and small,
  Speaking to the unseal'd ear
  Words of blended love and fear,
Of the mighty soul of all?"—Vol. i, p. 35.

The first part, in which lies the chief part of the dramatic action and incident, closes with the death of the chief. The second part opens with a gorgeous scene of Indian Summer, on the coasts of Maine, with her thousand islands reflected in the restless waves of ocean. The maiden meets the priest in a rude wilderness chapel, and makes her confession and asks absolution, which the priest, hearing the name of the murdered chieftain, denies; and she wanders again in sadness and loneliness, bearing her own burden, which no hand but one can lift. The third and last part tells how Norridgewock was taken in battle by the English, and plundered; and how the girl wandered, and at last was found by a band of soldiers, sleeping beneath the maple that long calm sleep that knows no waking.

Following Mogg Megone is the division called "Legendary," consisting of short poems, mostly relating to Indian legends and Quaker traditions. And these are just such poems as a descendant of the Newbury witches, bred up a farmer boy, ought to write when grown to be a man, among the posterity of the old Salem Quakers; and they will thrill many a heart that burns with the hate of oppression. Cassandra Southwick is just such another hymn in spirit as the Hebrew children might have sung after their deliverance from the fire; and is such as the persecuted of all ages have delighted in when their foes have been baffled and overthrown by the might of the Lord. "The Fountain" is clear as crystal itself, and grateful as

the living waters that flow from the springs of Helicon. It would be almost a sacrilege to break it for quotation.

The second volume opens with the "Songs of Labor," six in number, introduced with a very appropriate dedication, in which the poet makes excuse for these humble lays, as he is pleased to call them. Beauty, he says, is its own excuse; but the weed must show a healing virtue, and the ore a use, if they would be honored.

> "So haply these, my simple lays
> Of homely toil, may serve to show
> The orchard bloom and tassel'd maize
> That skirt and gladden duty's way,
> The unsung beauty hid life's common things below!"
>
> Vol. ii, Dedication.

Very spiritedly are these verses sung. But they reveal what cannot always be denied to be a fault of Whittier. They are too long for songs, and too short for tales or essays. A song must be very short, or it cannot be remembered and sung with spirit and vigor. It must be apt for quotation, and full of common feelings and sentiment. It will not do to fill it with learning, or to drape it in a robe of figurative language, not, at the same time, the language of every-day life. The length of these Songs of Labor might very appropriately have given to them the name of Ballads, and under that title they would have been more rightly ranged. "The Ship-builders," however, is a noble ode, and deserves a much more extended reputation and use than it has. And "The Huskers" is a beautiful New-England pastoral. It is really too beautiful for the place in which it stands. Read it, and see how an autumn day and its farm labor can be described. In its simple, sweet old English, there is such a picture of a whole day, morning, noon, and evening, as scarcely another book can show. And the song which

> "The master of the village school, sleek of hair and smooth of tongue,
> To the quaint tune of some old psalm, a husking ballad sung,"

is a glorious anthem of exultation and praise. It is devoutly to be wished that the youth of the nation might learn this by heart and prize it as it deserves. It would do more for making frugal, honest, industrious, fearless men than half the colleges in the land without it.

In this second volume are two other poems of more length and pretensions, "The Chapel of the Hermits" and "The Panorama." The first of these is designed as a plea of holy charity for those who differ from us in opinion and in practice, and as a lesson of faith

or confidence in the final triumph of right and truth; and it is in spirit as sweet as the voice of an angel, and as soothing as the love of a seraph. It has many fine passages of power, but the quotations have already been too much multiplied. The second is a contrast, bold, striking, and truthful, between "a land of the free and a home of the brave," and a country cursed with the crime, the weakness, and the cowardice of the slave. It is the one topic on which Whittier becomes inspired with fiereeness and anger; and it would be very unjust to say that he does not well to be angry. For "in all his madness" on this subject, "there is a method" and a power of earnest truthfulness that make the verse carry the hearts of men on the boiling tide of its song.

Here, also, are several "Ballads," a form of poetry as natural to the English soil and language as was the pastoral to the Greek of old. The bare mention of these, at this distance from our starting point, must suffice. Two of them relate to the olden days of Indian warfare, and contain the record of the patient waiting and longing remembrance of those who are far away in the forest, either stolen or engaged in the perilous warfare, and very sweetly do they sing these ideas. One, Maud Muller, is only the rehearsal of a common wayside meeting that may occur any day, but which stamps its impress on hearts that ever after remember and sigh "those saddest of words, 'It might have been!'" But the most touching, the simplest, and the one most in the spirit and manner of the old English ballads, is "Kathleen," which relates the mournful tale of a sweet Irish maid, sold by a cruel mother-in-law to be a servant. She was bought by a "goodman" of Boston, and so winning was she in her ways that she was adopted in place of a daughter who had gone to heaven. But the page of the maid's father, the Lord of Galway, wandered east and west till he found her at last, and restored her to her father and home, and possessed both the maid and the home as a fitting reward. This ballad will by many be called the sweetest thing in all the collection, and the power to read it without tears is by no means a gift to be coveted.

But scattered along both volumes are many miscellaneous poems, any one of several of which would have made a great reputation for an ordinary man, or for one less busily engrossed in the moil and strife of the great moral warfare of the age; and these pieces are those for which he will be most widely praised and longest remembered. They have all the fire of the Voices of Freedom, without their bristling epithets and withering scorn; all the tenderness of the Chapel of Hermits, without its suspicion of heresy; all the love for nature and sympathy for her whims of the story of

Mogg Megone, without its want of connection; all the zeal for truth that glows in the Legends, without their seeming self-consciousness; and all the pathos of the Ballads, with an added vigor, an unconscious inspiration, and a fullness of life and animal spirits, such as characterizes lambs at play in a spring's morning, or tuneful birds in a summer evening. And then they sometimes rise to noble prophecies, more than epic in tone and dignity. Read the "Reformer," and say if it is not admirably conceived and most beautifully finished. It has stirred the blood of many a man, as the roll of the drum, calling to battle and eternal fame, could not stir the pulse of the soldier. It thus begins:

"All grim and soil'd, and brown with tan,
I saw a Strong One in his wrath,
Smiting the godless shrines of man
Along his path.

The Church beneath her trembling dome
Essay'd in vain her ghostly charm:
Wealth shook within his gilded home
With strange alarm.

* * * * * *

"Spare," Art implored, "yon holy pile;
That grand, old, time-worn turret spare;"
Meek Reverence, kneeling in the aisle,
Cried out, "Forbear."

Yet louder rang the Strong One's stroke,
Yet nearer flash'd his ax's gleam;
Shuddering and sick of heart I woke,
As from a dream.

I look'd: aside the dust-cloud roll'd—
The Waster seem'd the Builder too;
Up-springing from the ruin'd Old
I saw the New.

'Twas but the ruin of the bad—
The wasting of the wrong and ill;
Whate'er of good the old time had
Was living still.

* * * * * *

The outworn rite, the old abuse,
The pious fraud, transparent grown,
The good held captive in the use
Of wrong alone—

These wait their doom, from that great law
Which makes the past time serve to-day;
And fresher life the world shall draw
From their decay.

Take heart! the Waster builds again—
A charmèd life old goodness hath;
The tares may perish, but the grain
Is not for death.

God works in all things; all obey
His first propulsion from the right;
Ho! wake and watch! the world is gray
With morning light."

Read "The Crisis," or "The Pass of the Sierra," or "The Song of the Kansas Emigrants," each of which was but little more than a hasty electioneering squib in the eyes of many, but have made their mark on the opinions and acts of the age. These have been sung almost everywhere; at least, they have been read by millions with thrilling hearts, and souls growing daily better from the fire there caught. They have the true ictus and ring of the lyric, and the old afflatus of the ancient Greek war-song without its savageness; and their spirit falls upon the soul almost as the cloven tongues of fire fell upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost. This is the Emigrants' Song:

"We cross the prairies as of old
Our fathers cross'd the sea,
To make the West as they the East,
The homestead of the free!

We go to rear a wall of men
On Freedom's Southern line,
And plant beside the cotton-tree
The rugged Northern pine!

We go to plant our common schools
On distant prairie swells,
And give the Sabbaths of the wild
The music of her bells.

Upbearing, like the ark of old,
The Bible in our van,
We go to test the truth of God
Against the fraud of man!"—Vol. ii, p. 241.

Very beautiful and touching, too, is this, entitled "All's Well," though it reminds us of what has been before written; a fault to which Whittier is not much addicted, for he avoids the track beaten by other poets, as to subjects generally, as to method and treatment still more commonly, and as to expression and imagery most of all.

"The clouds which rise with thunder, slake
Our thirsty souls with rain;
The blow most dreaded falls to break
From off our limbs a chain;
And wrongs of man to man but make
The love of God more plain.
As through the shading hues of even
The eye looks farthest into heaven,
On gleams of star and depths of blue
The glaring sunshine never knew."—Vol. ii, p. 109.

One other quotation. It is entitled "Pictures," and is one of several found in the volumes which illustrate a remark already several times repeated, that hardly another poet of this age, or of any period or nation, can sing nature and her moods so accurately, so admiringly, or so sublimely and agreeably. This is an example of a sweet, placid, simple description of what may be seen and felt by all men on any spring morning, but which very few could have first seen, and still less could have rehearsed.

> "Light, warmth, and sprouting greenness, and over all
> Blue, stainless, steel-bright ether, raining down
> Tranquillity upon the deep-hush'd town,
> The freshening meadows, and the hill-side brown;
> Voice of the west wind from the hills of pine,
> And the brimm'd river from its distant fall,
> Low hum of bees, and joyous interlude
> Of bird-songs in the streamlet-skirting wood,
> Heralds and prophecies of sound and sight,
> Blessed forerunners of the warmth and light,
> Attendant angels to the house of prayer,
> With reverent footsteps, keeping pace with mine,
> Once more, through God's great love, with you I shall
> A morn of resurrection, sweet and fair,
> As that which saw, of old, in Palestine,
> Immortal Love uprising in fresh bloom
> From the dark night and winter of the tomb."—Vol. ii, p. 147.

Whittier is, in many respects, the poet of the Yankees. He has their character of straightforward, simple directness, of shrewd common sense, of quick insight and keen observation, of courageous honesty and resolute determination. These qualities, added to great faith, undismayed hopefulness, kind, tender charitableness, and glowing philanthropy, while they make him an excellent poet, do nevertheless make him something more than a mere poet, or than a sectary, more even than a mere reformer or a philanthropist. As a Yankee poet, he loves, in his very bones and nerves, the great, pure, open sky of heaven, and the plants and trees that grow beneath it; the hills and rocks of the outspread earth, and the rivers that murmur among them; the motion and life that animate them—whether it be of clouds and tree-branches, or of beast and bird—and loves all these as tenderly and as dearly as a mother loves her suffering, and, in all besides her love, disconsolate child. He loves quite as heartily the local legends and traditions of New-England, and the strange tales of her early settlers, and he is, in spirit, almost one of those old men, who did such valiant service for truth and religion, no less than for civilization and progress, with the pike or the plow, with the sword or the sermon, with ax, musket, or pen; and who defied power when and where there was danger, and there-

fore merit, in that defiance. He is a Quaker, too, inheriting all the sterling, blunt directness of the men and women who were hung for their testimonies to the life and power of truth; their quaint, courageous freedom of speech, and their ardent sympathy with strong-enduring and long-suffering patience under persecution. And he never forgets that it is a part of his duty, and his particular daily business, as a poet and a lover of mankind, to right wrongs wherever found; or, at least, to attempt that work with his might and energy, and to call upon all within the hearing of his voice, to come to the assistance of those thus endangered by the oppressions of the heartless and the cruel. He is not a Feeble Mind, who, as Bunyan tells, in passing the caves of Giants Pope and Pagan, was content to tremble by, on the further side of the wide road, with bowed head, abject body, averted eyes, and palsied tongue, thankful, both to the giants and his Maker, for the blessed privilege of peace in the enjoyment of the rights of the way. He is a Greatheart; and if he sees any of these giants who are wont to affright timid women, or disturb conscientious pilgrims, be they strong or weak, old, decrepit, and defenseless, or rugged and armed to the teeth, blocking up the way, or sitting by the roadside to utter harmless taunts and blasphemies, he sounds the bugle notes of his resolute defiance at once; and the road must be cleared. When such monsters appear, he knows no law of reciprocity, and he will enjoy no divided immunities. He will have the whole of the broad road or a battle. And if old Giant Despair has set up a castle in the adjacent fields, though not always in sight of the pathway, it is made his business to pull it down about his ears. He is not content to find a clear way for the strong man by accident, and to walk noiselessly in it. He must make that road safe by right, and beyond the misfortune of a chance, not only for the stout-hearted, ready-willed, double-fisted, but safe also for the feebled-souled man, the delicate woman, the tender child, the ignorant, the weak, and the oppressed, the peeled, the bleeding, and the fainting; and so safe, too, and so certainly belonging to them in their own right, that they may walk its whole length, singing or shouting forth their great songs of praise and adoration, without the fear of even momentary and distant interruption.

While Whittier sings his songs in this spirit, and for this noble end, he does it with a sweet simplicity of words, and a clear, perspicuous, direct arrangement of sentences, which makes the sense easy to be understood and very forcible. His English is singularly pure, hardly one word in twenty that is not of old Anglo-Saxon origin, and all Latinity and French barbarisms are conscientiously excluded. The words are short, simple, unequivocal, plain in sense,

and sharp in tone, and they ring like the twang of bowstrings in battle. No other words but English could be so used, and they only by a master who knows how potent are those old household names, when used in right good earnest, either for overawing the bad or cheering the good. He chooses these words well, and he marshals them in such order that their array is invincible, and they go sweeping down on what he would annihilate, like the squadrons of Murat's cavalry in the battles of Napoleon. And yet they bear along with them such a deep sympathy with man and his sufferings, and such a holy charity for the erring and the evil even, hoping all things and still enduring all things, as shall make his verses strangely potential. These virtues or graces are always essential elements of true poetry, and where they also make up a large share of the poet's nature, he will sing beautifully and pleasingly. The essence of poetry is love, and hate is as foreign to its nature as it would be to that of an angel. And this divine fullness of love overflows in all these poems. There may be gibes, and taunts, and fierce denunciations, in many places; but these are not uttered for their own sake, but only in tender love and pity, both for the persons or things to which they are applied, and those who are made to suffer by the wrongs denounced. It is this ardent and hopeful affection in the breast of the poet that causes him to sing so sweetly, for it is with him and his pen, as another of our poets has said:

> "Ah, how skillful grows the hand
> That obeyeth Love's command!
> It is the heart and not the brain
> That to the highest doth attain,
> And he who followeth Love's behest,
> Far exceedeth all the rest!"

And in the midst of Whittier's almost insane anger, there are notes of pity and songs of sweet sympathy; tender appeals and solemn words of fervent, forgiving prayer, that would subdue and soothe even demoniac rage and unthinking cruelty. How sweetly does he express this power of tender, patient love, and steady trust, even when most deeply wronged and slighted, in this fine passage from "The New Wife and the Old:"

> "And the tenderest ones and weakest,
> Who their wrongs have borne the meekest,
> Lifting from those dark, still places,
> Sweet and sad remember'd faces,
> O'er the guilty hearts behind
> An unwitting triumph find."—Vol. i, p. 113.

The same trustful spirit finds voice in the "Chapel of the Her-

mits," and thus also speaks in the opening lines of "Questions of Life:"

> "A bending staff I would not break,
> A feeble faith I would not shake,
> Nor even rashly pluck away
> The error which some truth might stay,
> Whose loss might leave the soul without
> A shield against the shafts of doubt."—Vol. ii, p. 131.

What a rebuke to that little, unloving wisdom that would at once, and irremediably, reform the world of all its hoary practices! While, therefore, in conclusion, it may be said that many of these poems are too long, or too fierce, or of only temporary importance, it must also be said, with equal truth, and with more distinguishing emphasis, that no one has written in more stirring strains, or with a more loving heart; that no one is more in request in times demanding earnest, truthful action; and certainly no American poet has been more powerful to lead men away from the love of evil to the admiration of truth and right than he. The mission of poetry has always been one of vast importance. It is the earliest form of literature in which a nation or an individual takes delight; and it is certainly the last to lose its hold on the human heart. Whenever men are to be moved, it is called for; and not music herself, with all her fabled charms, even when Orpheus leads the chorus, has such a sublime power to elevate the courage, to exalt the hopes, to fill the soul, and strengthen the whole man, as the thrilling melody and measured march of well-chosen, orderly-marshaled words, moving in a phalanx to the rhythm of charity-breathing, truth-inspired song. To masses of men such songs are like a cloud, charged with the accumulated moisture and electricity of the whole broad ocean, driven with the breath of the fragrant southwest wind upon a thirsty continent, pouring out a flood of healing waters and reviving influences that make even deserts blossom as the rose. Such, in some measure, has been the influence and effect of these poems by Whittier. May they still continue to be admired, and may they more and more contribute to rightly instruct and greatly strengthen the heart of humanity!

Art. V.—THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE SEA.

The Physical Geography of the Sea, by M. F. Maury, LL.D., U. S. N.; Superintendent of the National Observatory. An entirely new edition, with addenda. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.

Twenty years ago the individual who would have written a work on geographical science, with an expectation that the public would appreciate and reward his labors, would either have been set down as a man of remarkable courage and prominent hope, or, what is more likely, been considered a dreamer, more worthy the strait jacket than our credence.

The present may be considered pre-eminently the age of practical science. At the announcement of each scientific discovery and isolated fact the world is ever ready to ask, "*Cui bono?*" Franklin replied to some of his questioners by asking, "What is the use of a new-born babe?" So with an isolated fact. Standing alone, when first discovered, having had no time to grow, and without the benefit of association with other kindred facts, it is like the helpless infant. If a savage, on the island of Madagascar, should find the piston-rod from the engine of a wrecked steamship, or the driving-wheel of a locomotive that had been thrown overboard from a vessel bound to Australia, he would gaze in wonder at their singular form, and remain in total ignorance of their utility. But let him see an engine tunneling a hole through a mountain, or a locomotive drawing a train of cars the whole length of his island, as rapidly as he would send an arrow at a bird, and he would at once see the value of mechanical genius and appreciate the fruits of exact science.

We are eminently a commercial and utilitarian people. When the calculations at the National Observatory had reached that point that by the "sailing directions" furnished to navigators the voyages round Cape Horn could be shortened fifty or sixty days, or more than one third of their duration, merchants and nautical men were startled at the results, and at once appreciated the value of this field of scientific research and well-directed industry. Statisticians have calculated the saving to the maritime interests of Great Britain and the United States at more than six million dollars per annum. Here is a practical result which all can appreciate, and in the advantages of which all will share. Scientific men will be as much interested and instructed by the labors of Dr. Maury, in a scientific point of view, as merchants and mariners are at the pecuniary benefits. Humboldt, Berghaus, Ehrenberg, Admiral Smyth, and Professor Forbes.

have all contributed to our knowledge of the "Physical Geography of the Sea," but it is not going too far to say that in practical results the labors of Lieutenant Maury surpass them all. As long ago as twelve or fifteen years the attention of merchants and men of science was now and then drawn to a magazine article, or an occasional address from the pen of our quiet naval lieutenant, the present distinguished superintendent of the National Observatory at Washington. The fruits of extensive combined efforts, and the advantages of scientific vision, assisted by ten thousand pairs of eyes, all recorded in the log-books of as many practical navigators, and collated and arranged by Mr. Maury and his able staff of assistants, have given to the world practical fruits that are appreciated and known in every port where commerce finds a cargo, and on every sea that is whitened by a sail.

When the deep-sea soundings were first attempted few could appreciate their utility. Many doubted the success of the attempts; "and if successful," said they, "of what use can they be?" Dr. Maury says:

> "Every physical fact, every expression of nature, every feature of the earth, the work of any and all of those agents which make the face of the world what it is, and as we see it, is interesting and instructive. Until we get hold of a group of physical facts, we do not know what practical bearings they may have, though right-minded men know that they contain many precious jewels, which science, or the expert hand of philosophy, will not fail to bring out, polished and bright, and beautifully adapted to man's purposes."

That very experiment of deep-sea soundings has at once shown, what has long been a desideratum, the practicability of a sub-marine telegraph across the Atlantic. The depth of the sea ascertained, we find a remarkable steppe across the ocean, between Cape Race in Newfoundland and Cape Clear in Ireland; and this is known as the "telegraphic plateau." The width at this place is not over sixteen hundred miles, and the greatest depth not over ten thousand feet. Before another year has elapsed we hope, in spite of past disaster, to have intelligence flashed along the wires as they rest securely on this "plateau," beneath the billows of the mighty Atlantic.

As the bottom of the sea shelves off toward the south, the plan is to lay the telegraphic wires just below the highest or shallowest part; and this will forever guard against the lodgment and grinding force of large icebergs that may become stranded on the banks as they move toward the equator. To a common observer a bit of mud from the bottom of the sea would be of no interest, and possess no practical value; it would be a bit of mud, and nothing more. In the hands of Professor Bailey, of West Point, some mud from the

soundings on the telegraphic plateau was found, under a powerful microscope, to consist entirely of minute shells, not a particle of sand or gravel among them. But the most significant fact discovered, was that these delicate microscopic shells had not suffered the slightest damage or abrasion, clearly proving that the sea at this point is almost completely at rest, and, consequently, the safest of all possible places for a telegraphic wire.

"There was not motion enough there to abrade these very delicate organisms, nor current enough to sweep them about and mix up with them a grain of the finest sand, nor the smallest particle of gravel torn from the loose beds of debris that here and there strew the bottom of the sea."

Since the daring Genoese, with three frail barks, and without guide, chart, compass, or knowledge of currents, revealed to the eyes of Europeans the knowledge of the Western continent, the art of navigation has advanced with gigantic strides. Until a very late period, however, improvements have been confined principally to the model, material, and construction of vessels, and to the improvement of instruments. Mapping out the winds of heaven, discovering the currents of the sea, and investigating all the physical causes that have a bearing on navigation and on the climates of the earth; all this has been reserved for the present age. Old ocean, with its winds and storms, its hidden dangers and unknown depths, has continued to remain the same type of terror, mystery, and uncertainty.

"Such as creation's dawn beheld, thou rollest now."

But we can see "order rise out of chaos," and what appeared to be accident and uncertainty is design and regularity. By a vessel taking certain directions at certain seasons there are found to be certain average results, and the "straightest course" is not always the shortest between two points. Maury's "Physical Geography of the Sea" gives the practical results of years of study and thousands of observations; shows us the currents, the depths, and the animal life of the ocean, the cause and uses of the saltness of the sea, the prevailing direction of the winds at different seasons, and the practical bearing that all these various facts have on navigation, the climates of the earth, and the comfort and well-being of man. And we are taught something more. We are taught to "look through Nature up to Nature's God;" to see the design, the wisdom, and the beneficence of the Creator in giving shape and direction to the laws that govern the physical globe in the way he has done. With what a grand simplicity the first chapter of the book commences:

"There is a river in the ocean. In the severest droughts it never fails, and in the mightiest floods it never overflows. Its banks and its bottom are of cold water, while its current is of warm. The Gulf of Mexico is its fountain, and its mouth is in the Arctic Seas. It is the Gulf Stream. There is in the world no other such majestic flow of waters. Its current is more rapid than the Mississippi or the Amazon, and its volume more than a thousand times greater. Its waters, as far out from the Gulf as the Carolina coasts, are of an indigo blue. They are so distinctly marked that their line of junction with the common sea-water may be traced by the eye."

For *all* the causes, Dr. Maury says, that produce the Gulf Stream, we cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, account, but we can, at least, tell some of the agents concerned. There *is* a great equatorial current—a surface current—from the shores of Africa across the Atlantic into the Caribbean Sea, and this is over that portion of the ocean where the trade-winds blow. Here, evaporation is in excess of precipitation; and this evaporation is calculated at fifteen feet in depth, in a year. None but fresh water being taken up by evaporation, what remains is in proportion more salt, and this makes the waters of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico salter than the average of the ocean. The amount of water discharged by the Mississippi River into the Gulf of Mexico is less than one-thousandth part of the quantity carried off by the Gulf Stream, and, consequently, can be neither a cause, nor have a perceptible bearing on the Gulf Stream current. Now, the waters of the Baltic Sea and the German Ocean are nearly fresh—only brackish—and, consequently, lighter than the average of the ocean. It is plain that, whatever the cause—expansion by heat, or contraction from cold—water made heavier in one place, or lighter in another, tends to disturb the equilibrium; and Nature at once sets to work to have that equilibrium restored. Where there is a current on the surface, or otherwise, in the ocean in one direction, there must lie another current in another direction to counteract it. In Plate VI. of the "Physical Geography," there is a representation of the currents in the Atlantic; the entire movement of the waters in the ocean, and they perform a complete circuit, are compensated and balanced by a motion on every side. The great equatorial current flows west from the African coast, goes into the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, and out to the northeast by the Florida capes, through the "narrows" of Bemini, taking the name of the Gulf Stream. It expands in its northward course as it passes the Banks of Newfoundland, and continues across the ocean till it mingles with the waters around the British Isles. Here commences a southward motion, and on flow a portion of the waters through the Bay of Biscay, and by the coast of Spain and the Canary Islands,

till the flow reaches and passes into the great equatorial current on the west coast of Africa. If this description of the flow of waters in the Atlantic is correct, is it not reasonable to suppose that an eddy or comparatively still place will be created in a central part of the ocean? If we take a basin of water, scatter on the surface chaff, bits of cork, or other light substances, and then create a circular current by a stream of air or a whirling motion, we shall see the floating substances gather in comparative stillness on a central part of the surface. This is exactly the case with the Atlantic. A vast surface, south of the Azores, south and east of Bermuda, north of the tropic of Cancer, northwest of the Cape Verde Isles, and west of the Canaries, is known as the "Sargasso Sea," and is at all times covered with floating sea-weed. This gulf weed (*Fucus natans*) is so thickly matted over the surface of the water, "that the speed of vessels passing through it is often much retarded." "When the companions of Columbus saw it, they thought it marked the limits of navigation, and became alarmed. Columbus first found this weedy sea in his voyage of discovery; there it has remained to this day, and certain observations as to its limits, extending back for fifty years, assure us that its position has not been altered since that time."

We cannot follow our philosophical writer in his most interesting and thoroughly convincing account of the currents of the ocean, without greatly exceeding our limits. He shows that the current of the Gulf Stream is about four miles an hour at the Florida Capes, three off Cape Hatteras, and that it becomes slower and slower as it moves north, and increases in width. He claims that, instead of the New England coast, the Nantucket Shoals, and the Banks of Newfoundland turning the course of the stream, it runs where we find it, entirely from other causes. "The Gulf Stream is bound over to the North Sea and the Bay of Biscay, partly for the reason, perhaps, that the waters there are lighter than those of the Mexican Gulf; and if the Shoals of Nantucket were not in existence it could not pursue a more direct route." The stream has its entire breadth, its northern and southern edge, some distance further north in September than in March; vibrating to and fro, with the different seasons, like the pendulum of a clock. The benign influence of the Gulf Stream is seen in the heat that it conveys across the Atlantic to the British Isles and the west of Europe; and were it not for this heat "the soft climates of both England and France would be as that of Labrador, severe and ice-bound." To the same cause is owing the mild climate of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, Faroe, and Iceland, one branch of the

Gulf Stream going into the Arctic Ocean, and as far east as the Polar basin of Spitzbergen. The caloric taken away by the Gulf Stream leaves the climate of the West India Islands and our southern coast cooler, and more salubrious; the surplus heat being carried to a higher latitude. The surface water is from three to four degrees, and some distance below the surface forty degrees hotter when it leaves the Gulf of Mexico, than when it comes into the Caribbean Sea from the east.

"Taking only the difference in surface temperature as an index of the heat accumulated there, a simple calculation will show that the quantity of specific heat daily carried off by the Gulf Stream is sufficient to raise mountains of iron from zero to the melting point, and to keep in flow from them a molten stream of metal greater in volume than the waters daily discharged from the Mississippi River. Who, therefore, can calculate the benign influence of this wonderful current upon the climate of the South?"

Here we see that beautiful compensation that is exhibited in all the laws of Nature. The Caribbean Sea is like an enormous steam boiler; the fuel, or source of heat, the tropical sun; the Gulf of Mexico is a distributing reservoir; the Gulf Stream the escape pipe; and this piece of machinery takes the surplus heat of the islands and shores of the Mexican Gulf and our southern coast, and distributes it with a lavish hand on the shores of Great Britain, Orkney, Shetland, Faroe, and far-off Iceland. Regions otherwise uninhabitable from the extreme heat, are made salubrious; and lands in far-off northern climes become temperate, smiling, and fruitful. It has been said—and truly, if such a contingency could happen—that if the land forming the Isthmus of Darien should be broken down by any convulsion of nature, the equatorial current from Africa would flow through into the Pacific, the Gulf Stream would cease, and Great Britain and the Northern Isles change their climates for those of Labrador and Greenland, and soon cease to be habitable regions. But this contingency will never happen. The Almighty never leaves his work in a precarious condition. The Caribbean Sea is a steam boiler that was not made by mortal man. The barriers were built by Him who "holds the sea in the hollow of his hand."

As practical and satisfactory as is the account of the physical geography of the sea, the explanation of the currents, and the general economy of the ocean, perhaps the most interesting chapters of the work are those that treat of the atmosphere. In these we learn why there is "a rainy season in Oregon, a rainy and dry season in California, another at Panama, two at Bogota, none in Peru, and one in Chili." There is nothing more clear than the demonstration of the cause of the *Rainless Regions.* A portion of western Peru, lying

on the Pacific slope of the Andes, never has any rain. Here the wind blows all the time in one direction, the "Southeast trades." Commencing on the coast of Africa, as the trade-winds move to the northwest across the Atlantic, they become heavily charged with vapor. Arriving on the shore of Brazil, the winds rise up gradually with the ascent of the land. A more elevated region is necessarily colder, and this increasing coldness, or lower temperature, operates on the moist atmosphere like the pressure of the hand upon a wet sponge. The vapor becomes condensed into drops and falls in rain. Passing over the vast plains and valleys of the land drained by those immense streams, the Amazon and the Rio de la Plata, a great quantity of rain falls, and we see the results in innumerable rivers, and several of enormous magnitude, one the largest in the world. Finally, the winds "reach the snow-capped Andes, and here is wrung from them the last particle of moisture that that very low temperature can extract." On reaching the summit of those lofty mountains they "tumble down as cool and dry winds on the Pacific slopes beyond." They meet with no evaporating surface, and no temperature colder than they were subjected to on the mountain tops until they reach the ocean, and, consequently, they have no moisture that can be extracted on the Pacific slope of the Andes. Were the winds here to blow a part of the year from other directions, the land would receive some rain. In the same way the wet and dry seasons of India and Southern Asia are accounted for, the monsoons and the trades blowing at different seasons in different directions. The average depth of water that falls in rain in a year on the entire earth is stated to be about thirty-seven inches; but in some places there is more than eighteen feet. On some parts of the Pacific such a vast quantity of rain falls that sailors can frequently dip it up quite fresh from the surface of the ocean. One of the most rainy regions is on the west coast of Patagonia, the Pacific slope of the Andes, and the ocean adjacent. As the northwest trade-winds approach the coast, the precipitous, lofty, and snow-covered Andes subject the vapor-bearing gales to such a sudden change, going from a comparatively high to a very low temperature, that the water is condensed and poured down in rain in vast quantities. "Captain King found the astonishing fall of water here of nearly thirteen feet in forty-one days; and Mr. Darwin reports that the sea-water along this part of the South American coast is sometimes quite fresh from the vast quantity of rain that falls." Mr. Maury very appropriately calls the atmosphere an immense "engine." He says "the South Seas themselves, in all their vast inter-tropical extent, are the boiler for it, and the northern hemisphere is its condenser." Our philosopher

says that "upon the proper working" of this engine or machine "depends the well-being of every plant and animal that inhabits the earth; and that, therefore, the management of it, or its movement, or the performance of its offices, cannot be left to chance. They are, we may rely upon it, guided by laws that make all parts, functions, and movements of the machinery as obedient to order as are the planets in their orbits." We shall refer to the book itself for the causes, the springs of action, and the prevailing course of the "wind in his circuits" "round about the world." We do not wish, nor could we if we chose to, extract all the ideas or choice bits of this volume in a brief review of it. To the comprehension of a child is it shown "why the sea is salt," why Lake Superior is fresh, why the Dead Sea, the Great Salt Lake, the Aral and the Caspian Seas are impregnated with saline particles like the ocean itself. An epitome of the book, to give a clear idea of its contents, would almost necessarily be as voluminous as the work itself, for the treatise, in its style and substance, is a model of condensation. Never obscure, never running off into reflections, rhapsodies, and speculations not pertinent to the subject, there is no ground lost, but one condensed chain of facts, arguments, and deductions. The entire work is eminently hopeful and religious, showing the Christian philosopher in every page. That we have in our naval lieutenant a diligent seeker after truth, a man of great comprehension of mind, an original thinker, and one who has as much genius in exploring the depths of philosophical research as Franklin, Herschell, or Humboldt, is already appreciated by the few, and, ere another generation has passed, will be acknowledged by the country and the world.

Art. VI.—EDMUND BURKE.

The great men of the world are not to be considered the exclusive property of the nations in which they are born, nor of the age which witnessed and received the earliest profit of their actions. Much more is this true of those men who, springing from the middle and lower classes, are not ashamed of their relationship to the masses, but labor with unswerving devotion for the rights of our common humanity. Such men are frequently misunderstood in their own day, and partially forgotten in the age following; but as the years

roll on Truth gives them resurrection; then they live on forever, and receive the homage of the nations.

The fearless soldiers who form the front ranks, and receive the fresh, vigorous charge of the enemy, sacrificing their lives in the onset of the battle, are honored with scarcely a decent burial, while those who shout the victory are crowned with laurel. All great reformations, all triumphs of noble principles, have their precursors: men of noble minds and superior parts, whose actions often suffer an eclipse in the brightness of the period which they have ushered in. So it was with the Reformation of which Luther is the representative in the world's eye. No one would detract from his position in that triumph of religious truth, nor from his world-wide renown; but his dearest admirers are now writing the biographies of the *Reformers before the Reformation.*

The heart of the age in which we live is throbbing with a true endeavor to restore to humanity its rights; and, notwithstanding its many eccentricities, some of which seem to verge on madness, it is doing right nobly. We do well to honor our present leaders. But there are some names almost forgotten in this relation who deserve a passing recognition, if not a perpetual remembrance. One of these names we have placed at the head of this article. There may be persons who will be surprised to see the name of Edmund Burke on a roll of the prophets; they have heard and thought of him as a great statesman, an illustrious orator, a writer of singular and varied powers. He was all these, and much more; he was an eminent *philanthropist.* The true question to ask of any man, the question by which the future will judge him, is not the extent of his endowments, but the use, the consecration he has made of them. Do they center on himself, or go beyond self and identify him with the cause of humanity?

We purpose considering the labors of Mr. Burke in this light, selecting him not as a man of capacious mind, capable of communicating the results of his wisdom in the most captivating and convincing manner, but as a man of a large, warm heart. Deeply sensitive to every attempt to infringe on the rights of man, he was equally bold in their defense; always eloquent, his tongue seemed touched with live coals when pleading the cause of humanity. All nations, and parties, and sects were the same to him when their rights as men were disregarded or endangered. He could no more be silent over the wrongs of India than his own beloved Ireland. Reared a Protestant, and ardently attached to the State Church, none ever pleaded more eloquently for Christian justice toward the Dissenters and Catholics. It is not to be presumed that a pub-

lic man could adopt and maintain such a course without making great personal sacrifices, and accepting, for a time at least, the certain opprobrium of such a position. Mr. Burke made the sacrifice without ostentation, and accepted the reproach without retaliation. When he pleaded the cause of the American colonies and Ireland against unjust commercial restrictions and taxations, his constituents complained that he opposed their interest; his friendship for these countries was construed into hatred of England; he asked toleration for the Catholics, and was caricatured as a Jesuit.

Passing over Mr. Burke's early years, we come at once to his entrance into Parliament in 1765. He was now at the ripe age of thirty years, and brought superior qualification to his position of private secretary to Lord Rockingham, who was at the head of the new ministry. There is no doubt that he had been seeking and preparing himself for a political life during a number of years. Indeed, he had held some positions, but none of any importance.

Let us glance at the times when he entered into public life. England was not only then, as now, the freest and most intelligent nation in Europe, but in the world; and, with all its reverses, this was an illustrious period of her history. Pope, Young, Swift, Middleton, Bolingbroke, and Bishops Butler and Berkeley were remembered by the older men; Johnson, Goldsmith, Hume, Blackstone, Mansfield, and Pitt were in the zenith of their well-merited fame; Sheridan, Fox, Gibbon, Warburton, Robertson, Cowper, Clarkson, and Wilberforce were men of his own age. It was not an age in which a charlatan could have succeeded. Burke proved himself more than equal to his compeers. In knowledge, eloquence, philosophy, he surpassed any one of them; his industry was equal to his ambition; and in all those nobler qualities of the heart which are a richer heritage than genius, and give nobility to the commonest actions of life, he had no superior.

In noticing his labors it will be convenient to take them up in the order of time in which he advocated the several measures upon which his reputation in the character which we claim for him must rest.

When Mr. Burke came into Parliament, the subject which had the precedence of all others was America. The infamous Stamp Act had been passed in the early part of the same year, by the Grenville administration, and the discontent of the colonies had become a subject of just alarm to thinking men. The first movement of the new administration was a motion to repeal the odious measure. In the advocacy of this motion Burke made his first speech in Parliament; and with such success that it called forth a flattering

compliment from Pitt, then the acknowledged champion of the colonies.

The position of Mr. Burke in this stage of his public life, in relation to American affairs, has been censured by our historian, Bancroft, because, while he advocated the repeal of the Stamp Act, the party with which he acted still insisted upon the *right* of the mother country to tax the colonies; that he urged the repeal of the act rather as a matter of policy than of right. We should remember that the party in England who disclaimed the right, were a mere handful, and impotent, except in speeches. The repeal could not have been carried on any other terms; and it does not require a great deal of charity to suppose that Burke, in this, as in many other instances, chose his position for its immediate advantages. His later speeches on American affairs should rather be taken as the exposition of his feeling toward the colonies. The exposition of his ideas of government, which we find scattered throughout his writings, show that he was not insensible to the great principles at the foundation of the difficulty, and that his sympathies were with the colonies. He opposed, in speeches that were considered among his best efforts, the employment of Indians in the American war, and the bringing of Americans guilty of treason to England for trial. Had the course been pursued which he marked out in his speeches on *American Taxation* and *American Conciliation*, the rupture would have been delayed, although it is not probable that it would have changed the final result.

He did indeed desire that the colonies should forever continue a portion of the British empire, but this was the sentiment of all parties, and held by our own fathers. No Englishman was better acquainted with the American possessions than Mr. Burke; he had written a history of America before his entrance on political life; and he saw, as with the eye of prophecy, her great commercial future; he knew that no possessions in the East could compensate for the loss of those in the West.

The day came at last when America would be satisfied with nothing less than independence, and the mother country was compelled to admit the claim. It was a sad day for him; for he loved his country, and she was now to lose her noblest child. "He felt it," he said, "as a circumstance exceedingly detrimental to the fame, and exceedingly detrimental to the interest of his country." Once, when pleading for America, he had said, "As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country [England] as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of

England worship freedom they will turn their faces toward you." England had lacked this wisdom; and our fathers had built a new shrine to her name in the mighty forests of the New World: they have the glory that he coveted for his own nation; they who worship freedom turn their faces toward America.

The labors of Mr. Burke in favor of religious toleration commenced at an early period, and continued during his parliamentary career. The government of Great Britain places all who do not adopt the faith and forms of the State Church under greater or less disabilities. Let him be Catholic, Dissenter, Presbyterian, Methodist, or Baptist, Jew, or Mussulman, it matters not, he is deprived of some privileges, and taxed, indirectly, to support the State Church besides. He is a man of some nerve who can combat with the religious prejudices of the majority. The politician who commits himself to a studied and consistent effort in such a course, must be willing to accept a reward in the future. This is probably the reason why we have so few public men who oppose popular errors and popular prejudices: it is a choice between the ready cash and a note of hand; between a wreath on one's brow while living, and one on his monument when dead.

English intoleration was far less bigoted and cruel when Burke opposed it than it had been in the age before. The time had passed when such men as Baxter and Bunyan could be fined and imprisoned for preaching the word of life; yet there were many obstacles in the path of the dissenting minister and his people. Mr. Burke made a number of speeches in favor of bills in relief of the Dissenters; indeed, we do not know of any occasion when the matter was before Parliament, that he did not take the floor in their behalf. There was, however, an instance when he gave his enemies occasion to charge him with inconsistency. Fortunately, he committed the leading arguments of his speech to writing, and we are satisfied with the explanation which it affords. It was on a petition of the Unitarians for certain privileges. The French Revolution was then raging, and he saw in it and its advocates enemies to the human race: the petitioners were almost to a man ardent supporters of the revolution, and seeing, as he thought, in the petition only a desire to legally publish doctrines which might inflame England with a like madness, he opposed it. But his own words acquit him of intolerance. He says:

"If ever there was anything to which, from nature, reason, habit, and principle, I am totally averse, it is persecution for conscientious difference in opinion. . . . What, then, are we come to this pass, to suppose that nothing can support Christianity but the principles of persecution? . . . I am persuaded

that toleration, so far from being an attack upon Christianity, becomes the best and surest support that possibly can be given it. . . . I may be mistaken, but I take toleration to be a part of Christianity."

But the Catholics suffered most by the laws relating to religious opinion. There was, however, cause for it. The Catholic, in his day of power, had lighted the flames at Smithfield: the flames had gone out, but the story lived around ten thousand hearths. The Catholic had proved his will by the Gunpowder Plot. Therefore, said they, if we give them any political power, we peril our liberties. Such was the prejudice and reasoning by which the conscience essayed to justify itself. There were but few Catholics in England; it was Ireland that groaned under the burden, for two thirds of its population professed the faith of the Church of Rome. If the aim of these laws had been to convert the Catholic to Protestantism, the measures had been exceedingly unsuccessful; the Catholic population steadily increased. It is not necessary to give an enumeration of the disabilities wrought by these laws, nor is it necessary to a correct idea of Burke's labors and position. The continual ferment in which they kept the nation was a rich soil for rebellion, and in the Irish character brought forth an affluent harvest.

Now, add to Burke's intense hatred to intolerance his ardent love for his native land, and you have the motives which prompted him to write and speak more on this subject than any other.

In 1778 some of the severity of these laws was taken off by the passage of a bill, advocated by Burke in a noble speech. Petitions were sent in to repeal these indulgences, some mad zealots leading a mob to the doors of Parliament, and blood was shed. It only aroused his whole nature. He said, speaking of it afterward: "With warmth and vigor, and animated with a just and natural indignation, I called forth every faculty I possessed, and directed it in every way in which I could possibly employ it. I labored night and day; I labored in Parliament; I labored out of Parliament." His party refused to act with him; but this did not deter him. And, with characteristic magnanimity, when the leaders of the mob were to be punished, he pleaded, and secured a lenity for them which they did not deserve.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into a detailed account of his able advocacy of the freedom of the press, of improvements in the libel laws, of economical reform, for the alleviation of the condition of the negro population in the colonies, and the abolition of the slave-trade. In each of these measures he made a firm stand for the rights of man. Nor is it necessary for us to notice at length his devotion to his native land. It is the fashion to commend pub-

lic men for patriotism; for it is a sad fact, that even when men are paid for performing acts which should spring unsolicited from the soul, so few come up to the standard of common honesty that the faithful servant is paraded as a prodigy. Mr. Burke was not the man to shrink, and it lost him his place as member for Bristol. But the loss gave birth to his famous Bristol speech, than which a more eloquent statement of noble and manly political principles never fell from the lips of man. Some parts of this speech are worthy of frequent perusal by all public men. We cannot withhold some of the closing paragraphs.

"'But I am told, if I profess all this impolitic stubbornness, I may chance never to be elected to Parliament.' It is, certainly, not pleasing to be put out of the political service. But I wish to be a member of Parliament to have my share of doing good and resisting evil. It would, therefore, be absurd to renounce my objects, in order to retain my seat. I deceive myself indeed, and most grossly, if I had not much rather pass the remainder of my life hidden in the recesses of the deepest obscurity, feeding my mind even with the visions and imagination of such things, than to be placed on the most splendid throne of the universe, tantalized with a denial of the practice of all which can make the greatest situation any other than the greatest curse. Gentlemen, I have had my day. I can never sufficiently express my gratitude to you for having set me in a place, wherein I could lend the slightest help to great and laudable designs. If I have had my share in any measure giving quiet to private property and private conscience; if, by my vote, I have aided in securing to families the best possession, peace; if I have joined in reconciling kings to their subjects, and subjects to their prince; if I have assisted to loosen the foreign holdings of the citizen, and taught him to look for his protection to the laws of his country, and for his comfort to the good-will of his countrymen; if I have thus taken my part with the best of men in the best of their actions, I can shut the book; I might wish to read a page or two more, but this is enough, I have not lived in vain.

"And now, gentlemen, on this serious day, when I come, as it were, to make up my account with you, let me take to myself some degree of honest pride on the nature of the charges against me. I do not here stand before you accused of venality, or of neglect of duty. It is not said that, in the long period of my service, I have in a single instance sacrificed the slightest of your interests to my ambition or to my fortune. It is not alleged that, to gratify any anger or revenge of my own, or of my party, I have had a share in wronging any description of men or any one man in any description. No! the charges against me are all of one kind—that I have pushed the principles of general justice and benevolence too far; further than a cautious policy would warrant; and further than the opinions of many would go along with me. In every accident which may happen in life, in pain, in sorrow, in depression, and distress, I will call to mind this accusation, and be comforted."

Mr. Burke's labors in relation to India, especially the impeachment of Warren Hastings, reveal, more than the labors of any man before him or after him, the brawny limbs of the unwearied giant. The British possession in India had grown from the mere depot of a trading company to one of the most valuable possessions on the

face of the earth. It is scarcely necessary to relate how it was acquired. It is the old story of the strong overpowering the weak, the witty overreaching the dull. India was looked upon as a place *par excellence* to get money; for if it could not be obtained by honest means, it was not difficult to do so by dishonest means; the field was an open one, with equal facilities for skillful cheating, or downright robbery. No Englishman would choose the climate or associations for pleasure; it was only tolerable as a country where money might be accumulated with more rapidity than any other. It was a favorite resort for broken merchants, younger sons of impoverished families, unfortunate lovers, for men who had doubtful claims on the good-will of the government. Its great distance from England, and the manner in which it was ruled by the Company, made it a safe place for every system of oppression. Ordinarily, one might commit injustice in India, and sleep as soundly as those pirates who scuttled a ship after they had robbed, on the protective maxim that "dead men tell no tales."

Oppression and injustice had been reduced to a system; each fresh cargo of hungry wealth-seekers gave efficiency to the plans and experience of their predecessors, until the culminating point had been reached under the governorship of Warren Hastings. Those who cared to think on the matter were not ignorant that there was something wrong in the management of India, but they never surmised the enormity of the injustice. The large dividend on the stock had a wonderful effect in blinding the stockholders. There were some, however, who knew much of the matter; but it required more zeal for right, more intellect, more physical endurance, more of the spirit of sacrifice than they possessed, and they quieted their consciences on the plea of inability. Indeed, it was no child's play to attack a powerful corporation, in which the wealthiest and noblest families had the rule. More than one minister had addressed himself to the task under a dim sense of duty, but the magnitude of the labor overpowered him, and he laid it down in despair.

There was, however, one man in England who, following his suspicions, had fathomed the injustice, and his indignation against the perpetrators, his love for the unsullied glory of his country, and his reverential love for humanity, conspired to move the depths of his nature, and urge him to expose the villainy. Some of Mr. Burke's enemies attempted to show that he had personal motive in the prosecution. The fact was, they could not comprehend, in their contracted notions of duty, why a man could undertake so great a work out of pure justice and benevolence: there was a munificence

in the charity that staggered their utmost conception of self-denial. Whoever will read Mr. Burke's speeches will no longer be at a loss for the reasons that moved him to the impeachment of Warren Hastings. In his powerful imagination the wrongs of India passed in their fearful reality; and as he recited them brave men grew pale and clasped their swords, noble women swooned, and Hastings himself dared not look up. When Burke closed the accusation in the memorable words, "Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and opposer of them all," he but spoke in the truth and sincerity of his throbbing heart.

The marked characteristic of Burke's later days was his intense hatred and fierce opposition to the French Revolution. His speeches and writings on this phenomenon of modern history, are brilliant and powerful as a body; but they do not show his mind nor his humanity in its best phase. His great gifts and noble principles were not without the alloy of our common nature. He was growing old, and had to some extent outlived his associations: he was not held in the same respect by the young men who were taking the lead in politics, as he had been by their fathers; the party of which he had been the brightest ornament and most gifted mind, had been stranded, and those who saved themselves from the wreck no longer held together; those who had been his sworn enemies were the most prominent leaders among the sympathizers with the revolution. These infirmities and dislikes had, in all probability, some effect on his judgment; but it would be difficult for any one, in the present day, to show that his judgment was far astray. We do indeed consider that France has profited by her revolutions, but the price for the advantages was an enormous one; and probably the most enthusiastic lover of liberty, could he have seen the end from the beginning, would not have signed the contract. The revolution was an anomaly in history; no volume of precedents threw any light on its procedure. It was not strange that men should strive for liberty, and in the joy of their triumph commit excesses which a calmer judgment would disavow; but in this the madness grew wilder when men looked for returning sanity, and the tiger-thirst for blood grew stronger with each enlarged hecatomb of victims.

The view Burke took of it was a hopeless one, but one which was not without some foundation in fact. When he saw religion decried as a vapid superstition, and atheism promulgated by a public decree, his blood ran cold at the fearful reach of impiety; when he saw an impudent harlot adored as the impersonation of reason,

in worship, the rival of the meek and holy Sufferer of Calvary, his indignation knew no bounds; to his sensitive mind it was a crime to be silent, or exercise moderation. There could not be any sympathy between himself and the leaders of this madness. They were atheists by profession, and licentious by practice; and their theory, in his mind, was worse than their practice. Had his moral sagacity enabled him to penetrate to the real cause of the evil, as we see it in our own day, and to have seen the madness as the natural rebound of human nature from the oppressive slavery of spiritual despotism, he would at least have waited more patiently to see the result. Had he seen even the glimmering of dawn struggling with the dense darkness, his course would have been different. He was a friend to freedom; but he could see no freedom where the noblest men and purest women were given daily as food to the guillotine. His views of the necessary conditions for the enjoyment of liberty were well defined.

"Men are qualified for civil liberty, in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their appetites; in proportion as their love to justice is above their rapacity; in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption; in proportion as they are more disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and good, in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist without a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."

Burke's last days were not such as his friends could have wished. Age brought with it many physical infirmities; the pangs were keener, because he had not spared himself in his days of strength. But none of his wondrous powers of mind suffered decay; nor did his humanity grow torpid; it seemed to glow with more than the old vigor of his manhood's prime. He had been honest, and he was poor. The son, upon whom many bright hopes were built, died on the eve of his entrance into Parliament, to occupy the seat made honorable by his illustrious father. It was a fearful shock, but he bore it with dignity. Some of the best men in the nation, such men as Windham and Wilberforce, came to consult with him as the oracle of the age.

"He hoped," he said, "to obtain the Divine mercy through the intercession of a blessed Redeemer, which he had long sought with unfeigned humiliation, and to which he looked with a trembling hope."

Great as were all of Edmund Burke's intellectual endowments, and stores of knowledge, and wit, and imagination, their luster

grows dim when compared with his philanthropic virtues, and it is but justice that these should receive their proper acknowledgment. A man in his station must of necessity bestow much labor on matters of no permanent value, and laws that but mark the transition state to correct action; therefore, the proper estimation to be put upon them, is to be sought in the spirit and aim of their endeavors. Burke, so estimated, presents a noble example of the statesman; he deserves to be classed with Clarkson and Wilberforce, although he was immeasurably in advance of them in intellect, and broader in the sphere of labors. The memory of such men deserves to be cherished, for we live in an age that needs such examples—the example of genius consecrated to the service of humanity in the political arena.

Art. VII.—THE LOGOS OF PHILO JUDÆUS AND THAT OF ST. JOHN.

By Professor John A. Reubelt. — After the German of Dr. Dorner and others.

It sometimes happens that men of opposite views treat on some particular subject for the purpose of making, not the same, but a diametrically opposite use of it. This is eminently the case with the λόγος of Philo and that of St. John. Men whose religious views are entirely opposed to each other, agree that the λόγος of Philo is, if not in every particular, yet in the main features, that of St. John, but for the most opposite ends; the one party, taking it for granted that the Bible is true, have seen in this remarkable coincidence of many expressions used by Philo and the writers of the New Testament, and especially St. John, an additional proof of the truth of the Bible. This party is ably represented by Dr. Adam Clarke, the commentator, who is of opinion that Philo must either have seen the writings of St. John, or if not, he claims for him, at all events, a kind of secondary inspiration. "These testimonies are truly astonishing; and if we allow, as some contend, that Philo was not acquainted either with the disciples of our Lord or the writings of the New Testament, we shall be obliged to grant that there must have been some measure of Divine inspiration in that man's mind who could, in such a variety of cases, write so many words and sentences so exactly corresponding to those of the evangelists and apostles."*

* Notes at the close of the first chapter of John.

The other party, the so-called school of Tübingen, headed by Dr. Baur and others, takes it for granted that Philo's λόγος and that of John are identical; but, according to them, John was a Gnostic, *who copied Philo.* According to this "*school,*" Christianity has little, if anything, to do with the historical person of Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus himself, and, of course, all his apostles and disciples, were, at best, Ebionites. Paul of Tarsus differed from them only with respect to the validity of the law; and Christianity proper took its origin toward the middle of the second century, out of the logology of Philo and the Hellenists, which had been adopted and developed by the Gnostics. It is in the interest of this school to deny that Christianity has any organic life of its own. Professor Gfröner (das Jahrhunders des Heils, Stuttgart, 1838, part II, page 431) says: "To every doctrine, yea, to almost every sentence of the New Testament, a parallel passage can be found in the Talmud, the Sohar, the Midrashim." Neither the logology nor the incarnation is allowed by this school to be peculiar to Christianity; but both of them were borrowed for it from older religious or philosophic systems. For this reason it may be an interesting, even a necessary task, to examine this subject more closely; and it is probable that even good Dr. Clarke, had he been acquainted with the use that has been made of views that were advanced by him, would have investigated the matter more thoroughly before passing a final judgment. It is true that in the "list of particular terms and doctrines found in Philo, with parallel passages from the New Testament," (and this list might have been considerably increased,) some terms seem to be identical, and, therefore, very apt to mislead. Some of these terms are: υἵος Θεοῦ, son of God; δεύτερος Θεός, second divinity; λόγος πρωτόγονος, first-begotten of God; εἰκιὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, image of God; ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, superior to all angels; ὑπεράνω παντός, superior to all; ὁ θεῶς λόγος ταῦτα—τὸν κόσμον—δε εσκομησεν, the Divine word has made all things—the world; ὕπερ κας τοῦ Θεου, the vicar of God; φῶς κόσμου, light of the world; ἥλιος νοητός, ideal sun; μόνῳ ἔξεστε τὸν Θεὸν καθορᾷν, he alone can see God, etc. Now it is unquestionably true, that if these terms, or only some of them, had been taken by Philo in the same sense in which St. John used them, the view taken by Clarke and others would be established beyond the possibility of even a rational doubt; but *this is not the case.*

It may become apparent, from a thorough examination of Philo's views, that his *God*, even, is neither the Christian nor the Jewish God, bearing a stronger resemblance to the Ὄν of Plato than to the

Jehovah of Moses; but such an examination would require more time than we can, for the present, bestow upon the subject. It is, however, under these circumstances, highly improbable, to say the least, that the Christian Trinity, which is unknown to the Old Testament, certainly not developed in it, should be found in Philo. The two points which are decisive in this question are: 1. *Is the λόγος of Philo a personification, or a real hypostasis?* 2. *Is Philo's λόγος really divine?* Should it appear that he is a mere personification, then even the strongest *resemblance* between Philo and St. John is of no avail; should he, however, appear as a hypostasis, but not as truly Divine, then, at most, an Arian Christ, but by no means the ὁμοούσιον of Athanasius, which is but a logical and consistent development of the teachings of St. John, could have been deduced from him. The reasons for the personality of Philo's λόγος are summed up by Lücke, as follows: 1. Philo calls his λόγος ἀρχάγγελος, archangel. To this it may be replied, that he calls him also ἀρχιερεύς, high priest; παράκλητος, advocate; and yet Lücke himself admits that these appellations prove no more than σφραγίς, image or seal, and δεσμός, bond, equally applied by him to the λόγος. But supposing that ἀρχάγγελος is taken in the same sense as the ἄγγελοι, even these are so identified with the ἰδέαι, δυνάμεις, that their personality becomes questionable. Yea, since the λόγος is the unity of these δυνάμεις or ἄγγελοι, instead of saying, the angels are personal, and, therefore, the logos, one can, with equal right, say, either the logos is personal, then the ἄγγελοι are not, but are impersonal powers, whose union the logos is; or, the angels are personal, and then the logos is no longer their personal unity.

2. Philo calls the logos δεύτερος θεός, second divinity, but immediately adds that he says so catachrestically, since a second divinity, strictly speaking, would be for Philo a contradictio in adjecto. It is true, the passage in question refers to something divine that is less perfect than God, and can come into contact with the world, while God cannot. But it is by no means clear that this divine *something*, which is less perfect than God, is a personality, or only a personification of the revealing nature in God.

3. The logos is the image of God; but God being personal, the logos must be so also. But the body is also the image of the spirit, and a mirror reflects any object. The logos is, indeed, alive; but impersonal powers may be so too. And if this conclusion were correct, it would follow that nature is also personal, because it is the image of the logos.

The second point is the real divinity of the logos of Philo, the question about his personality being settled. Here the question,

already alluded to, arises, whether Philo's conceptions of his God are really *divine*, or rather physical. If his conceptions are only physical, the incompatibility of his system with Christianity is apparent at once, since, in the kingdom of the categories of nature, neither the differences nor unity can have their full force. If Philo, then, has no correct views of the Deity, his logos can, of course, not be that of John, who is *truly* Divine. But even the *really divine of Philo's system* cannot be predicated of his logos; for what is, according to him, the best and innermost, is *incommunicable.* Yet, after these proleptical remarks, it is high time to resume the proper thread of the subject, in order to treat it more fully and thoroughly.

Philo was a cotemporary of Christ, and while Palestine saw the Redeemer, Philo was the most remarkable representative of the Hellenistic Jews; and his system is the most direct counterpart of Christianity, so much so that many have been deceived by it. An acquaintance with the apostles or their writings, on the part of Philo, is out of the question. *In Philo, Judaism, tinctured with Hellenism, makes the bold attempt to accomplish, by force of thought, what the Messianic idea has proposed to itself, but also to supersede, by this attempt, the Messiah.* This ideal mixture of Hellenism and Judaism in Philo, accounts both for the fact that Philo has been, by rather superficial observers, mistaken for a Christian, and for his approximating to two opposite stand-points that cannot possibly be reconciled with each other.

The two opposites of his system, which continually flee from and seek each other, are not correctly represented by any effort to deduce the one from the other, in order to save the unity of the whole; yea, Philo himself did not effect this union; but *this is his historical importance,* that by him the old Hebrew view of the Deity is blended with a pagan view of the world, so that he starts a kind of theogony, and his abstract views of the Deity become, to a certain extent, concrete by the addition of another element, namely, that of emanation. On the other hand, his abstract monotheistical consciousness suppresses again each and every more concrete phenomenon that would emanate from his simple and absolute being.

Philo's monotheism drops what is the highest in the Hebrew monotheism, namely, the ethical energy of Jehovah, which flows from his justice and holiness. From the Hebrew ethics he falls back into Pagan physics, from which it follows that he *both has and has not* the difference between God and the world; his theogony becomes, at the same time, a cosmogony, and thus he corrupts his idea of God by that of the world, and that of the world again by that of the Deity.

It has been urged by some scholars, that Philo's God is absolutely

simple in his pure absoluteness, and therefore immutable. This divine attribute, it has been contended, makes an intermediate being necessary, namely, the λόγος of Philo, who, therefore, cannot be God himself, as in this way God would come into contact with the world, but must be rather an hypostasis, although of an inferior nature. It must be admitted that Philo treats in many passages of God, as being exalted above everything. "That there is a God," says Philo, (De monarch, § 3,) "we can learn from the world; for a great city, a work of so great art, can neither have made itself nor have come into existence by chance. But *how* God is, is impossible to find. It is, indeed, highly praiseworthy to search after the attributes of God, since this very searching has infinite charms; but nothing in the world can teach us how God is. 'Show thyself unto me,' said Moses. 'In the whole world I find no one that can tell me what thou art; thou must show thyself to me. I pray thee, yield to the prayers of thy humble friend, for thou alone canst do it. For as light, without being illuminated by something else, reveals itself, thus only thou canst show thyself.'"

Since Philo praises thus the desire to know God as noble and divine, one should think that he stands here at the threshold of wisdom, praying for the knowledge of God to be imparted by God himself, by revelation. But what answer does his God return to Moses, his representative of the pious portion of the human race? "It is, indeed, praiseworthy, what thou askest for; but thy prayer becomes no finite being. It would be, indeed, easy for me to grant it, but impossible for thee to receive it. I give to each, that is worthy of grace, what he can bear; but the heavens and the earth cannot comprehend me, how much less a human being!" Thus he denies, unqualifiedly, that God can be known by man. But this is not all; he describes his infinitude after the fashion of the apophatic theology, in such a manner that he is denied, objectively, *each and every attribute*, as goodness and beauty, and nothing is left to him but *undeterminableness*. (*Τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν ψυχῆς, οἱ δὲ σώματος γεγόνασι φίλου. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς ἑταῖροι νοηταῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτοις φύσεσιν ἐνομιλεῖν δυνάμενοι, οὐδεμίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἰδέᾳ παραβάλλουσι τὸ ὄν· ἀλλ' ἐμβιβάσαντες αὐτὸ πάσης ποιότητος—τὴν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον φαντασίαν ἐνεδέξαντο, μὴ μορφώσαντες αὐτὸ*—Some men are friends of the mind, others of the body. The friends of the mind, now being able to contemplate on ideal and bodiless natures, ascribe to the Supreme Being (*τὸ Ὄν*) no similitude with any creature; but, having divested it of every quality or attribute, they have adopted the idea of his merely existing, ascribing to him neither form nor shape, (Quod Deus sit Immutabilis, § ii.) It is the very

climax of happiness to think of *God as merely existing*, but as *being altogether undeterminable.*

But to this it can be replied, with equal right, on the other hand, Philo's God is by no means confined to himself, incommunicable. He is, on the contrary, *everywhere, the beginning and end of the universe.* He says, not only of the *λόγος*, that he is the creator of the world, poured out over everything; but he says also of God: "He fills out everything, passes through everything, and has left nothing destitute of himself," (*πάντα γὰρ πεπλήρωκεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ διὰ πάντων διεληλυθε, καὶ κενὸν οὐδέν, οὐδέ ἔρημον ἀπολέλοιπεν ἑαυτοῦ.*) He has been and always is creator of the universe; holds together and governs heaven and earth, water and air, and whatever is therein. Far from being satisfied with an undeterminable, incommunicable God, Philo calls him, as he calls also the *λόγος*, the place of ideas, the fullness in himself, and by himself, the place of the universe, i. e., him who has the universe for his fullness. (*Ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπλήρωται πάντα, περιέκοντος, οὐ περι εχομένου, ᾧ παντα χοῦ τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ σομβέβηκεν εἶναι μόνῳ*—The universe is filled with the Deity, he circumscribing everything, but being circumscribed by nothing, and he alone being able to be everywhere and nowhere.—Ad Gen., xi, 5.) The world belongs, of necessity, to God, and has, by this very fact, the certainty of being everlasting and incorruptible. If the world would sink into nothingness, God's own existence would become unenviable; yea, solitude and ennui would be death to God himself. Philo, then, speaking so much of God's *all-sufficiency in himself*, must be understood as implying that it is a real want for God, in consequence of his goodness, to leave nothing without himself; but that he, although he gives everything to the world, cannot receive anything from it in turn; he is in the world, but not contaminated by the world; he is the active principle (*δραστήριον*) and the world merely passive, (*παθητικόν=οὐσία=ὕλη.*) (*Εἰ γάρ τις ἐθελήσειε τὴν αἰτίαν, ἧς ἕνεκα τὸδε τὸ πᾶν ἐδημιουργεῖτο, διερεννᾶσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι μὴ διαμαρτεῶ τοῦ σκοποῦ φάμενος, ὅπερ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἶπε τις· ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν οὐ χάριν τῆς ἀρίστης αὐτοῦ φύσεως οὐκ ἔφθονησεν οὐσίᾳ, μηδ' ἐξ ἑαυτῆς· ἐχούσῃ καλόν, δυναμένῃ δὲ γενέσθαι πάντα*—If any should desire to find the cause for which God created all things, *he* seems to me not to miss the point who says, what one of the ancients has said, that the Father and Creator is good, for which cause he did not envy his own most excellent nature to matter that has no beauty in itself, but can become everything.—De Opif. Mundi, § 5.) From this extract it appears that, according to Philo, matter is eternal, not created by God, but only shaped and molded by him, and the

world perfect and indestructible, which two points are at variance with the Christian consciousness; but it also appears that our assertion is true, namely, that Philo's system consists of altogether heterogeneous elements that cannot be reconciled with each other; and those that would argue the necessity of an intermediate being between God and the world, because God himself cannot come into contact with anything, feel the ground under their feet give way and disappear.

For, if so, why does his Supreme Being come into so frequent contact with the world, matter being, indeed, foreign to him, but capable to receive him? But altogether incompatible with the idea of the λόγος, as a distinct hypostasis, is the word of Philo: Οὐδὲν τοῦ θείου τέμνε ται κατ' ἀπάρτησιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκτείνεται—Nothing Divine extends by separation, but only expands. *As far, then, as the λόγος is divine, he is not an hypostasis distinct from God, but the expanding God himself.* But anything undivine Philo's λόγος has nowhere in himself; he does not create matter, but only stamps himself upon it as a seal, and this act, too, is often ascribed to God, so that the λόγος can only be God himself in a certain point of view. And where does Philo show the least apprehension that he may destroy the unity of God by his logology? And yet he could not fail to do so, if he means to designate by his λόγος an hypostasis distinct from God. On reading attentively De Somn., §§ 37–41, one sees that, according to Philo, a plurality in God owes its origin not to God himself, but to the inferior stand-point of the individual, the φαντασία of the individual, as he elsewhere calls it. It is true he does not look upon this φαντασία as something altogether arbitrary, or merely subjective; but the one God appears, for the best interests of man, in different aspects, that man may be able to comprehend something of him in every stage of mental culture. On the highest stage he has the Supreme Being, whom he had, on a lower stage, as the λόγος; but as soon as he has the supreme God, the λόγος ceases being an hypostasis, and becomes the self-revealing God, so that the idea of plurality is entirely excluded. Whenever he employs peculiar names to designate God in his different aspects, as creator or preserver, he adds, in every instance, the necessary correctives, so that God's unity is not endangered thereby. It is true he calls (De Mundi Opif.) the λόγος not only the world-conceiving and world-creating power of God, the proper term to designate God, as far as he comes into contact with the world, the δραστήριον; but he calls him also *Son, the first-begotten of God*, the connecting link between God and the external world, mediator, high priest, intercessor, surety, archangel, pillar, etc. The meaning and pro-

priety of these terms will become apparent from considering the different ideas which Philo attaches to his λόγος.

1. Philo's logos is a divine faculty or power, either of thinking or creating, or both combined. In this sense he is identical with the νοῦς; (De Migr. Abr. § i;) the λόγος is called the divine house or dwelling of the νοῦς, and means thus the ideal center in God, while the νοῦς means the active principle, δραστήριον, a term given to the λόγος in other passages. In the λόγος rests the world, also the ideal world; out of him it could not exist: (οὐδὲ ὁ ἐκ τῶν ιδεῶν κόσμος ἄλλον ἂν ἔχοι τόπον, ἢ τὸν θεῖον λόγον—nor may the ideal world have another resting-place than the divine λόγος.) In this sense the λόγος is identical also with the σοφία, (De Ebriet., § 8,) is the ἐπιστήμη, knowledge, of the creator, mother of everything created, and God himself the creator, "cohabiting with her, not like a man, God has brought forth the birth of the world; receiving into herself the Divine seed, she gave birth to the only, well-beloved son of God, the visible world." Thus the ideal world is the elder, the visible world the younger son of God; time is the son of the world and the grandson of God.

2. The λόγος of God is the active principle, δραστήριον; he is not only the faculty of thinking and creating, but also the thinking and creating principle. But even in this capacity he is no hypostasis distinct from God, but a personified power of God. God saw that a beautiful image cannot be without a beautiful original, that nothing sensual is blameless, except it is made after an archetype, a preconceived idea. He created, therefore, when he was about to create the visible world, the ideal world, κόσμος νοητός, in order to have a bodiless archetype, like unto God, for this visible world, this younger image of the elder. But this ideal world must not be conceived as existing in some particular place. As an architect, before he builds a city, plants it and imprints every conceived idea upon his mind as upon wax; this ideal city has as yet no local existence, but by it the real city is afterward built. Thus God, when he was about to build this world, this μεγαλόπολις. The planning of the ideal world is here ascribed to God himself. Philo continues: As the soul of the artist is the place of this ideal city, so the world out of ideas, ὁ ἐκτῶν ιδεῶν κόσμος, has no other place than the divine λόγος, who planned it. The logos is, then, the intellect, νοῦς, of God, that plans the world. Immediately afterward he says: "Also the world-creating power has for its source the really good;" but the really good is, according to Philo, God. And as he makes the logos the place, τόπος, for all powers, δυνάμεις, he must understand by him God in a certain aspect. "The father and creator," says Philo, "is good, for

which reason he does not envy to matter his own best substance. For matter had by itself nothing good, although it could become everything, (as cited above.) Without needing another assistant, (for what other was there?) making use only of himself, God resolved to furnish nature with unspeakable graces, which by itself could not give anything good."

3. As the λόγος of Philo is the architect of the ideal world, κόσμος νοητός, so he is also the result, the thought, *i. e.*, the actual world itself. "To speak plainly," says he, "the ideal world is nothing else than the λόγος of the world-creating God; § 6 εἰδέ τις ἐθελήσειε γομνοτέροις χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασε, οὐδὲν ἂν ἕτερον εἴποι εἶναι τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον, ἢ θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμοποιοῦντος — if one would make use of simpler terms, he would say, that the ideal world is nothing but the logos of the world-creating God." The ideal world is no more distinct from the logos, than the ideal city is distinct from the mind of the architect; neither is the λόγος distinct from God, but he is God conceived of as God's intellect, or the world-creating power. "It is apparent," says Philo in the same place, "that the archetypical seal, which we call ideal world, is the archetype itself, the idea of ideas, the λόγος of God."

4. As to the real, sensual world, ὁ κόσμος αἰσθητός, the λόγος is often called its active divine principle. "He proceeds (ἀνατέλει) from God, is begotten for the purpose, that this world may come into existence." This is the point that seems to authorize the idea of the λόγος being an hypostasis. But it follows by no means from the expressions used to designate the proceeding of the λόγος from God, that he really is a personality, because the same expressions are used with regard to the world, which is evidently no personality. The world is called in numberless instances the *younger son of God*, so that, if the clearer is to throw light upon what is dark, *the elder son can*, still less, *be a personality;* and this the more so, as one is a world, like the other; the one the κόσμος νοητός, the other the κόσμος αἰσθητός. Or must the κόσμος νοητός be personal, in order to enter the ὕλη=οὐσία=matter? If Philo knows of any real creative act which he does not ascribe to God, but to the λόγος exclusively, then he, the logos, can be thought of as a real hypostasis, whereas emanatism does not need a personality for the transition of the ideal into the material world; yea, for such a system a personality does not suit at all.

But, as has been remarked above, the formation or molding of the world is ascribed to God also. This world, the younger son of God, is not created by the λόγος, acting as the representative of God; but God creates the world by himself, "making use of himself and

of no other helper," by imprinting "*his ideal world, as the elder son, upon matter, as a seal, as it were.*" Matter is the passive principle, παθητικόν, without soul and motion by itself, without order, without quality, full of disharmony and contrariety. But it could become everything, capable of being changed into the very best; could receive order, definiteness, animation, similitude, equality, and harmony. It is moved, molded, and animated by the Divine intelligence, and thus it became the most perfect masterpiece, this world, the μεγαλόπολις. According to Philo, matter was not created; but God found of it exactly as much as was necessary for the creation of the world, neither too much nor too little, (De Incorrupt. Mundi: ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲν γίγνεται, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεται. Ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ οὐδαμῇ ὄντος ἀμή χανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι τι—as out of nothing, nothing can come, so nothing can be destroyed *i. e.*, made to cease, for out of that which is nowhere nothing can come forth.) When he says, then, of the world, that it was created, (De Opif. Mundi,) he can only mean that the imprint of the λόγος upon matter, or the self-expansion of God into the ὕλη, has its cause continually in God, which becomes for it a communication of himself to it, (the world.) The substance of the world (both as to matter and the λόγος) has not taken its origin in time, and does not cease to exist, is incorruptible, since ἀπραξία, idleness, and ἐρημία, solitude, would be to God = θάνατος, death. The world is the son, υἱός, ἔκγονος of God; for, as viewed by God, it is nothing else than the ideal world, with all its fullness, brought into contact with the ὕλη, shining over into it.

Not the ὕλη is the discerning, separating principle, but the κόσμος νοητός is in itself already a regular, well-arranged multiplicity of ideas, and, for Philo, the foundation of all real harmony, (De Mundi Opif.: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἑτεróντί ἐστιν ἢ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμός, ἤδη τὴν αἰσθητὴν πόλιν τῇ νοητῇ κτιζειν δια νο ουμένου, —for the ideal city is nothing else than the conception of the architect, being on the point of creating the actual city by the ideal one.) This unity, which is, at the same time, fullness, being brought into contact with matter, is with it the world as it actually exists. Creation, in the proper sense of the term, is, according to Philo, out of the question, as the ideal world becomes the real, (world,) not by undergoing even a change in itself, but by becoming for the ὕλη what it always had been in itself, which was something new, not for the ideal world, but for the ὕλη alone.

Taking now, in addition to what has thus far been developed, namely, that the λόγος is partly identical with the world, and, therefore, not hypostatical, partly identical with God, and only in God

personal, but not in himself; I say, taking, in addition to all this, into consideration the monotheism of Philo, which excludes a plurality of persons most decidedly, and denies to everything out of God a world-creating power most positively, and the hypostasis of Philo's λόγος being to him an hypostasis is more than shaken. As the inward being of God is, according to him, absolutely simple, admitting of no distinction, the ὁμοούσιον of the Church, or the principle from which the Church developed it, is also altogether foreign to him. *Where God is so little recognized in his* absolute liberty, *so little conceived of in his ethical attributes*, he can be nothing more than the *substance*, or the *obscure cause of the world*, to which alone all distinctions belong.

We have, however, to consider yet what meaning Philo attaches to these personal appellations given to the λόγος, and how, on the whole, Philo reconciles the divine activity over against the world with the abstract being of God.

After what has been said, it cannot be difficult to appreciate those appellations properly. If the λόγος, as κόσμος νοητός, is the principle of the actual world, he can also be called the ruler of the world, and of the process developed in it. These powers being called personifiedly, not hypostatically, λόγοι, ἰδέαι, ἄγγελοι, the λόγος can with propriety be called ἄγγελος πρεσβύτατος, ἀρχάγγελος πολυῳνύμος, (many-named archangel.) In order to express that God has his adequate mirror (εἰκιόν) in the κόσμος νοητός, and that his Divine activity exerted upon the actual world is not identical with his ideal, world-conceiving activity, in which God remains identical with himself, Philo can call the λόγος, in his relation to the sensual world, the ὕπαρχος, or lieutenant of God.

God is, κ. ε., the ruler of the universe, (ποιμήν,) but he has placed over the world his reason, his first-born; that is, the divine activity with reference to the world, has always, as its final principle, that in itself from which the all-ruling and all-pervading idea of the world proceeded. Now, also, the title high-priest, which is given to the λόγος, or to God as λόγος, becomes intelligible. The λόγος (quis rerum divin.) stands on the boundary, (of the ideal and actual world;) to him as the archangel or eldest logos, has the father, the progenitor of all things, assigned the eminent task to keep asunder the finite and the infinite, to keep the bad from the good. He is, thus, the guardian of what is finite, the border on the side of pantheism, since it is declared by this category of the λόγος, that the world can never be God, as considered in himself, but it might be God according to his activity. But even this idea, that is, the world's being God in his activity, is partly excluded by Philo, since matter, which

is, according to him, undivine, is a necessary ingredient of the world. *Thus he is protected from Pantheism in the latter sense, not by his idea of God, as being not ethical, but only by matter or by his dualism.* In this respect he calls the world of the λόγος also the garment of God. For this actual world, "for whatever is mortal, the same logos is both intercessor with God and embassador of the Lord to the subject," consequently mediator in both directions. And he rejoices in his office. Philo introduces him as speaking thus: "I stand in the midst between the Lord and you, since I am neither unbegotten by God, nor begotten like you, but the middle of the extremes, a surety to both; to God, that he may be certain that the whole race will never apostatize, choosing disorder for order; but to the creature, that it may rest assured that God will never neglect the works of his hands. For I will be the herald of peace that brings to the creature the message of peace from God, the eternal guardian of peace."

De Profugis, § 20, the divine λόγος is represented as the high priest, blameless both as to birth and being; his father is the νοῦς, his mother the σοφία. The oldest λόγος is clothed with the world as with a garment, with earth and water, air and fire, and whatever proceeds therefrom. As the intellect of God, he is the bond that keeps all parts as members together; as the soul of man keeps the members of the body together. The λόγος is therefore called *high priest, as the blameless unity of the world, which unity he represents in the capacity of κόσμος νόητός, as the idea of the world, and in this idea the representative parts are reconciled to, and represented before God.* He is also high priest, since he is no inefficient idea, but makes the actual world, with its plastic matter, a real image of himself, or the garment in which he lives, and has everywhere his being and realizes his ideas. And as this living and powerful unity he is a guaranty to the world that it is perfect in the sight of God, and to God himself, being himself the world as to what constitutes it the κόσμος, (beauty,) not only ideally, but also really. Yet such an idea of the world excludes all history. The λόγος is not the idea of the world, to be realized by the world, by free agents, by God through revelation in the progress of history; but this (Philo's) idea of the world is at once physical. Here, then, is the point where the irreconcilableness of Philo's system with the Christian idea becomes apparent, while thus far we have met with a similarity with Christian dogmas, at least in terms that might easily mislead. Yet, before we proceed to develop this specific difference between Philo and Christianity, *i. e.*, Philo's position with regard to the Messianic idea of his people and his relation to Chris-

tianity, it will be well to glance once more briefly over what has been said.

From this it appears, that there is not only no necessity of conceiving of Philo's λόγος as an hypostasis, but that every passage that has been quoted for this purpose, namely, to prove the hypostasis of the λόγος, is in reality against it. Moreover, an hypostatical generality in God would be entirely at variance with the whole mode of thinking of a man like Philo, who is pushed by such an irresistible force or power from a multiplicity to the unity of substance, sacrificing, as he does, to this longing after unity the deep, ethical difference which old Hebrewism makes between God and the world, in such a manner that only the riff of the ὕλη could save him from plunging into positive atheism.

But it will not do, either, to make the λόγος unqualifiedly identical with God, he being neither an hypostasis nor God in himself, (τὸ Ὄν.) But as the λόγος is contained in God, the assertion appears well founded, that in Philo's logology the doctrine of differences in God is, although from afar off, prepared. God is distinguished as to his being in himself and to his activity. (A higher category is not attained by Philo.) As God in himself he is τὸ Ὄν, as God in his activity he is the λόγος. To these two main points a third one is added, by this, that he is, as logos, 1. *Indivisible*, and both the world of the divine thoughts and the agent that thinks them; 2. That he reveals the ideal world through matter, by which he *realizes it.* Thus we have to look upon the Divine life in three stages, as it were, to which it expands itself, namely: *God in himself, the ideal world, the actual world.* But to distinguish these three is only an attempt, as the differences disappear entirely at a closer inspection; for the actual world, as far as it is a development of the Divine life, is not in itself different from the ideal world, but is so only by matter, (as we have seen above.) The ideal world or logos can neither be thought of as something objectively different from God, as God without reason would no longer be a God. All apparent plurality in God's being and activity, both with regard to the ideal and actual world, has therefore its origin in man. So also with regard to the theophanies of the Old Testament. When Philo, in order not to bring God into contact with the world, represents these theophanies as a beaming forth of his power, he does not look upon these powers as separate from God, but he considers each and every one of them as infinite in itself. (De Abrah., § 22; De Conf. Ling., § 33.) Since Moses cannot see God, he desires to see, at least, his companions, the Divine powers, which as unity are called the δόξα of God. But God answers that they also are invisible and

ideal; incomprehensible, like God, in their being; but beam forth an image and impress of their energy, (ἐνέργεια.) For to that which is without shape or quality they impart both, without undergoing the least change in themselves. Thus they are put on an equal footing with God himself: "Do not expect to comprehend either me or any of my powers according to our substance; what is within thy reach I give thee readily and cheerfully. Therefore I invite thee to contemplate the world."

The whole world made by God exhales every morning and every evening sacrifices of thanksgiving. (Quis Rerum Div., § 41.) It is animated and intelligent; its innate reason is the law, the order of the universe. It is a son of God, itself divine, emphatically the great city, μεγαλόπολις πρός ἀλήθειαν. It is one and entire, its power unconquerable, containing all in itself; it cannot be dissolved into parts, being indestructible. (De Mundo, § 14.) It cannot be brought into confusion either, nor can it even increase or have different stages or ages. If so, it would be at first, like children, a child, (ἄλογος,) which to say would be impiety. It cannot, according to Philo, be denied without sin that the world is always perfect, both as to soul and body, (ἀγέννητος καὶ ἄφθαρτος.) The doctrine that the world will ever be burned up, yea, that of a palingenesy of it in general, is an abomination to Philo, the world being perfect and beautiful such as it is. He has imbibed the principles of Grecian philosophy, which make the world appear unto him as perfect. Having fallen from the ethical to the physical stand-point, he has no idea, no need of history; according to his views there is no disharmony in the world, consequently no need of redemption. But having only the world for the substance of God, in all passages in which he wishes and ought to speak of God, he puts, by the same confusion of ideas, Divine attributes in place of the world. The highest place in the world is occupied by man, namely, the original man, between whom and the λόγος, however, there is no difference, so that he cannot be looked upon as belonging to the actual world. Yet man, with all his imperfections, represents, in the material world, by his body, the world in miniature. The world is the ideal man, man the world in miniature, uniting in himself the four elements. But God has given him, above all things, the excellent boon of reason, the same that is in God being also in man. From this it follows, as a matter of course, that since the world alone is the sum total of the Divine reason, it cannot be otherwise with that of man. Yet man forms the unreal point of the actual world, and most of all he who in his thoughts and actions agrees with the order and reason inherent in the world, which becomes in the conscious-

ness of man the law, (*νόμος.*) Such is the pious and the wise man. The flower of the human race are the Jews; that of the Jews, again, both the prophets, as interpreters of the Divine will, and the wise men; the wise men being of equal value with the world, (*ἰσότιμον τῷ κόσμῳ.*—De Sacrif. Abel, § 3.) This nobility of man is a propitiation, a ransom for the world. The Jews especially, this nation most beloved of God, fill the offices of prophet and high priest for the whole world, in an uninterrupted, well-arranged manner. (De Vita Moys., § 50.) For this reason it is, that the high priest, when he enters into the holy of holies, wears the symbols of the whole world, being the representative of the universe before God. (De Vita Moys., § 14.) Other priests pray and sacrifice only for friends and citizens; but the high priest of the Jews offers up prayer and thanksgiving not only for the whole human race, but also for the elements of nature, air, fire, earth, and water, looking upon the world as his native home—and it is so in reality—in whose place he is in the habit of reconciling the prince by prayers and entreaties.

Thus this representation also has a physical character. The world is reconciled by Israel without being aware of it, without appropriating to itself this vicarious act of Israel. The equality of all men before God is not known to Philo either, but is concealed from his view by a hierarchia terrestris, which is an image of the heavenly one, and this gradation of humanity also is connected with the physical character of his system. This physical character and the contradiction contained in it become still more apparent by the fact that neither the high priest nor the wise man has in himself the power to reconcile the world. But the same world which he is to reconcile, is the son, the real paraclete, whom he must resemble as a microcosm, whose aid he needs in order to make his worship acceptable. For this reason also he must wear the symbols of the universe, that the individual members may, in its totality, repair their defects, and God may see in it everything as good. He wears in his garments the image of the universe, that he may make his own life worthy of the nature of the universe by a constant contemplation of it, but likewise that the whole universe may join in his worship. Now, if Philo admitted an historical development of revelation and humanity, his representing the parts as atoned for by the whole might be true in a certain point of view; for to this whole, the entire future development as secured by the Messiah—if he would admit the Messianic idea—would these belong. But with him it is the world, such as it is, that is to reconcile man to God; which is to say, since man is part of the world, that man needs no reconcilia-

tion; he is reconciled to God by his very existence; he is, such as he is, good and acceptable in the sight of God; or, if he is to be reconciled by the objective world, the world is the higher, and thus his apparent nobility, his distinction, vanishes.

It is thus scarcely necessary to draw the conclusion that Philo was a stranger to those pious wishes and expectations that swelled the bosom of every orthodox Jew. His Messianic idea is a dead letter, retaining, as he does, only the expectation that all the Jews, scattered over the whole world, will be led back to Palestine by a supernatural phenomenon in heaven, (ὄψις,) which will be visible to the pious alone; which, indeed, is strangely at variance with the world-citizenship which he claims for his nation, as well as with his being so well pleased with the whole world. This last remnant of the Messianic idea, which he had received by tradition, was foreign to his system, and, in itself, without meaning; but, foreign as it is to Philo, it still gives us an idea of the energy of the Messianic hopes of the Alexandrian Jews of his times, to whom he renders this tribute. We have now, in conclusion, only to investigate yet why the Messianic idea and that of the incarnation find no place in his system. The answer is: *an atonement is, in his views, needless, on account of his views on sin and divine justice—the incarnation an impossibility.* He seems, indeed, to claim liberty for man, but adds, immediately, that God exempts nothing from his power, with which, in Philo's views, individual liberty is scarcely compatible. The category of holy love is foreign to him. Yet what he says on the creation of man is especially instructive. The higher nature of man, his rational type, had to be imprinted by the Divine λόγος, not by that God who is before the λόγος, and better than all logical nature; therefore God speaks of himself as if speaking of another, (Gen. i, 27,) "I have made man after the image of God." But why does God speak of himself in the plural, (Gen. i, 26; iii, 22; xi, 7,) "Let us make man," etc.? Philo replies that this has reference to the powers surrounding God, since it did not become God (τὸ Ὄν) to come into immediate contact with the world. These powers, ἰδέαι, angels, had to form the mortal part of our being, imitating the art of him that had formed the royal part in us. The princely part was formed by the Prince of all things, the lower one by inferior powers. But man was to be capable of choosing between good and evil, while other beings have either neither virtue nor vice, like nature, or only virtues, like the heavenly bodies; and thus God had to transfer the origin of evil (γένεσις κακῶν) to inferior beings, reserving to himself the origin of good. For the mixed is partly becoming for God, since the idea of the better is mixed with it;

partly not becoming for him, on account of the opposite, since the Father cannot be the cause of evil for his children. According to this, evil has its origin in creation, in which inferior beings took part. In other passages he reduces the origin of evil to matter. Personal guilt seems thus to be out of the question, since Philo speaks of evil in such a manner as if the will of man had nothing to do with it. If evil is only physical, there is, then, none at all. Agreeably to this he makes but little account of evil. He claims for every soul the Divine power of virtue, (Quod Omnis Probus Liber, § 16), while he says, in another place, "Not to sin at all is only God's, perhaps also a Divine man's, prerogative." This fluctuating looseness culminates in his theology in the relation in which Divine justice stands to his mercy. "God," says he, "is not unmerciful, but benevolent by nature. Who believes that, repents easily, hoping that God will forget." (De Profugis, § 18.) Those passages of Scripture that speak of anger and justice in God, he endeavors to interpret by comparing the lawgiver to a physician, who accommodates himself to the patient, not always to truth. That the ignorant may fear, and for the purpose of helping thoroughly, the lawgiver represents God as being angry. Of that earnest struggle, through which the noblest of the Old Testament people pass, in order to satisfy Divine justice and to secure God's favor, Philo knows absolutely nothing. He divests the religious process of that which gives it force, namely, of Divine justice, converting it into a mere figure of speech, whereby the whole is relaxed, the longing for something better extinguished, and the ethical consciousness endemonistically poisoned. For a Divine goodness that is not just must be physical, and can have for its highest and only enjoyment *nothing but a state of well-being*, even if this should be the feast of knowledge. (De Opif. Mundi, at large.) He can, indeed, not deny the evil consequences of sin; but as far as he refers them to God they have for their exclusive object the welfare of man. In this sense must be understood the *κολαστικὴ δύναμις*—the punishing power, which he ascribes to the *Ὄν*. Of the same kind is also his doctrine of providence and God's care of us, altogether physical, and neither moral nor religious. That a father should take care of his child is necessary, by the laws of nature, (*φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἀναγκαῖον.*)

By this contempt of Divine justice, Philo has become the predecessor of the Gnostics; by his doctrine concerning Divine goodness he seems to approach the New Testament, and to go beyond the Old, but falls, in fact, below it, and makes the Christian redemption needless. When speaking of the return of his people, he seems, indeed, to have the old Hebrew doctrine concerning a previous atonement

forced upon him; but, according to Philo, the Jews will not be in want of intercessors with the Father, as they will have three mediators of atonement, (*παράκληροι τῶν καταλλαγῖον,*) namely: 1. The mercy and goodness of God himself, who always prefers mercy to punishment. 2. The sanctity of the ancestors of the nation; for the disembodied souls, that bring pure and undefiled offerings to their Lord, intercede successfully for their sons and descendants. 3. The last paraclete is the reformation of those that are led to the covenant.

We have seen above that, according to Philo, the world is always reconciled to God, is constantly engaged in the act of reconciliation, standing in its *λόγος* as a blameless unity before God. All further development must accordingly appear to him as superfluous, as disturbing the harmony and peace of the world, which he views not in an ethical, but Hellenistic light. The law given by Moses is identical with the law of the world. The world is rational; the law, which is inherent in the world, has been brought to the consciousness of man by Moses, therefore it is eternal and not far from us; it is perfect and whole, admitting of no improvement.

As Philo teaches that man was created after the image of God, that he partakes of the nature of the *λόγος*, the inference appears plausible, that he postulates the most intimate relation between God and man, and that the idea of the incarnation cannot be foreign to him. He speaks of heroes, born out of immortal and mortal seed, in whom the mortal admixture was governed by the divine seed, and says, that this end is attainable still. But notwithstanding all this, he denies a *real* union between the Divine and the human. Where the Divine light shines, the human goes out, (Quis Rerum Div., § 53,) and where the Divine goes out, the human rises, (*Θέμις γὰρ οὐκ ἐστι θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ συνοικῆσαι* — for it is against the Divine will, that the human shall dwell together with the Divine.) For this reason, a state of ecstasy is absolutely necessary for receiving prophetic inspiration. The reason of this is not Philo's distinction between an unknown and actual God, since God says to Moses: "For me, it would be easy to grant what thou desirest, but not for thee to receive it;" but both his physical idea of God, and the admixture of the *ὕλη* to all mortals, is the cause "why God is not communicable according to the infinity of his grace, but according to the capacity of the creature to receive. His power is infinite; all Divine powers are without limit; the creature is too weak to receive them, wherefore God gave not everything to us, but only as much as our nature can bear." Man must lay down his body, in order to arrive at a higher state of existence. His distinction between God

as the active principle, (δραστήριον,) and the world as the passive principle, (παθητικόν,) would be done away with by the incarnation. While Christianity sees in the human body not only an organ of the spirit, but also a requisite for the self-actualization of the same, Philo knows neither to look upon suffering as a deed also, nor sees he in the body anything else than a limit, a barrier. If he would need a Christ at all, he would have a docetic one, (Λόγος ἄϊδιος,) an everlasting logos; but he does not even desire a new theophany of the logos. Even a metaphysical union of the cosmical opposites, God and world, he has so little succeeded in effecting, that man, in whose personality they center, the λόγος and the ὕλη, does not really represent this union, in two directions. For God remains foreign to humanity; Philo's idea of the Deity is far from seeing the cause of man's existence in God; and man remains so foreign to the other extreme, the ὕλη, that he realizes his idea fully by laying it aside, by becoming disembodied, as Philo conceives of his original man, and those that are perfect. Thus the two extremes, God and ὕλη, lie beyond man, limiting absolutely his knowledge and his liberty, and thus standing opposed to him as absolute mysteries, and as an unconquerable power of gravity. But these two extremes are also irreconciled to each other, and as their dualism produces the greatest unhappiness with consciousness of man, so he places also above God himself, who can never conquer matter fully, however desirous he may be of effecting it, a dark fate; divests his idea of God of all mere atheistical absoluteness, and thus makes it really pagan. Philo, inebriated with the Grecian idea of wisdom and beauty, knows how to cover up these contradictions, and to impart to the scientific, ethical, and religious comfortlessness of his stand-point the appearance of cheerfulness and beauty. But while the Grecian beauty is natural, his harmony is artificial and powerless. This harmony, however, shallow as it is, he looks upon as something higher, namely, as that union of the pagan and of the Jewish religion, which could be effected only through Christ; and we must confess that in his system the human mind has made the attempt to effect a union of the antechristian religions. Newly-born Christianity had thus, as it were, a rival in this attempt. But however dazzling for a superficial observer the similitude of many of his phrases and ideas with Christianity may be, their principles are diametrically opposed to each other, and even those expressions that are apparently identical have in their connections widely different meanings. So every reader of the Bible knows, that the λόγος of St. John, and all the epithets given to him, the terms *world*, *man*, and even *God*, mean things different from what we have found Philo to designate by the

same terms. Like Christianity, Philo would represent the world as celebrating an everlasting reconciliation by the λόγος; but what could be effected only by the fact of an humble condescension on the part of the λόγος, and what a pious desire was justified in waiting for as a Divine fact, that Philo fancies as accomplished forever, as accomplishing continually, and thus he becomes antagonistical to Christianity. His system approaches thus as a specter-like antagonism the cradle of Christianity, and appears on that horizon on which was to rise Christianity in order to set no more, as a dazzling, dissolving fata morgana. That the logology of St. John and Christianity has nothing to do with Philo's, we may, after what has been developed in the preceding pages, affirm without fear of successful contradiction; whether his logology and the incarnation, in particular, have anything in common with either Judaism or paganism, as it existed in the time of Christ, may be made the subject of investigation in one or two future articles.

Art. VIII.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—*The missionary labors of the English Churches* on the most extensive and promising missionary field of Christianity have been sadly interrupted by the Indian insurrection. But it is confidently hoped that much good will result from the momentary distress. The general observance of the day appointed for humiliation and prayer, has been an edifying example for all Europe. Many statesmen who before were opposed to the Indian government lending any moral influence to the efforts of the missionary, have changed their mind, and it is expected that, while no violence of any kind will be used to bring about the conversion of Hindoos and Mahommedans, yet the Christianization of India will meet with a more energetical support on the part of the government. The missionary societies are fully alive to the importance of the crisis, and prepare themselves for a vigorous revival and extension of their Indian missions. The Wesleyan connection, in particular, has given a laudable example to the other denominations, by making great efforts to increase the number of its missionaries in India. In this commonness of affliction and hope the Evangelical portion of the Established Church has given another proof of its catholic spirit, by freely associating with Dissenters in common prayer. But *the Puseyites* have called this step a palpable violation of the spirit and the letter of the Prayer Book and Canons, and a wanton scandal and offense of the Church. The necessary development of Romanizing tendencies in the Tractarian party has led to a split, one fraction, whose organ is the *Union*, carrying its sympathy with Rome so far as to create the suspicion, even among the other fraction of the same party, that their union with Rome is already an accomplished fact, and that they remain in the State Church only to lead over to Rome greater masses. It is gratifying to see that, while the Protestant character of the Establishment is still jeopardized, *the dissenting denominations* carry prosperously onward the mission of Protestantism. The storms which threatened the Congregational Union have subsided, and its last autumnal meeting has again been a peaceable one. The fame of Spurgeon, the great

Baptist preacher, is not yet at its zenith, and the day appointed by the queen for humiliation and prayer assembled round his pulpit the unprecedented number of 23,000 hearers.

The Roman Church.—New measures are concerted by the pope with some of the Irish bishops to break the stubbornness of *Young Ireland*, which is more desirous to secure social reforms than to work for the glory of the Roman Church. That there is, however, a sufficient amount of fanaticism left in the lower classes of the people, appears from *the disgraceful riots in Belfast*, where a Roman Catholic mob attempted to interfere with the right of Protestant ministers to preach in the open air. More gratifying intelligence is the news, that Dr. Newman has been commissioned to make a *new English version of the Bible.* Though it cannot be expected that this version will be in all respects a faithful one, it is likely to increase the number of Bible readers in the Roman Church.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

Protestant State Churches.—*The great assembly of members and friends of the Evangelical Alliance* held at Berlin in September, is classed by all Church parties among the most memorable conventions of the Christian Church. No more efficient step has ever been taken to create a permanent center of unity for all the various denominations of Evangelical Protestantism, and to unite them in one organization. The proceedings of Berlin have shown to Protestants the advantage of such a permanent organization, and to their opponents, its practicability. If the assembly of Berlin is not yet the first Œcumenical Council of Protestantism, it is, at all events, a forerunner of it. For Germany it has, of course, a particular significance. The principle of religious liberty has been discussed in a manner which secures for it a more general support from the Evangelical party. The impressive description of the success of German Methodism in America, and the judicious replies of the German Baptist ministers to the accusations brought against them for proselytism, are a moral conquest for the free church cause in Germany, of incalculable import. Still there remain great dangers for the future development of the Evangelical party in the Protestant State Churches. It considers itself too weak to act independently of the High Church men. The meeting of Berlin has been closely followed by a *Church Diet at Stuttgard*, on which the High Lutherans and the Evangelical party of all the State Churches work together in fraternal union, the latter making, for the sake of peace, concessions of questionable expediency to their less compromising friends. Stahl's Crypto-Catholicism was this year more energetically protested against than usual, but all the resolutions were, as before, in the interest of the two combined parties. Less pleased are the High Lutherans with the increasing success of the *Gustavus Adolphus Association*, which celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary at Kassel, and reported the last year's receipts as amounting to 101,000 thalers. It has been thus enabled to support three hundred and eighty poor Protestant congregations, fifty-six more than last year, and promises more and more to become one of the most efficient Protestant organizations of Europe. The Roman Catholics feel despondent at its success, for their counter-association of S. Boniface has not been able to raise its collections higher than to 30,000 thalers. A *Conference of the Reformed Churches*, held at Bremen, has declared anew the unchanged sympathy of the Church with the union between Lutherans and Reformed. The efforts of a Lutheran association for erecting a monument to the Great Reformer of the sixteenth century, finds much sympathy among the people, though the Church governments of seven States, among them Prussia, had, at the publication of the last quarterly report, not yet authorized public collections to be taken up.

Free Churches.—*The General Synod of the Moravians*, attended by forty deputies from Germany, ten from England, and ten from America, has happily overcome some difficulties threatening the denomination with a split. In several parts of Germany they have recently made great progress, though their converts do not always separate themselves from the State Church. So much are their labors characterized by a spirit of love, that they are unmolested even by the High Lutherans and the Roman press. *The Irvingites*, who likewise do not demand of their members to leave the State Churches, have attracted uncommon attention by the spreading of their principles among the Roman priests of the diocese of Augsburg. Five of them have been excommunicated, and work now by their writings

for Irvingism. The little band of German *Swedenborgians* celebrated the centenary of the foundation of the New Jerusalem, on which occasion Professor Tafel, of the University of Tubingen, the only distinguished man of the denomination in Germany, stated that General Dembinsky has become a convert to Swedenborgianism, and is at present engaged in translating the works of Swedenborg into Polish.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The Roman Church likewise continues to extend her associations, and to found new ones. *The Society of S. Charles Borromeo*, for spreading Catholic books, reports its receipts during the last year as amounting to 47,000 thalers, which is an increase of 11,000 thalers. *The Young Mechanics' Catholic Associations* (Gesellen Vereine) are counting nearly thirty thousand members, and are becoming popular among the working classes of the people. *The Associations of Christian Art* are ahead in their organization of similar Protestant associations, and held their second General Assembly at Regensburg. The Roman Temperance Associations were in some districts, as, for example, Oldenburg, more successful than the Protestant. But, on the whole, the growth of the Roman associations remains far behind the grand development of the Protestant. The General Assembly of *the Catholic Associations* held this year at Salzburg looked, in comparison with the assemblies of Berlin and Stuttgard, like a failure. No more than one hundred deputies were present. Many of the speeches showed how little influence the Roman Church has, as yet, on German society at large. We refer, in particular, to the statement that among the larger newspapers, no more than six are in the service of Rome. If the Roman influence increases, as it undoubtedly does, it is especially due to the continuing protection of the princes. Nowhere is this felt so much as in *Austria*, whose government confers extraordinary favors on the Roman Church. After having given the theological faculty of Insbruck to the Jesuits, it even calls some theologists of Rome, renowned only for skill in scholastic and sophistic subtilties, to the University of Vienna. It gives its consent to the erection of a commercial institution in Vienna, only on the condition that its manager be always a member of the Roman Church. It forbids the press from treating on religious subjects. It confides more and more state institutions to the care of monastic orders. So it has enabled the ultramontane party to make some great demonstrations. Pilgrimages are again taking great dimensions, one sanctuary alone, Maria Zell in Styria, having attracted, at its seven hundredth anniversary, about one hundred and fifteen thousand pilgrims, and among them nearly all the members of the imperial family. The expectations of the Ultramontane party for the future, exceed, therefore, every limit. Already its leading organ, the Oestreichische Volksfreund, demands that Austrian publishers be required to send one gratis copy of every book published by them to the bishop of the diocese, as the only authority competent to judge of the theological soundness of its contents.

SWITZERLAND.

The Protestant Churches.—Switzerland has reason to be satisfied with its religious anniversaries. The assembly of the *Pastoral Society*, at Lausanne, was attended by about two hundred and forty clergymen of very divergent parties, and its deliberations were, throughout, characterized by a spirit of fraternal charity. The *Société Evangelique at Geneva*, reported of the auspicious progress of Protestant missions in France, Algeria, and Piedmont; and was able to send a re-enforcement of three young ministers to the Waldenses of Piedmont. The anniversaries of Basil (*Protestant Aid Societies, Bible Society, Foreign Missionary Society*) witnessed, as usual, an immense concourse of pious Christians, and furnished, if compared with the association's of the Roman Church, a striking illustration how much better Protestantism succeeds in organizing grand associations for religious purposes, and how much the living unity among pious Protestants is more efficient than the dead uniformity of the Roman Church. But though the present year has been signalized by great progress of religion, yet the secular government of not a few Protestant cantons remains in the hands of statesmen who are avowed atheists.

Roman Church.—After many fruitless attempts, the Roman Catholics have at length established, after the model of Germany, *Catholic*, or *Pius Associations*, and held the first General Constitutive Assembly. Twenty branch societies were reported as being in existence. In addition to the three primitive cantons, (Schwytz, Unterwalden, Uri,) and Zug, which have unwaveringly obeyed the dic-

tates of the Roman clergy, also Friburg and Valois are now completely under the sway of the Ultramontane party; but in Lucerne the party is entirely disorganized for want of leaders.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Protestant Churches. — Several meetings of the *Swedish* clergy have declared themselves in favor of an abolition of the law which sentences to perpetual banishment all persons that leave the State Church. Nevertheless, the Diet has rejected the propositions of the government for granting greater religious liberty. The House of Priests had elected for a joint committee its most intolerant members. The Houses of Nobles and Peasants expressed the same views, and only the representatives of the towns supported the liberal views of the government. In *Norway*, numerous meetings are held to discuss the question whether it is right to remain in the State Church. The prospects of Free Church organizations still look favorable. In *Denmark*, the legislature will again be troubled with the government's scheme of a new Church constitution, though the diocesan conventions of the clergy have disapproved it.

The Roman Church.—Little has been heard of the Roman missionaries in the northern part of *Norway*. According to their last reports, the number of their converts amounts to twenty. In *Copenhagen* the number of priests at the Roman congregation, which counts five hundred members, has been, since four years, increased from one to three, and nuns have made their appearance, to instruct female schools gratuitously.

HOLLAND.

Protestantism.—The legislature has been occupied during several months with maturing a new law on public instruction. It was the general wish of the orthodox Protestants to have the Bible introduced into primary schools as a text-book, and to make reading in the Bible a part of the daily exercises. To prevent this, the liberals (Rationalists) combined with the Roman Catholic party, and thus carried their point. The new law provides that the Bible shall not be read in public schools. Numerously signed petitions to the king not to give his sanction to the new law, had not the desired effect. The law has been promulgated and gone into operation.

BELGIUM.

The Roman Church.—At the reopening of the legislature, the Catholic party still finds itself in possession of a majority in both houses, but greatly intimidated by the multiplied outbursts of popular indignation against it. The ministry, being too moderate for the ultra Catholic faction, and too ecclesiastical for the liberals, has resigned. The contest has been greatly embittered by the publication of the works of Marnix, a Belgian Protestant of the sixteenth century, which is superintended by a committee consisting of the most eminent men of the liberal party. The preface, written by Edgar Quinet, takes the ground that it is not enough for the liberal party to oppose priestly encroachments, but that Popery itself must be exterminated; and that for this purpose all ecclesiastical and political parties which do not believe in the pope, must unite, as Popery is the only enemy which denies to every one of them the common right of existence.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church. — Louis Napoleon shows his skill as a diplomatist also in Church matters. In the case of the Bishop of Moulins he has evidently outwitted the Church. The pope has forsaken the bishop in his quarrel with the government, though the whole Ultramontane press in France sustained him. The priests suspended by the bishop have been reinstated, and to make the bishop's defeat as public as possible, all the authorities of the city, (prefect, maire, etc.,) and an immense crowd of people, have received them on their return in triumphal procession. This is not the only occasion on which the emperor has succeeded in making the Church yield to his wishes. Though he and his ministers publicly transgress the commandments of the Church, and though the official press not rarely praises what the Church condemns, whenever it is more suitable to his political schemes; yet he knows, by conferring occasionally a favor, especially a pecuniary one, on the bishops, how to keep up the belief of a great portion of the Ultramontane party, that he has favorable dispositions for the Roman Church. Among the skeptic classes of French society it must have made a singular impression when the minister of public instruction again invited this year the bishops to celebrate, with great pomp, the assumption of the Virgin Mary, "the Patron of France," and

to combine with it a general thanksgiving for the reign of the present emperor, and when, consequently, the pulpits of France resounded with the praises of the "pious" emperor. But though the Church thus compromits her character—she has, in fact, never been over-scrupulous in this respect she obviously extends her influence over—the ignorant masses. We notice especially that she has sent out during these last months an uncommonly large number of missionaries to other countries, one hundred and twenty nuns to Russia, twenty-six to Chili, etc. The new missionary society for Western Africa is erecting a missionary seminary at Lyons, receives a great many applications from priests, and will soon commence operations in the kingdom of Dahomey, whose king has applied to France for French fetiches, as his own are worn out, whereupon he has been furnished with statues of the Virgin Mary and other saints. Before them he now performs his prayers, to the great delight and hope of the Roman Church.

Protestantism.—Several Protestants have again been sued and sentenced for having taken part in a religious meeting of more than twenty persons. On such occasions many courts of the interior have shown a great partiality, and furnished new proofs that, in the country and in the smaller towns, the authority of the bishops makes itself more and more felt. The inner state of Protestantism is flourishing, and promising a good future. The dedication of a new Protestant church at Lyons, which seats one thousand persons, and has spacious parochial schools attached to it, has been a joyful festival for all Protestant France.

ITALY.

The Roman Church.—As Italy has no free press, it is very difficult to ascertain whether the late journey of the pope through his and the adjacent states has had the desired effect of strengthening in the people the attachment to the Roman Church. The many petitions handed to the pope in the larger cities, and even in Rome, on his return, seem, at all events, to indicate that the political creed of the people is as far as ever from conforming itself to the teachings of the Roman court. From Tuscany the conclusion of a concordat has not yet been obtained, and it does not augur well for the hopes of Rome that, soon after the departure of the pope from the grand duchy, the Ultramontane organ in Florence, *Il Giglio di Firenze*, was suspended for one month. In Lombardy the indignation which great masses of the Roman Catholic laity feel everywhere at the new Romish dogma of the immaculate conception has burst forth on the suspension of four respected priests, for refusing belief to the popish innovation, and compelled even the Austrian government to pay the suspended priests their salaries as before. In Sardinia no concessions have as yet been made to Rome by the ministry, but fears are entertained that the rumored reconciliation of Sardinia with Austria and Naples will have a bad influence on the ecclesiastical affairs. Robberies of churches having become very frequent, the bishops have hurled the mediaeval thunderbolts of Romanism, such as interdicts, upon whole congregations, and ordered, in some instances, the sale of the costly utensils of the churches. The Sardinian ministry has been induced, by these episcopal measures, to recommend to the bishops moderation, in order that the peace of the country may not be disturbed, and to interpose the veto of the state to any sale of church property without the consent of the congregation. The latter ordinance revolts again the feelings of every good Ultramontane, for the Roman Church regards as one of its most profitable doctrines, that every piece of property belongs to the Church in general, not to a particular congregation; and that, therefore, the pope, and, under him, the bishops, are the sovereign administrators of it. No wonder if *Armonia*, the principal organ of the Sardinian Catholics, calls on every priest in the kingdom to represent the new elections for the legislature as a sacred war, which may decide the fate of the Roman Church.

Protestantism.—A deplorable dissension has for some time existed, and recently, it seems, been widened, between the Waldenses and the Italian Evangelical Church, which latter consists entirely of former Roman Catholics. The evangelical denominations of France and England sympathize generally with the former, as the latter are suspected of entertaining the Antinomian principles of Darbyism. The great ecclesiastical assembly of Berlin has addressed to both parties a fraternal epistle, exhorting them to peace and to a harmonious prosecution of the evangelization of Italy.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Roman Church.—The harmony between the government and the Roman hierarchy has not been disturbed, though in the discussions on a new law of public instruction the ministry has been opposed by an ultra-Catholic faction, on the ground that the influence conceded to the bishops on public instruction is not quite enough. Since, (in October,) a new ministry has been formed, which is considered as even more subject to clerical influences than its predecessor. The Portuguese government is praised by Roman Catholic papers for having made an agreement with the Sisters of Charity, by which a number of state institutions are intrusted to their care.

Protestantism. — Notwithstanding the severity employed by the Spanish government in order to suppress every germ of Protestantism, large numbers of Protestant books seem to have been circulated, especially in large cities; so, at least, *La Cruz*, a Roman paper of Seville, asserts with regard to that city, and, in concert with the Roman press in Europe in general, it hopes that a greater vigilance on the part of the government will succeed in thwarting such "*infamous*" attempts altogether.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—A Russian correspondent of the Ultramontane *Journal de Bruxelles*, maintains that the efforts of the government to re-unite the schismatic sects with the State Church have proved entirely unsuccessful, and that these sects are spreading again with unprecedented rapidity. A Bishop has been ordained for one of the sects by the Greek Church in Austria, and the total number of Greek schismatics is reported to have risen to fifteen millions. New political and social reforms of vast importance have been introduced, and fortify the hope that the reformation of the Church also will not delay much longer. Freemasonry, heretofore forbidden, has been permitted, and already established numerous lodges.

The Roman Church.—While the vacant Episcopal Sees in Poland have not yet all been filled, two other events have filled the Roman Catholics with great joy. The first is an act of justice, and concerns those priests who were banished at the time when the whole Greek United Church of Russia separated itself from the pope, for refusing to concur in this separation. After an exile of about twenty years, and most cruel treatment during one part of this time, the present emperor has restored them to liberty. The other act is more than justice, if the Roman papers report the truth. According to them, the Russian government has made a contract with the Superior of the Sisters of Charity in France, to send five hundred Sisters to Russia to take charge of hospitals and other public institutions. One hundred and twenty of them are reported to have left already for the place of their destination.

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—The rebellion in India has communicated a singularly excited spirit to the Turks, and the fanatical party is making great and effective use of it. The fear is spreading that England aims at a violent conversion of the Mohammedans, and it has been observed that fire-arms are purchased by the Mohammedans to a formerly uncommon extent. A Mussulman family, converted to Protestantism, has been exposed to persecution and compelled to flee. Violent outbreaks have occurred in several places. Nevertheless the confidence in the good intentions of the government remains unshaken.

The Oriental Churches.—In the efforts for re-organizing the Danubian Principalities as a Christian state, almost independent of Turkey, the Greek clergy has made itself only conspicuous by its full share in the general bribery and illegalities practiced at the late elections. In Asia Minor and other parts of Turkey, their hostility to Protestant missionaries has increased, so as to make it questionable whether Protestant missions would be as well off, if ever the Greek Church should wrench the dominion over the Turkish Empire from the Mohammedans. French papers speak highly of the development of the Armenian College in Paris, which is supported by the Turkish government. Both the Greek and Armenian clergy admit, in view of the progress of Protestantism and Romanism, the necessity of raising the standard of popular instruction, and measures have been adopted accordingly. A Jacobite bishop of Assyria has declared himself, on his return from England, of the Puseyite branch of the English Church, which is

undoubtedly the most natural ally of that portion of the Oriental Churches which opposes Evangelical Protestantism.

The Roman Church.—While the Association of the Holy Sepulcher for supporting the Roman missions in Palestine shows considerable progress, a new society for aiding the Roman Catholics of Turkey has been recently founded in Austria, under the patronage of many of the highest officers of the empire. This association will emulate with the French societies, and try to prevent them from monopolizing the affection of the Roman Catholic portion of the Turkish population for France. This circumstance cannot fail to make the new society a very efficient ally for the Roman Church. The dissension in the United Greek Church has not yet been terminated, though the Roman bishops report from several places that most of the refractory Greeks have yielded to the papal authority.

Protestantism.—The progress of the American missions among the Armenians has been steady and auspicious, and the reports of some of the missionaries at the last meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and at the great ecclesiastical assembly of Berlin, have greatly increased the interest of both America and Europe in their arduous labors. In Bulgaria popular opinion seems to be much occupied with the expected arrival of the first two Methodist missionaries, for the Turkish correspondences of the leading European papers frequently speak of it. German Protestantism is establishing itself on a firm basis in the Danubian Principalities, where Bucharest has a Protestant school with seven teachers and two hundred and thirty scholars, and an establishment of evangelical deaconesses, to which soon a grand evangelical hospital will be added. Another hospital, under the care of evangelical deaconesses, will be established at Alexandria, in Egypt, because the European Hospital, which was hitherto supported by all European governments, has been used by the Sisters of Charity for attempts to proselyte sick Protestants.

Art. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Southern Baptist Review, September, 1857.—1. The Human Nature of Christ: 2. Historical Inquiry into the Waldensian Origin of the Dutch Baptists: 3. The Pantheism of Germany: 4. Is Fiction allowable in Religious Books? 5. Ecclesiastical Unity: 6. Exegesis: 7. Miller's Bearing of Geology on Natural and Revealed Religion: 8. Games and Dancing.

II. The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, October, 1857.—1. Old Orthodoxy, New Divinity, and Unitarianism: 2. The Argument from Prophecy for Christianity: 3. Popular Education: 4. Gieseler's Text-Book of Church History: 5. Inspiration: 6. Albania and its People.

III. The Free-will Baptist Quarterly, October, 1857.—1. The American Experiment of Republicanism: 2. The All-Fullness of Christ: 3. The Bible as a Branch of Education in our Literary Institutions: 4. The Freedom of the Will: 5. Revivals of Religion: 6. The Impending Crisis of the South: 7. Biographical, William Burr.

IV. The North American Review, October, 1857.—1. Charlotte Brontë and the Brontë Novels: 2. Sardinia: 3. The Royal House of St. Cyr: 4. The Dred Scott Case: 5. Elizabeth Barrett-Browning: 6. Sir Robert Peel: 7. Shakespeare in Modern Thought: 8. Recent French Literature: 9. Brazil and the Brazilians.

V. The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register, October, 1857.—1. The Apostolic Ministry in the Apostolic Position: 2. Anderson's Colonial Church History: 3. Coxe's Impressions of England: 4. The Anglo-Continental Association: 5. Miss Beecher's "Common Sense applied to Religion."

VI. The Christian Review, October, 1857.—1. Jehovah Jireh: 2. The Phædon; or, Plato on the Immortality of the Soul: 3. Unitarianism: 4. Royal Literature: 5. A Holy Minister: 6. Import of Ekklesia: 7. Dreams; their Nature and Uses.

VII. The Christian Examiner, November, 1857.—1. Gentile and Jew before Christ: 2. The Practical Study of the Human Soul: 3. The War against Time and Space: 4. The Doctrine of Christ, the World's Judge: 5. Intuitive Morals: 6. Climatology: 7. The Gospel according to Paul: 8. Protest in Piedmont.

VIII. The Mercersburgh Review, July, 1857.—1. Christianity in America: 2. Historical Observations on the English Language: 3. Christian Architecture, (Second Article): 4. The first Liturgy for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Reformed Church: 5. Hugh Miller as a Geologist.

IX. The Theological and Literary Journal, October, 1857.—1. The Inspiration of the Scriptures; its Nature and Extent: 2. The Sacrifice of Christ: 3. Dr. Hodge on the Resurrection: 4. Notes on Scripture; the Events of the Day of Christ's Resurrection: 5. Dr. Davidson's Rationalistic Views of the Scriptures.

X. The Evangelical Review, October, 1857.—1. Digest of Christian Doctrine: 2. The Value of Colleges: 3. Treatment of the Awakened: 4. The New Theology: 5. Baccalaureate Address: 6. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 7. Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology: 8. German Theology.

XI. Brownson's Quarterly Review, October, 1857.—1. The Primacy of Peter: 2. The Church and the Constitution: 3. Aspirations of Nature: 4. C. J. Cannon's Works: 5. Le Vert's Souvenirs of Travel: 6. British Preponderance.

XII. Bibliotheca Sacra and American Biblical Repository, October, 1857.—1. The Homeric Question: 2. Feuerbach's Essence of Christianity: 3. An Historical Sketch of the Indo-European Languages: 4. Davus Sum, Non Œdipus: 5. German Theory of Worship: 6. Christian Missions necessary to a true Civilization: 7. Thoughts on Species.

XIII. The New-Englander, November, 1857.—1. Protestantism in America: 2. Spiritualism Tested by Christianity: 3. The American Student in Germany: 4. Relations of Christianity to the Doctrine of Natural Rights: 5. Southern Writers on Slavery—Helper against Slavery—Stiles against Anti-Slavery: 6. Critical Miscellanies: 7. Buchanan on Kansas: 8. The Financial Crisis.

The article on Spiritualism, admitting, at least for argument's sake, that there may be reality in some of the phenomena of Spiritualism, maintains that there is nothing in them requiring a Christian community to acknowledge them as revelations from invisible spirits. He argues this from the inconsistency of the alleged responses with Revelation; from the defective logic of those maintaining their origin from a spiritual source; from the historical identity of spiritualistic maneuvers with the jugglers of all antiquity; from the accordance of the style, temper, and doctrines of the responses with the mental character of the invoking circle, and from the disorganizing, enervating, demoralizing influence of spiritualism on its votaries.

He maintains the doctrine which we have often affirmed, that the whole subject ought to be avoided by the unscientific, and handed over to the best living experimentists in exact investigation. Neither lawyers, nor philologists, nor preachers, nor politicians are the proper men for that species of scrutiny.

The most trained masters of experimentation are the sole proper triers of the truth and nature of these phenomena.

A Sermon preached by Dr. E. P. HUMPHREY, in 1852, before the Old School Presbyterian Assembly, with general applause, on "*Our Theology and its Developments*," prompts the following paragraph in the "Notices:"

"A Presbyterian divine of the old school, expatiating on the expanding and aggressive power of his theology, could hardly shut out of mind the numerous and powerful denomination which espouses the doctrines of Wesley—a denomination which has spread with so wondrous rapidity over territories once loyal to the faith that is 'delivered systematically in the judgment of the Synod of Dort.' He might ignore the Lutheran Church, the English Episcopal Church, and other bodies of Christians who do not take Turretin for their text-book in theology. But how could he pass over in silence the Christian denomination which, in the space of a few years, had grown to outnumber his own, in portions of the country, too, where Presbyterianism had long enjoyed undisputed possession? Dr. Humphrey thus accounts for the growth of Methodism: 'It might be clearly shown, as I humbly conceive, that its past success is to be referred, not to those doctrines which are peculiar to itself, but to those which are common to both theologies.' Perhaps the Wesleyan would reply that the success of Dr. Humphrey's system is due likewise, not to its peculiarities, but to the elements which it has in common with other systems. But will Dr. Humphrey deny that one of the chief causes of the spread of Methodism, is the antagonism of its preachers to a notion of predestination, which served in the popular mind to cast doubt on the sincerity of God in the Gospel invitations? Is not their success very much due to the emphasis with which they have insisted on the truth of God's unwillingness that any should perish—on the truth that none who will seek God, are cut off from the hope of salvation, and that all *may* seek him—nay, that all are commanded and entreated to do so? The vitality of Methodism sprung from its assertion of these truths of the Gospel. So far, its power is the power of the Gospel. It has erred in denying what it could not set in harmony with them. But what shall be said of the creed which says nothing of the love and grace of God, and his desire for the salvation of impenitent men—like the creed on page seventh of the sermon before us? What shall be said of the preaching which leaves the impression that the Gospel affords no opportunity, except to a small portion of those addressed? Of such preaching, this at least may be said, that it is responsible for the astonishing progress of Methodism, and for whatever is one-sided in Methodist theology."

It would indeed be a problem for Dr. Humphrey to show how, if Methodist success arose from "doctrines held in common with other denominations," she has, during her brief life, outrun them all! How should the same amount of cause produce double or treble the amount of effect? But Methodists know full well, that while the doctrine of justification by faith (of which Calvinists have so often denied us the possession) is the common life-spring by which all evangelical denominations run, the sources of all our own extra freshness of feeling and vigor of action are not *one*, but nearly *all* the points in which we differ from Calvinism. A Methodist preacher would indeed feel his mouth shut up by the dogma, that every sin and every impenitence was predetermined by God; and that more than half, perhaps *all* his hearers were damned not only before he began his sermon, but before they were born. What expansion to a preacher's soul, to preach a free salvation offered by a sincere God, purchased by a universal atonement, unlimited by any secret exclusive decree, unobstructed by any volitional necessity of rejection—that is, disenthralled of *all* the hampers of Calvinism, moderate or immoderate! What a constant warn-

ing to the Christian's persevering life, to know that apostasy is a real possibility, verified by many an actual example; not a *safe impossibility*, as old Calvinism saith; nor a *shadowy possibility that never can happen*, as young Calvinism subtilly splits it. And then, while both Calvinisms dread the doctrine of *Assurance*, knowing that, joined to the doctrine of infallible *Perseverance*, it produces a bold presumption of not only *present*, but *eternal* salvation, Methodism teaches us the duty and the joy of knowing a present salvation; and knowing it each hour of life for just that hour! And, inasmuch as Calvinism must affirm of every apostate, however bright his evidence of conversion for long years, that he never had any grace, it thereby destroys to the soul all certainty of evidence until probation is closed, making the Christian life a path of mist. And as the completed perseverance is the only sure test of reality, the Calvinist lives not in a state of cherished and joyous faith, but in a position of perpetually cultivated doubt; a state of permanent, querying self-diagnosis, which can never be verified by present phenomena, but only by final result, by which he becomes like a dyspeptic studying his own stomach; not like a racer taking his health for granted, and running because he is vigorous, and vigorous because he runs. And then, to know that mighty is the fullness of the spirit, whereby we may be here on earth made triumphant over the temptations that assail us, and sanctified from the sins that would beset us, not as a metaphysical possibility never realized, but as a fact of multiplied experience—what a stimulant to earnestness of prayer, and to struggle after real, livable holiness! Thus, wherein we differ from Calvinism, therein it is we are free and fresh, happy and strong. An entire different religious temperament is created. All the difference is realized between Puritanism and Methodism. And a freer, more flexible activity is formed; a variety, that dissipates the monotonous, and breaks up the mechanical. And we must tell our New Haven friends that, while the above paragraph indicates, what we have often thought, that their divinity was framed to forestall Methodism without becoming identical with it, we are deeply certain that they have but little mended the old divinity of Calvinism. Their umbratile distinctions, by which they would attain the advantages of Wesleyan Arminianism, without plagiarizing its principles, are metaphysical chef d'œuvres, but practical failures. There remain the contradictions, the exclusions, the unbroken fatalities of Calvinism in the creed. There remain the acridness of Puritanism in the spirit, its angularity in the form, its mechanicalness in the activity. Indeed, we have often felt in worshiping with our devout but monotonous Calvinistic friends, as if their and our whole performance were a solemn panoramic movement, of which we were a fated part; and in no instance has this sensation been felt more vividly than under the ministration of some of the chief doctors of New-Haven theology themselves.

And we join their Old School brethren in fearing that they are in a doubtful transition state; standing on unmaintainable ground; and liable to wake up, next generation, Pelagian. We Methodists know our firm position. We are marching to our second centennial, without a nail of the old Wesleyan platform changed, sprung, or rusty. But of New School Calvinism we stand in doubt what will be its future *status*, or, mayhap, its *terminus*.

II.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. The Edinburgh Review, October, 1857.—1. Spedding's Complete Edition of the Works of Bacon: 2. Napier: 3. The Mediterranean Sea: 4. Henri Martin's History of France: 5. Landed Credit: 6. Lives of the Chief Justices of England: 7. The Highlands—Men, Sheep, and Deer: 8. Michael Angelo: 9. India.

II. The Christian Remembrancer, October, 1857.—1. Recent Literature and Art: 2. Sinai and Palestine: 3. Anglo-Continental Association: 4. Robert Browning: 5. Mr. Kingsley's Novels: 6. Pusey on the Councils.

III. The Journal of Sacred Literature, July, 1857.—1. Biblical Revision—The Gospel of St. John: 2. The Periods of our Lord's Life and Ministry: 3. History of the Sabbath under the Old Testament Dispensation; Its Divine Origin and Universal Obligation: 4. Some Strictures upon Stanley's Sinai and Palestine: 5. The Legend of Peter's Penitential Food: 6. Correspondence.

IV. The Church of England Quarterly Review, October, 1857.—1. Researches in Palestine: 2. Progressive Developments of the Divine Purpose: 3. Ferns and Fern Literature: 4. Caste and Christianity: 5. French Novels and French Plays; their Influence on French Society: 6. Special Services for the People: 7. Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

V. The London (Wesleyan) Quarterly Review, October, 1857.—1. The University of London: 2. Tooke's History of Prices: 3. Cotemporary French Philosophy: 4. Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition: 5. Silver from the Mine to the Mint: 6. Lives of the Chief Justices: 7. Vigil the Peruvian Canonist: 9. Lord Dufferin's Yacht Voyage to Iceland: 9. Chronicles of Geneva: 10. The Sepoy Rebellion in India.

A superior number. The article on British India (written by Rev. William Arthur) contains many eloquent utterances in regard to the late terrible outburst of Eastern heathenism, and statesman-like suggestions for future reforms.

VI. The Westminster Review, October, 1857.—1. Female Dress in 1857: 2. Political Priests: 3. Quedah; or, Adventures in Malayan Waters: 4. History of Civilization in England: 5. Aurora Leigh: 6. The Four Empires: 7. The Choephoræ of Æschylus: 8. Representative Government—what is it good for? 9. Mommsen's Roman History: 10. The Progress of English Jurisprudence.

The first article is an able disquisition on the extravagance of female fashion. It is very timely, very truthful, and not unlikely to produce good results. But we should have preferred to see the still greater extravagances of men, not merely in the article of dress, in which their culpability is not inferior, but in regard to indulgences degrading and unhealthful as well as expensive, from which the gentler sex is pure. The wines and liquors, the cigars and the tobaccos, the banquets and the races, will tell a terrible balance on the side of male extravagance, which need not, indeed, silence the due reproof of female fashion, but should always suggest the proper husband to it. Our discipline, before it withdrew its sharp rebuke of extravagance of apparel, was somewhat liable to the same objection of male partiality. The Westminster republishes entire Mr. Butler's graceful satire, "Nothing to Wear." It thus furnishes an answer to the keen interrogation point once put by Sidney Smith in the Edinburgh Review, "Who reads an American book?"

The late work put forth by Mr. Gliddon and the other authors of the skeptical and somewhat bitter "Types of Mankind," entitled "Indigenous Races of the Earth; or, New Chapters of Ethnological Inquiry," meets but a

cold reception from the Westminster Review. The critic at start remarks, that, "it challenges attention by its bulk, and the pretensions of its title-page, if by no other more deserving claim." He charges it with ignoring the latest researches on important points, and neglecting valuable analogies which make against the "polygentic" theory of a variety of human origins.

Professor Draper's "Human Physiology" is highly commended, while his theory of non-existence of "*vital force*" is repudiated.

"We are not altogether in accordance with him in either of these respects; because we consider that we have just as much evidence of the existence of some peculiar power or agency in the living body, which may be appropriately named 'vital force,' as we have of heat and of electric force, or even of mechanical force; and in many of the instances in which Professor Draper clearly shows that heat or some other physical agent is the *primum mobile*, we conceive that it must become metamorphosed into vital force by acting through an organic structure, just as heat is metamorphosed into electricity when it passes through a combination of bismuth and antimony. We fully agree with him, that the so-called 'plastic power' of a cell, or the germ of a seed, may be regarded as the manifestation of 'an antecedent physical impression;' but until it can be shown why the same physical impression shall occasion the evolution of one cell-germ—for example—into a Zoophyte, and of another into a Bird, it seems to us that we *must* recognize something distinctive in the original-constitution of each—call it by what name we may—which determines these differences."

It is due to Professor Draper to say, that his rejection of the doctrine of a life principle is not an indication of materialism or of skepticism in regard to the truths of the soul. We know of few scientific writers who seem to warm with a more spontaneous or genial glow when his subject brings him near the precincts of the hopes and verities of immortal life.

Upon Michelet's "History of France in the Seventeenth Century" the Westminster passes the extraordinary eulogy, that it will do more to reinstate the cause of French Protestantism in the opinion of Europe, than any book which has appeared since "Calvin's Institutes." The reason is, that while all other French historians, even Protestant ones like Guizot and Sismondi, have assumed the Catholic and Absolutist stand-point, as exemplified in the splendid rottenness of the reign of Louis XIV., Michelet has assumed the stand-point of the great Henry IV., at the time when, by Jesuit intrigue, he was assassinated. This stand-point was anti-Catholic and anti-absolute. When with Henry it expired, the freedom and true greatness of France expired also.

VII. The National Review, October, 1857.—1. The Reform of the Army: 2. The Autobiography of a Mohammedan Gentleman: 3. Charles Waterton: 4. The Ultimate Laws of Physiology: 5. Unspiritual Religion: Professor Rogers: 6. Alexander Smith's Poetry: 7. Popular Legends and Fairy Tales: 8 Béranger: 9. The Military Revolt in India.

The article on Unspiritual Religion aims to be a severe rebuke on Henry Rogers's Greyson Letters, which is noticed in our Book-Table. By a very unnecessary miss of the mark, the reviewer charges on the religion the unspirituality which he finds in Mr. Rogers's publication in support of the religion. The main charges against Mr. Rogers are, that his tone is undevout, sharp, and sarcastic; that he deals in logic in a matter which is truly an affair of pure and high emotion; and that his logic is very unsatisfactory in its kind. The article is so Maurician that we suspect it to be Mr. Maurice's own.

It has so much of his strained effort to state positions which cannot be stated or understood, his intense earnestness about something, nobody can exactly discover what, though he is always *about* to tell, that we find ourselves in the perusal in the usual state of entranced confusion into which the pages of that hazy gentleman are sure to magnetize us.

Mr. Rogers's book is certainly not in general devout; for it professedly treats on the *logical* difficulties which often obstruct the acceptance of the facts or the theory of Evangelical religion. It as certainly is sarcastic; for it does often find capricious crotchets conjured up by semi-skeptics, for which sarcasm is the proper correlative remedy. It is perhaps too rollicking; and yet who more needs to be caught with their own grain than the rapid, rollicking glancers-on-the-wing at truth? Now such things do not at all meet the case of our high spiritual emotionist, who cannot accept Scripture facts or orthodox doctrine; who does not know exactly what, as matter of theory, he does accept; but who simply cherishes his spiritual nature, and makes his religion consist in a high state of the pietistic instincts. To all this it would be a sufficient reply, If the book does not suit your case, then yours is the case for which the book was not written.

And so religious skepticism has at the present time got into a fit of piety. The slight exceptions only prove the rule, that this is an absolutely new phenomenon in its history. Even Herbert of Cherbury did not talk in the hyper-evangelical strain of Francis Newman. The utmost that deists and semi-deists have hitherto done, has been to construct a system of natural religion, in which they have contrived to live in a state of temperate satisfied rationality and emotional quietism. To appropriate coolly the religious nomenclature of high evangelicism; to purloin the process of repentance, conversion, and sanctification; to involve their sanctification up to the *n*th power of purified profession, and so look down upon the low level of Wesley's Christian Perfection, is the feat of modern pietistic deism. And the ladder of Christian doctrine and Scripture fact by which Puritans and Methodists toilsomely climb up to sanctification, is not only to be held as unnecessary, but it is to be unceremoniously kicked down as an absolute clog upon the ascending feet of the true spiritual emotionist. Alas! the fresh feeling of *originality* with which all this is done, proves that through ages past, if spirituality is a reality, its reality has been maintained by Scripture evangelicism alone; and that it is a novelty, never before known in all the centuries, upon semi-deistical lips. We have a right to say to this communion of pietists, Where was your Church before Francis Newman? While during past decades our Scripture evangelicism has been tugging and fighting to maintain the cause of spiritual religion, where were you and your fatherhood? Deduce your pedigree, if you can, through any other route than the church of Thomas Paine. Show us a decenter past or a modester present. Nor can we rid ourselves of a sense of its *unreality*, as well as its newness of invention. It is overdone and sounds like falsetto. It is sudden, and looks like a gotten-up fashion. It is upstart, and lacks reliability. Nor can we rid ourselves of the impression that its founders are a set of overgrown children who have said, "Let us play religion." Like inveterate Methodists, we must put them on probation. When

for some six long centuries or so their system has, like our old Christianity, shown its power of perseverance and self-sustaining warfare, we may be about to embrace it. Let us wait and see.

Hypothetical spirituality, separated from a system of facts and unsustained by substantial grounds of reason, can give no account of itself. The solemn spirituality of a Baxter, the joyous spirituality of a Fletcher, derived their growth and vigor from the truths upon which they were based. Read the Saint's Everlasting Rest, and we see a ground of the most positive kind for the author's most intense and profoundly serious spirituality; grounds of a solemn eternity, based upon the rock of Scripture truth; grounds calculated to create, if yielded to, in our own hearts, the same deep spirituality. But a spirituality justified by the simple assumption that man has spiritual susceptibilities, which, independently of all known truths, ought to feel, and spiritual faculties that ought to be cultivated, is making religion as short-lived, as local, and as precarious as the philosophical theory with which it is identified. We believe in the theory that man has moral and religious susceptibilities. Yet we believe that these, without correlate religious truth, are plants without the dew and sunshine. God by his word has furnished those truths. And it is in the marriage of religious truth with religious susceptibilities, performed by God's own Spirit, that all permanent spiritual religion consists. And truly the religion of a Baxter, embracing Christian truths, in all the awfulness of their nature, with all the earnestness of the heart, preparing the soul for its dread account, yet in deep spirit-wrought assurance of the everlasting crown, is a very different affair from the thin, vapory, half-believing, pious æstheticism of this pretentious, but most shallow Reviewer.

VIII. The Quarterly Review, October, 1857.—1. Cornwall: 2. Tom Brown's School-Days; Rugby Reminiscences: 3. Communication with India—Suez and Euphrates Routes: 4. Venetian Embassy at the Court of James I.: 5. Lord Dufferin's Voyage to Iceland, etc.: 6. The Parish Priest: 7. George Stephenson and Railway Locomotion: 8. Indian Mutiny.

To repel the terrible assaults of the liberal Review of Edinburgh, Southey and others combined to establish at London a rival, which should sustain high Toryism in State and Church. It was sustained with great ability, but never attained the brilliant reputation of its opponent. In antithesis to the Edinburgh origin of the Whig organ, this has received, in this country, the common, but incorrect appellation of London Quarterly Review. Very improperly, it bears that title in the American reprint.

From the first article we extract the following remarks in regard to Mr. Wesley's reformation in Cornwall:

"The conversion of the people of Cornwall from what is called in religious works their state of spiritual apathy, denied to George Fox, was reserved for a greater man, the renowned John Wesley. We have never been able to discover what particular cause directed Wesley to select this county as one of his principal fields. The first visit to Cornwall recorded in his journals took place in 1743, the latest in 1781, when he preached for the last time from his famous stand in the natural amphitheater, or 'pit,' at Gwennap, which is still the anniversary meeting-ground of his followers. 'I believe,' he says, 'two or three and twenty thousand were present. . . . . I think this is my *ne plus ultra.* I shall scarce see a larger congregation till we meet in the air.'

"Very great, doubtless, was the change effected by Wesley in this western region in the space of a generation. His preachings began at a time when the outward disregard of religion was great in Cornwall as elsewhere; the churches were neglected, their services few and ill attended; the very phraseology of popular piety, so familiar to the ears of a former generation, had become nearly obsolete. 'I asked a little gentleman at St. Just,' says Wesley, 'what objection there was to Edward Greenfield?' a pious tinner, on whom the constables had seized. He said, 'Why, the man is well enough in other things, but his impudence the gentlemen cannot bear. Why, sir, he says his sins are forgiven!' In those times, and partially indeed long after, the manners and habits of the Cornish population seem (as we have partially seen) to have strongly resembled those of the Irish, without the religious fervor which characterizes the latter. There were the same clannish propensities, the same faction fights, the same riotous fairs and noisy funerals, the same disposition for turbulent encounters with the established authorities on every local occasion. Drunkenness must have been nearly universal; we can hardly realize the extent of the change throughout society, and in both sexes, which has occurred in this particular. 'A lady of a distant county,' says the gossip Polwhele, 'lately observed to me that Cornwall, and the west of Cornwall particularly, are remarkable for beautiful women. The girls are very pretty, she said, up to the age of thirteen; after which *their complexions are soon spoiled by brandy drinking*, and their health impaired!'—Pp. 320, 321.

"Such were the materials out of which Wesley, and his associates and followers, constructed one of the most orderly and civilized societies in the world. Mr. Mann's tables, which we cite with every allowance for the imperfections ascribed to them, give 45,000 adult members of the Church of England in Cornwall against 116,000 Protestant Dissenters; but if the western and industrious part of the county were taken by itself, the proportion of the latter would be still further increased. These Dissenters are almost entirely Methodists; the old connection forming about one half. No other form of Protestant dissent has taken much root in Cornwall. The Church of England maintains her ground but hardly against the current of popular impulse; and the causes which have lately filled so large a proportion of her pulpits, in this part of England, with stanch 'ritualists' and clergy of very exalted opinions, have given her for the time even less chance of success than heretofore, notwithstanding all her awakened zeal and activity.

"Thus far, could Wesley revisit the earth, he would find that his labors had been crowned with outward success; but whether the character of the religious faith which now bears his name in these western parts would meet his entire approval, may be doubted. Fanaticism (we are anxious to use the word with as little disrespect as possible) can scarcely take strong hold of the popular mind, except in one of two shapes, either under the guise of priest-worship and ritualism which satisfy the fancy, or of that strong predestinarianism which masters and engrosses the intellect. Any revival which (like Wesley's) rests on neither of these principles, so deeply rooted in human nature, is usually, we fear, short-lived in the full extent of its fervor, although it may long survive in name. The Calvinism of Whitefield had made an impression in Cornwall, contemporaneously with Wesley's preaching, much greater than is to be measured by the number of his nominal adherents. Wesley seems to have had himself a suspicion that his own favorite Arminian tenets were scarcely strong meat enough for the eager-minded population whose spiritual hunger he had excited. 'The more I converse with the believers in Cornwall,' he says in 1762, 'the more I am convinced that they have sustained great loss for want of hearing the doctrine of Christian perfection clearly and strongly enforced.' The general tendency of Cornish popular Methodism, whatever its more orthodox teachers may maintain, we believe, notwithstanding the high moral character of the people, to be toward Antinomianism of sentiment, at least, if not of doctrine."—Pp. 321-323

The following extracts are from article sixth. They contain some important admissions of the imperative need of the Wesleyan Reformation, as well as a

complete admission that Mr. Wesley was excluded from the pulpits of the establishment while preaching the true doctrines of the English Church:

"After the accession of the House of Hanover, the general tone reached its lowest point. Ignorance and drunkenness were the predominant qualities of the working classes, licentiousness and infidelity of the higher. The jest which was circulated during the premiership of Sir Robert Walpole, that a bill was about to be introduced into Parliament, to erase 'not' from the Commandments and insert it in the Creed, was but the light expression of the genuine condition of society. Montesquieu, who came to this country in 1729, and remained here for two years, pronounced that we had no religion at all. 'If any one,' he said, 'spoke of it, everybody laughed.' Once he heard a person remark that he believed something as an *article of faith*, and the observation was received with a shout of ridicule. Low as piety had sunk in France, he had not, he tells us, enough of it himself to satisfy his countrymen, but that he found he had too much of it to suit ourselves. Our native authorities fully confirm this account. 'Though,' said Bishop Secker, in 1738, 'it is natural to think those evils the greatest which we feel ourselves, and therefore mistakes are easily made in comparing one age with another, yet in this we cannot be mistaken, that an open and professed disregard to religion is become the distinguishing character of the present age.' Bishop Gibson, in 1741, complained that the gangrene had gone on spreading till it had penetrated to the middle classes, always, as a body, the last to be infected by immoral contagion, and the first to recover from it. The entire nation seemed to him on the point of being overwhelmed by profligacy and unbelief, and he saw no hope for his evil and rebellious generation except the parochial ministers would stand between the living and the dead, and endeavor to stay the plague."—Pp. 463, 464.

"In fact, when the churches in London, at which Wesley and Whitefield had preached, were first closed against them by the incumbents, not one of the errors of Methodism had been thought of. The convulsions, and the interpretations which Wesley put upon them, his doctrines of instantaneous conversion and perfection, his practical schism while recommending a theoretical adhesion to the establishment, were all of subsequent growth. The predominant opinions proclaimed at the outset were none others than have been maintained by every man in the Church of England who ever earned the name of a divine; and though the statements might sound strange in ears habituated to the meager theology of that day, the sentiments, we suspect, would not have given offense except for the earnestness with which the general laxity was censured, and a total change of heart and conduct enforced."—P. 465.

"The change for the better which had commenced spread slowly, even if after the first impulse had spent its force it did not go back, and in 1781 Cowper could write of the clergy, without incurring rebuke or contradiction, in language like this:

"'Except a few with Eli's spirit blest.
Hophni and Phineas may describe the rest.'

Accordingly, the parish priest in the 'Village' of Crabbe, which appeared two years later, belongs to the Hophni and Phineas class. He is an eager follower of the hounds, a keen shot, a skillful and constant player of whist, or, as the poet sums up his character in a single line, he is one who gives

'To fields the morning and to feasts the night.'

"The practice continued through the early part of the present century. 'The customs of England,' wrote Southey in 1807, 'do not exclude the clergyman from any species of amusement; the popular preacher is to be seen at the theater and at the horse-race, bearing his part at the concert and at the ball, making his court to old ladies at the card-table, and to young ones at the harpsichord.'"—P. 466.

"Onslow, who was Speaker of the House of Commons for thirty-three years, who had listened to the splendid declamation of Bolingbroke, to the terrible thunders of Pitt, and the silvery strains of Murray, could not, after an interval

of forty years, recall the sermon which Burnet delivered on the 'new heavens and the new earth,' without being sensibly moved by it. He describes with warmth the power of his imagination, the solemnity of his language, the earnestness of his heart, look, and voice, and asserts that he never heard a second preacher who equaled him. On another occasion, when Burnet argued against Roman Catholicism at the Temple Church, 'he depicted,' says Onslow, 'the horrors of that religion with such force of speech and action, that I have never seen an audience anywhere so much affected as we all were who were present;' and when, in the first year of the reign of James II., he again attacked Popery in a sermon at the Rolls Chapel, and having gone on till his sand-glass had run out, he held it up aloft to his hearers, and then turned it round for another hour, the congregation, as was related by Sir Joseph Jekyl, set up almost a shout for joy. His readiness was such that he once consented, at a minute's notice, to preach a consecration sermon at Bow Church, the prelate who had undertaken the task being detained by some accident, and the discourse which he pronounced was considered by Archbishop Tillotson to have been the very finest which ever fell from his lips. Apart from the purposes of the pulpit, the scheme recommended by Burnet is the best conceivable discipline for a clergyman, who should have the entire body of divinity ready at all times for instant use; be able to answer cavils, to satisfy doubts, to inform ignorance, to shame evil, and keep goodness in countenance. That the plan calls for much labor and perseverance, is an equal objection to every system by which excellence is attained. No method has yet been discovered by which indolence can be rendered learned, wise, and impressive. Those who will not submit to the previous training, should beware of rashly inflicting their crude conceptions upon their congregations. If hesitation, broken sentences, inappropriate language, and confused and inaccurate statements are ever unendurable, it must be in treating of the solemn truths of religion, where we are shocked by every circumstance which is not in keeping with the subject. A tolerable written sermon is a thousand times to be preferred to even a fluent but empty rambling extempore discourse, which, though it may impress the ignorant by its noise, cannot inform them by its sense, and is, therefore, no better than sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

"'There is a middle way,' says Archbishop Secker, 'used by our predecessors, of setting down the principal heads, and enlarging on them in such words as present themselves at the moment, which, perhaps, duly managed, would be the best.' The scheme, however, appears to offer no peculiar advantage. If the notes are copious, they differ little from a written sermon; if they are brief, most men could learn to dispense with them entirely. The 'middle way' was adopted, among others, by Bishop Bull. He committed the outline of his argument to paper, and, 'having secured the substance, did by practice bring himself to great readiness in expressing himself.' But how slight was the necessity for the paper at all, appeared from a circumstance which occurred when he was preaching at Bristol. As he was turning over his Bible, the loose leaves which contained his memoranda flew into the middle of his church. Many of the congregation, who were rough sailors, laughed at the accident, and prepared themselves to enjoy his perplexity. Others gathered together the leaves, and handed them up to the pulpit; but Bull, perceiving that the ill-disposed had anticipated his discomfiture, put the notes aside, conducted his sermon to a triumphant conclusion, shamed the scoffers, and greatly increased his reputation among his parishioners."—Pp. 493, 494.

"When Speaker Onslow, after the lapse of almost half a century, recorded his impression of Burnet's preaching, he said that the fervor of his action and utterance could scarcely be conceived by the new generation, because this earnestness of manner was no longer in fashion, and 'it is by the want of it,' he adds, 'as much as by anything, that religion is every day failing with us.' Burnet himself has given the rule which is the surest remedy of the defect; to have a mind penetrated through and through with a deep sense of the truth of Christianity, and filled with an ardent individual concern for its realization. Then 'the preacher will pronounce with a natural vehemence that is far more lively than all the strains that art can lead him to;' or, to quote the same thought

in the words of Professor Blunt, 'No master of declamation can inspire him with the grace that should become the pulpit, half so well as the simple consciousness that he is there to save men's souls.' This, too, will preserve him from even worse faults than want of energy; from affectation, from foppery, from theatrical tones and gestures, from frothy, flowery, and ambitious declamation, from everything, in short, which can divert the attention of his hearers from the Gospel to himself. It is with regret that we are compelled to forego the satisfaction of accompanying Professor Blunt through the remainder of the important topics he discusses, such as 'Schools,' 'Pastoral Ministrations,' and 'Pastoral Conversations;' but, since we are compelled to stop, we rejoice to conclude with recording his emphatic protest against 'the fustian which often passes for eloquence; the fruit of a miserable wish to shine; miserable in any man, most miserable in a minister of Christ in the exercise of his office.' With persons like these, pride, as Baxter forcibly puts it, goes with them into their study, chooses their subject, and more often still, their language and ornaments. When pride has made the sermon, it ascends with them into the pulpit, and regulates their delivery. The sermon ended, pride goes home with them, and makes them more eager to know whether they were admired, than whether they have turned sinners from the errors of their ways. The preachers of this degraded class are happily few in our Church, and are chiefly located in great towns, where alone the imposture can meet with the reward it seeks. To shame those who thus turn godliness into a trade, and to open the eyes of their dupes, would be almost equally hopeless; but let the young minister who is ambitious in his sermons, rather from error of judgment than corruption of mind, remember in whose name and for what purpose he speaks, and, in the language of Professor Blunt, 'he will rejoice infinitely more when he sees reason to believe that he has made one convert, than when he has made a church full of admirers.'"—Pp. 495, 496.

X. The British Quarterly Review, October, 1857.—1. Statius and his Age: 2. The Ethics of Revealed Theology: 3. Mechanics' Institutes and the Society of Arts: 4. Andrew Crosse, the Electrician: 5. Representative Reform: 6. Dr. Barth's African Discoveries: 7. The Cotton Dearth: 8. Beranger: 9. The Government of India and the Mutinies: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

The article on the Ethics of Revealed Theology contains an able discussion of the Imprecatory Psalms. As other Psalms are the inspired expression of divine love, so these are the expressions equally inspired of divine retribution. David may be regarded here as a representative man, the impersonation of the *divine cause* on earth; the enemy is the representative of wickedness; the Psalm is but the expression of divine vengeance taking this hymnic form. It is a gratuitous error to suppose that there is no severe side even to the Christian dispensation. No specimens of more terrible eloquence can be furnished on record, than some of our Saviour's denunciations of his adversaries. These imprecations were right. They were the expositions of divine justice, of which he was the embodiment, upon sin, of which they were the incarnation. Nothing in all language is more terrible than the final sentence, "Depart, ye cursed."

We remark, that the sentiment and language of Christendom in regard to the vengeance due to the horrible massacres of men, women, and children, in India, are far stronger than any of the imprecatory Psalms. Spurgeon's Fast-day Sermon has its imprecatory passages. Are these justifiable? Only on this principle. Spurgeon herein speaks not his personal wrath, but the universal conscience for the great cause of civilization and progressive humanity in the earth. The Sepoys are specimens and part of the cause of pro-

gressive darkness and sin. The imprecations of the sermon express the present hostile relations of the former to the latter. It is the language of justice to guilt. False humanity, which weeps over the condemned criminal and unnerves the arm of law, is but weakness in complicity with wrong.

This justifies no human *revenge*, which is, in fact, a human corruption, a demoniacal imitation, or cruel exaggeration of the true sentiment of Divine justice. Whoever has an inspired commission, or a just governmental sanction for his utterances, may freely speak them in strict accordance with his warrant.

The article on the Cotton Dearth has a special interest for the Southern States of our Union, as expressive of the estimation in which their slave-holding oligarchy is held by the Christian intellect and literature of Europe, and the persevering transatlantic determination not to be dependent on that odious source for a supply of cotton.

It appears that in England the mania for building cotton manufactories has entirely outrun the demand for the fabric. The manufacturer has therefore been a loser; while the mania has so stimulated the price of cotton, as to fill the pockets of our American planters, and raise the price of Virginia negroes. No result could be so trebly repugnant to the pocket, taste, and conscience of respectable Mr. Bull. He believes, *therefore*, that cotton can, and will, and shall spring up from other soil than American slaveland.

But the cause which Mr. Bull assigns to himself for his travels in search of a new cotton land, is an economical one. He believes the American supply to be precarious. He believes, on authority of an English inquirer, that it is to be "doubted if there could be found a single man, north of Washington, who would venture to guarantee the existence of slavery for another fifty years." The "critical condition" of the Southern States produced by the slavery agitation, and "the frightful proceedings in Kansas," have destroyed the confidence of the European market in the reliability of the American supply. Thus, we may add, is the turbulence of the slave power reacting on its own head. The slave power has originated and persistently continued the "agitation;" and just as the Kansas outrages have ruined slavery in Missouri, so will the atrocities of the slave power to force slavery upon the civilized world, force the civilized world to *abate* the slave power as a nuisance.

England is determined upon ignoring the Southern cotton-field. She first turns her attention toward India. Here there are three difficulties in the way; namely, "want of irrigation, want of cheap carriage by land or water, want of a just system of land tenure." The reinstatement of the English government in India, on a new basis, after that country is reconquered, will doubtless quicken the progress of reforms in all these respects. Meantime, the dearth of cotton to supply the over-increased manufactories of Lancashire, has produced the formation of a great association, which intends to repeat the agitation and victory of the Anti-Corn-Law League in the field of the cotton question. They hope "that the day may not be far distant, when even Lowell itself may be indebted to India for cheap cotton."

The only remedy suggested for our Southern cotton-growing interest against this loss of trade, is a curious one, and one well worthy the attention of our

Southern friends. It is *the calling an immense amount of free labor into the vast unoccupied cotton lands of America, and thus by immense increases and cheaper modes of production, outrivaling every other cotton-growing section of the world.* Other countries can beat America in producing cotton by slave labor; no other country can rival her, if she develop her vast cotton resources by free labor. These views are expanded and explained in the following extracts.

The last report of the "Blackburn Power-loom Weavers' Association" says:

"We believe that all the trials which the cotton trade is now undergoing are entirely owing to the use of slave-grown cotton. Cheap cotton is the thread of our destiny. Slave-grown cotton cannot be so cheap as free-labor cotton. So long as we depend upon America for cotton, and neglect India, where any quantity of cheap free-labor-grown cotton can be had, we need not expect that remuneration for our labor, nor interest of capital invested, which is necessary to make both employers and employed happy."—P. 430.

On the subject of saving the Southern States by occupying their immense vacant cotton fields with free labor, the reviewer's quotation from Stirling's Travels in the Slave States will serve:

"Let them only give themselves fair play, by setting labor free, and they will produce cotton at such a cost, and in such abundance, as will baffle all competition. There are some 400,000,000 acres of available cotton lands in America; of these, about 28,000,000 are cultivated, the rest is a desert; there are no hands to till it. Now, by adopting free labor the South would not only double the effective force of her negro population, but would turn into her territories that stream of migration which is now enriching the prairies of the Northwest. The association with the noble free laborers of the North would be the best education for the freed negoes; and together they would build up a prosperity of which the South, as yet, has not the faintest conception. A generation would convert her vast cotton-lands from a howling wilderness into a garden-land. The slaveholders of the South, in their argument in favor of slavery derived from cotton as a power in the world, assume that slavery is indispensable to cotton culture. That this is not the case we might know from the latitude most favorable to the growth of cotton. Cotton is not a tropical production, even were it proved that negroes alone are capable of tropical labor. But we have more than a general inference to go upon; in these very Slave States, cotton is cultivated by free labor. In Texas it is raised by the free labor of Germans, and the quality is confessedly superior to that produced by slave labor. And even in Alabama, the small farmers who are too poor to own slaves, produce, with the help of their family, two, three, or five bales per annum. Therefore, even granting the importance of cotton, granting, too, the indispensableness of American cotton, it yet remains to be proved that slavery is either a necessity or a good. The onus lies clearly on the slave-owner. One thing is certain; no need of cotton or any other supposed necessary of life will ever induce the English nation to relax one tittle in its antipathy to slavery. This is with us a settled conviction, which neither gain nor argument can disturb. Cotton is great, but conscience is greater; and in any question where these two powers may come in conflict, the issue for the English mind will be nowise doubtful."—P. 436.

On the conditions above stated, Mr. Stirling (an English traveler) believes that America has from nature a monopoly of cotton production, as against any other country in the world.

In another article, however, the British Quarterly indicates another country as a still more dangerous rival to America than India, namely, Africa; as the following extracts show:

"In the discussion lately held at the Society of Arts, on the question, 'How can increased supplies of cotton be obtained?' the speakers chiefly insisted on the necessity of an *immediate* increase of the supply, and of a cheap water carriage. Now both these conditions Central Africa can fulfill. Of all species of native produce, cotton stands foremost there. In those parts of Western Africa visited by Dr. Livingstone, he remarks, 'there was cotton growing all over the country,' and that there he saw women with spindle and distaff in their hands, spinning cotton while going to the fields. In the district of the Zambesi, too, cotton, although of an inferior kind, was largely grown, while the reader has seen, in the preceding portion of this article, how widely the cultivation of cotton extends along the wild regions visited by Dr. Barth, and must have remarked how constantly the cotton field is pointed to, as the never-failing indication of a flourishing village, throughout the whole extent of his travels. What, then, should prevent our looking to these so lately discovered countries for that supply which, in each coming year, will be so imperatively demanded; to countries where the cultivation of cotton has subsisted from time immemorial, and where nature has provided means of cheap and speedy conveyance, without the cost and delay of the construction of canals or railways? countries, too, so wide and so vast as to be capable of absorbing countless millions of population, and still affording space enough for the cultivation of that raw produce which, as an able writer in the *Examiner* has lately shown, cannot be raised when the population exceeds two hundred to a square mile."—P. 414.

"The surplus population of Europe is each year pouring itself upon America, and 'Give us room that we may dwell,' is the cry, even now, in wide districts which less than fifty years ago were trackless forests. Meanwhile, there is that large negro population, brought up from infancy to the culture of cotton, chafing under the yoke of slavery, and casting many a longing look toward the land from whence their fathers were torn. Who can say, that now, when slavery appears doomed, whether 'justice to the negro' may not at length be at hand, and that, disciplined by suffering, instructed in the arts of civilized life, the long-oppressed Africans of America, like the chosen people of old, may come forth from their hard bondage in a peaceful exodus, to instruct their pagan brothers, and to found prosperous communities in the very land of their fathers?"—P. 415.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Debt and Grace, as related to the Doctrine of a Future State*, by C. F. Hudson." (12mo., pp. 472. Boston: J. P. Jewett, 1857.) The purpose of this learned and able work, though unexpressed by the title, unrevealed in the contents, and undisclosed until a large part of the volume has been read, is to sustain the doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked. It first tries the various theodices of eternal future suffering, and by a brief reply, endeavors to show that each is irreconcilable with the dictates of eternal justice, as tried by the moral sense. It next takes up the Scripture argument. Under this head it denies that the natural immortality of the soul is ever expressed or even implied in the Bible. On the contrary, life and immortality

are brought in fullness by the Redeemer, to the redeemed alone; while all others are not only naturally mortal, soul and body, at death, but, after that mortal suspension of positive existence, are raised at the final resurrection, and cast into the Lake of Fire as the second death. It denies that endless conscious suffering is ever affirmed to be the nature of future penalty; but affirms that the penalty consists in privation, and in its perpetuity consists the eternity of future punishment. The class of Scripture terms by which eternal misery is usually understood to be designated, such as *condemnation*, *damnation*, *perdition*, *destruction*, the writer understands to express the painful and penal consignment of the entire nature to the disorganization and complete non-existence from which it sprung.

Yet this author, if we understand him, does believe in an intermediate consciousness of being between death and the resurrection. The soul is the center of the being; the bodily death is the flinging off its external medium by which it has been drawn into sharp perception of outer existence; and then the resurrection is rather a new accretion of corporeity, which the undressed soul gathers and hardens around itself. This power is communicated by the Redeemer to the good directly, to the bad indirectly, so that the resurrection is a sort of natural process supernaturally conferred.

The writer then examines the *history* of doctrinal points involved. The tenet of the natural immortality of the soul, being not Hebraic, was introduced from the Grecian philosophies into theology. In the early ages of Christianity, the three doctrines of natural mortality and annihilation of the wicked, of restoration and of eternal torment, were held respectively by different classes of the Christian fathers. In the Western Church, under the prevalence of absolutism, the eternity of the punishment of the absolutely wicked, was still qualified by a purgatory for the imperfectly bad. Annihilationism, to a greater or less degree, has prevailed among the Jews since the Christian era. And so the unqualified doctrine of eternal suffering for all the unredeemed belongs to Protestantism only. Since the Reformation the supporters of annihilationism in the Western Church have been few and sporadic:

"The recent discussion of the subject in this country was occasioned by the publication of Six Sermons on the question: 'Are the Wicked Immortal?' by George Storrs, editor of the 'Bible Examiner.' These discourses passed through numerous editions, and, with other publications that have been issued, have begun to command general attention and no small respect for the, to many, new doctrine. The most considerable argument which has appeared in reply, is the truly eloquent discussion of Dr. Post, in the New-Englander, whose articles were secured with a view to their republication with a reply; a design which we hope may be soon carried into effect. A return of the like courtesy, earnestness, and appreciation of the difficulties encountered, could not fail to improve the spirit of doctrinal controversy."

We may add, that a passionless re-examination of this subject by some master mind uniting a searching scholarship with a close metaphysical acumen, will supply a demand of the times.

(2.) "*Sermons of the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon of London.* Third Series." (12mo., pp. 448. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.)

(3.) "*Spurgeon's Fast-day Sermon.*" (12mo., pp. 43. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) Up to this time we had nothing to say of Spurgeon. And what use now for a critic to set himself up and pronounce on such a man? He must be accepted as a fixed fact. It is of no use to bring out our rule and measure, and decide that here he is too crooked or too straight, and there too short or too long. The man who, without rule or measure, or teacher or model, works out great results from what is in him, is lord of the critic, and not the critic of him. Criticism draws rules from the original; and thence proceeds to guide, correct, approve, condemn the inferior essayist. But when nature plants genius in a man, by which to work marvels, it is of no use for criticism to say that his methods are without precedent in the books, his procedures unruly, and his successes and achievements outrageous transgressions of all the fixed principles. We are to accept him, study him, explain him if we can, and use him to deduce new principles for pupils and followers to profit withal. Otherwise, he stands solitary and inexplicable, a plague to all critics, and a pleasure and a glory to all the world beside.

We think by his picture that Spurgeon is a burly-looking figure. His face on some shoulders would be thought a particle homely, if not vulgar. His style of shaping sentences is ungainly and inartistic. His paragraphs, though massy and substantial, roll no rounded music on the ear. We have not, in the productions themselves, any obvious notice that we are dwelling on syllables that have startled England with their utterance from the author's living lip. Be it so. We rejoice that the truths of the Gospel are such that their most downright expression, coming from certain souls whom God commissions and sends among us, possesses a power whose secret no literary criticism can detect. It is the simple power of the Gospel itself. And here is an assurance that the Gospel is indestructible, and instinct with a fresh and ever-springing life. Its nature is Divine and its spirit is immortal.

(4.) "*Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with Tunes for Congregational Worship.*" (8vo., pp. 368. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) We trust that this book inaugurates a new era, or rather restores an old one in our public worship. Our congregations will recover their lost right, or rather will resume an abdicated privilege and duty, namely, the presenting to God the fruit of their own lips in the form of the actual song of praise. Our choirs will still be as ever needed, to cultivate with special zeal the science of sacred music, and to lead and sustain the congregational voice. We hope the result, then, will be that the flood of sacred song, like the voice of many waters, will completely fill the holy sanctuary of God. Let our ministers now forthwith set the reform in motion. Let all in the entire church who have music in their souls, pour it forth, not doubting that they will soon be followed by more timid spirits (like ourself) who, for good reasons, never sing in public, unless there be music enough around us to drown our voice.

The same dumb spirit which has possessed our congregations has also, we fear, silenced to a great degree the hymn of praise at the family altar. What life was once given to the scene of family devotion by the sweet spontaneous hymn, not scientific, not by book, by note, or by piano, but by a going out of

the heart in a strain in which extemporaneity and memory almost seemed to blend.

We believe there is a universal wish not to lose the music of our early history, which, wheresoever its source, seemed not to have been manufactured or made, but to have *grown* out from the religious emotions of the *great revival.* Not without some compunctions, we must confess that there has been a period of a half disposition to abandon them as ungenteel, until we found that other denominations, realizing their ancient power among us, were well disposed to appropriate them. Let them do so. We think the whole Church may well, with a united voice, usher in the day when one song shall engage all nations.

(5.) "*The Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romans;* with Notes, chiefly Explanatory. Designed as an Accompaniment to the Author's Notes on the Gospels and the Acts, by HENRY J. RIPLEY, Newton Theological Institution." (12mo., pp. 147. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) Professor Ripley has traced with much success the Apostle's line of thought. He has not detailed the grammatical and exegetical processes; but has furnished, in a style of much clearness and due liveliness, the results. He has not dealt extensively in theological opinions. Indeed, we could hardly suppose a Baptist could pass over chap. vi, ver. 4, without a clear word for immersion. Hereditary depravity appears but dimly in chap. v; and predestination scarce reigns over chap. ix. This will be a merit or a demerit, according to the wish of the reader.

(6.) "*Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, by Dr. HERMAN OLSHAUSEN. Translated from the German by A. C. KENDRICK, D.D." (Vol. iv. 8vo., pp. 586. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) This volume extends from Romans vii, 7, to the close of Galatians. In the "Prefatory Note," the translator administers a most exemplary castigation upon the Scotch translators, who "often seem ignorant alike of English and German;" and a portion of their work "contains as many blunders as lines." Olshausen's mind seems to have receded from the doctrine of Restorationism as his work advanced. We need add nothing to the testimony we have given of this great work, and are gratified to learn that publishers and editor are cheered with the success of their noble enterprise.

(7.) "*A Collection of the Sweet Assuring Promises of Scripture, or the Believers' Inheritance*, by SAMUEL CLARKE, D. D." (18mo., pp. 250. Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) A beautiful pocket edition of a standard little work of old divinity by a master hand. Dr. Samuel Clarke, in the introduction and construction of this delightful manual, although an Arian, exhibits not the unbiblical rationalism of modern Unitarianism, but the deep reverential unction of the old Puritan and evangelical divines. It is redolent of the deepest faith in the Divine oracles, and rich with copious Scripture use, as Dr. Clarke's great sermons, also, characteristically are. It is matter of gratification that there is a demand

for the republication of such books, as evidencing that the purest religious and devotional feeling is not on the wane in these evil days. It is furnished with a "Recommendation" by Dr. Isaac Watts.

(8.) "*The Acts of the Apostles*, explained by JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER. In two volumes." (12mo., pp. 462, 498. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.) This work is the result of Professor Alexander's researches as a Biblical instructor at Princeton. Though not profuse in a display of erudition, it forms an exposition upon the original texts, and seeks to develop the immediate meaning of the sacred writer. It is strictly exegetical, dealing in no practical applications or doctrinal reflections. It is no doubt a valuable addition to the department of Scripture exposition.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(9.) "*The Biographical History of Philosophy*, from its Origin in Greece down to the Present Day, by GEORGE HENRY LEWES." (12mo., pp. 801. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.) This work was published in England some eight years ago, and is the standard History of Philosophy with the English sensational school, as Morrell's of the intuitional. Since the publication of John Stuart Mill's System of Inductive Logic, (the greatest re-statement of the sensational doctrines of the day,) no work from that quarter possesses higher conceded rank. And as each philosophic sect needs its *argument* and its *reading of philosophic history*, it must be admitted that sensationalism has well done duty to itself in these two able works.

Far inferior in gravity, in intellectual power, in manly compactness of demonstration to the Logic, Mr. Lewes's History is likely to be not less effective, by being less dense and more readable. The extended and skillful blending of the biographical with the philosophical, relieves the dryness without destroying the unity. A liveliness of expression, with some natural enthusiasm of character, attracts the attention, though it does not greatly add to the philosophic power of the argument. Yet it must be confessed, that Mr. Lewes's vivacity contrasts greatly with the dreariness of his doctrines. His pages would furnish to a thoughtful mind an abundant recreation; but his ghastly theory, like the skeleton at an Egyptian feast, sheds over the board a chill of gloom. A cold and ironical sneer is gradually detected in the sprightliness, and you close the volume with no high estimate of the author, and half disgusted at the levity which has really seduced you to complete the work.

Mr. Lewes writes a History of Philosophy to show that philosophy has no right to a being. Its duty is non-existence. It leads to nothing, can effect nothing, and is unworthy of attention or time. His is the last book, and, except Mr. Mill's Logic, the only book on the subject that should ever be read. Read it, and then throw it into the fire with all its tribe. Philosophy, which Boethius accepted as a goddess to cheer his prison hours, and Cousin pronounced a divine necessity of the human soul, is here tried and condemned as a sorceress and an imposition, and not indeed executed by the author's hand, but gallantly

and gaily led to the precipice for suicide. "The widow Capet" received not from the Paris mob a more merry welcome to the guillotine than philosophy receives from Mr. Lewes to the Tarpeian Rock.

Yet by philosophy Mr. Lewes does not mean systematic ethics, though he would found that department doubtless upon utility. Nor does he mean to condemn psychology or the analysis of our mental phenomena; though he believes our future aid for that department is to be derived from physiology. He means to condemn metaphysics. In this condemned metaphysics, *alias* philosophy, he includes all ontology or science of substance, all doctrine of causations, of necessary truths, or super-experiential ideas. After the pattern of M. Comte, he narrows us down to the study of the successions and laws of sensible phenomena. This negative of all philosophy, and assertion of certain science alone, is christened the "Positive Philosophy."

With this class of thinkers, one of two courses is pursued by the respective sub-classes in regard to religion. That shrewd thinker, the late Dr. Bond, (who really, though perhaps half unconsciously, belonged here,) repudiated all philosophy, and saved, or, as he felt, *established* Christianity by placing it, as a system of *facts*, in the rank of Positive History. Thinkers of this sub-class ground themselves upon the Paleyan argument, elude Hume by contemptuously exclaiming "Metaphysics!" ignore all aid from philosophy, dread natural religion, and even suspect theology. They base the evidence of the Bible upon common sense; they then base all religion, morals, and theodice upon the isolated Bible, and do not feel in the whole process that the narrow dimensions of the primary base, with the rejection of all collateral aids, at all endanger the tallness of the structure. But, unhappily, there is another sub-class, who think that Hume is just as common sense as Locke or Paley. With him they ignore all causation, and know nothing but invariable successions and laws. Religion breaks in the same bankruptcy with philosophy. Sensible experience limits all reality. Miracles are impossibilities; spirit a fictitious conception; immortality a dream. All belief, study, and thought are to be limited down to the certain and positive sciences.

To this gloomy class, not so avowedly, but in general tone and by countless implications, belongs our lively Mr. Lewes. He traces through all history, the rise and fall of every school of thought. Their varied history is one. Each starts forth to achieve the grand result, flares up into glorious theory, and then flashes out in *skepticism*. And now every possible direction has been taken and every possible method tried, and the uniform terminus is still *skepticism*. The whole area has been trodden, every corner has been searched, every thinkable idea has been thought, and the result, Mr. Lewes facetiously tells us, is despair. Let us give it up. Let us renounce theologies and philosophies, which are made up of guesses and quarrels, and turn to the positivities of science, where the guesses are none and the quarrels are few and cool.

The test question which decides whether you are tending to this school of anti-philosophy or not, is, as Mr. Lewes rightly states, simply this: Have we any ideas in our minds which have not come in through the senses from the world around us? Have we thoughts which are not printed upon the mind by the external types? As Behring's narrow straits broaden into a Pacific and

divide the continents, so does this question widen between the great hemispheres of the sensational and transcendental schools of philosophy and religion. Answer you No; you are then a sensationalist. You logically tend toward materialism, non-causationalism, atheism. You save your religion, as before indicated, by grounding on the historical evidence, and negating all the above isms on the authority of history-based revelation. Answer you Yes; then soul, immortality, causation, God, the whole system of revealed verities, are to you likely to be questionless truths. They may all aid your faith in revelation. Yours may be a Christian philosophy. Your religion and your philosophy may be essentially one. Where such a coincidence is demonstrated, or even made possible, the harmony is quite as reposing and infinitely more happy than Mr. Lewes's quietistic despair. But the mischief is that philosophy here waxes positive upon her own capital. She speaks peremptorily, and dispenses with the aid of revelation. She grows too lofty for the Bible, too pious for the Church. Thus transcendentalism abandons religion by soaring upward, as sensationalism by rushing downward. The former in its exaggerations produces pantheists, ultraists, reformatory fanatics, and spiritualists; the latter produces atheists, sensualists, corruptionists, brutalists.

Thanks are due from our philosophic students to the Appletons for adding this fine volume to their noble list of standard works in that department.

(10.) "*The True Woman;* or, Life and Happiness at Home and Abroad, by J. T. Peck, D. D., Author of 'The Central Idea of Christianity.'" (12mo., pp. 400. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) Done in the author's best style. There is an originality in the outline, a nobleness in the idea, a freshness in the thoughts, a coloring in the style, and a finish in the externals of the book which entitle it to a place in the cabinet library of every woman in our land for many a repeated perusal. New-year comes but once a year; and when that epochal day arrives, Christian parents, place a copy in the hands of your daughter. We know no book besides the Bible more likely to plant effectually in her mind the model idea of the true woman.

With a fine propriety Dr. Peck has inserted as a frontispiece to his volume a beautiful picture of the mother of John Wesley. The classical chasteness of her figure and features, when contemplated with the eye of the connoisseur, are singularly striking. There is not the perfection of feminine beauty; but there is the corporeal semblance of the noblest womanhood. We believe in the traducian theory; namely, that souls produce souls, and so gaze with a true reverence upon this sweet shadow of an illustrious mother. We gaze upon it, fully believing that the soul that animated that fair frame achieved a grand maternal chef d'œuvre in furnishing the mighty spirit of *the* Wesley to the world.

In what attractive style Dr. Peck can win attention to the most practical topics, may be seen by the following extract:

"Inequality of rank and condition must exist, so long as there are diversities of talent and taste, and division of labor; but useful employment, in proportion to health and strength, is the high duty of every human being. The

w allowed to work, provided what she does is perfectly use-
roider, but not make a dress! She may make flowers, but
! She may make music, but not coffee! She may dress
! She may be an exquisite judge of viands on the table,
avoid the slightest claim to know how they are prepared!
ook, but she must get another, or starve! Now, with all possi-
ounce this nonsense; nay, it is the greatest social calamity
ial basis, contrary to the will of God, and the indications of
it is utterly impossible to construct a healthy social order.
t reduces the mistress of a family to a state of dependence,
o acknowledge the superiority of her servants, and subjects
unoyances, and even insults, which she may not endure,
d, because she is not a practical woman? Her temper is
l comforts are abridged, her family is often unhappy, her
es are undeveloped, her health is impaired, her valuable
daughters are reared under the influence of false opinions
mple. She knows the remedy, but has neither the courage
y it. The real opinions of the most accomplished ladies of
subject, are quite different from what they are supposed to
individual they deprecate this evil, and acknowledge its
endid woman, could she be left to her own convictions, would
within the limits of reason, to be a competent practical
ronounce it the growing conviction of the most cultivated
nale, north and south, that the true dignity of woman re-
cisely this point; and we hail the slightest tendency to this
sed satisfaction."—Pp. 47–49.

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son Letters; Selections from the Correspondence of R. E.
Edited by HENRY ROGERS, Author of the 'Eclipse of
d Faith,' etc." (12mo., pp. 518. Boston: Gould &
. E. H. Greyson is an anagram of the name of Henry
ostensible editor is the real author of the book. Under
erade, the writer discusses grave topics in a spirited and
nowing that the mass of readers abjure thought, especially
at imperatively impose the need and duty of thought, he
inary talent to wrap up momentous truths in guises that
on, open the heart, and steal profound conclusions upon
mischievous way. We were not predisposed to like it.
xactly to find theology mixed up with penny postage, and
pense, while we laugh at the author's feats of male cookery.
t reminiscences of some disastrous failures in its pages.
ing the colloquy between the Deity and an Irish Adam, over
iece of most repulsive irreverence. Yet we must, after all,
e seldom or never gone through the discussion of problems
vous fluid in the operation, with more ease and freshness,
in less time or clearer result, than over these profound
Iany a reader will read, enjoy, and be instructed by them
provided they get no private intelligence that the book
s.

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n Biography and Criticism, by PETER BAYNE, M.A.,
ristian Life, Social and Individual,' etc. First Series."
Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: Sheldon, Blake-

man, & Co., 1857.) Mr. Baynes has attained a high rank as a clear thinker and eloquent writer, and these essays will amply sustain his reputation. There are few productions of this class so abounding with rich Christian thought, expressed in vivid and pictured style. The subjects are attractive in themselves, and well selected to call the varied power of the writer into full and vigorous exercise. They are as follows: De Quincy, Tennyson, Mrs. Barrett Browning, Ruskin, Recent British Art, Hugh Miller, The Modern Novel, Currer Bell.

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(13.) "*America and American Methodism*, by the Rev. FREDERIC J. JOBSON: with Prefatory Letters by Rev. THOMAS B. SARGENT, D. D., of Baltimore, and Rev. JOHN HANNAH, D. D., Representative from the British Conference in the Years 1824 and 1856." (12mo., pp. 399. New-York: Virtue, Emmons, & Co., 1857.) Mr. Jobson's fine volume comes to our critical table invested with pleasant associations. The increasing interest with which the intercourse between the two great bodies of Methodism is inspired, the favorable impressions left by Dr. Hannah and Mr. Jobson upon the American mind, the cordial welcome given by the British Conference and people to the American delegation, enhanced by the noble bearing with which, in general, our delegates sustained their representative honors, have all combined to produce a sort of era in the history of our inter-denominational intercourse. Slight shades of variant feeling have disappeared. Our harmony of doctrines and oneness of heart are becoming increasingly clear. The emergence of our British brethren from past disaster into an unequivocal and cheering prosperity has delightfully synchronized with our recovery from secession and judicial pillage, to go forth into a career of unparalleled triumph. Mutual sympathies could, therefore, blend with mutual congratulations. Fraternal affections, thanksgiving to the Father of all mercies for rich blessings in the past, and prayer for the abundant multiplication of blessings in the future, have united every heart. So may it ever be. Never may religious discord or national hostility separate those who, divided by the ocean, are still, in language, race, and religion, essentially one.

The honored delegation of the British Conference arrived at New-York in April, 1856, and being received with fraternal greetings and hospitalities, spent a few days in the great commercial emporium of our nation. Thence they passed southward, making stoppages at Philadelphia and at Baltimore; at which places their recorded impressions are proof that their attention was alive with vivid interest. At our political capital they surveyed the institutes and edifices belonging to our central government. Thence crossing the Alleghanies by the steam car, they paid their respects to the Queen City, that proudly sitteth on the banks of the Ohio; and finally they made a permanent stoppage at their official destination, Indianapolis, the seat of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here Mr. Jobson makes a pause, and spreads out six rich chapters upon the history and biogra-

phy of American Methodism, and the principal characters, and the proceedings and results, of the General Conference, then in session.

Leaving Cincinnati, our friends pass down to St. Louis, enjoy the grandeur of the Mississippi, look over the prairies, meditate upon our aborigines, glance a thought toward Mormondom, and, winding around through Chicago, pass Detroit for the Falls. Departing thence through Canada to Montreal, Mr. Jobson takes his way, by Champlain, first to Boston, and then back through Albany to New-York. On the 11th of June the delegates took homeward sail, and with prosperous voyaging landed at Liverpool, having performed a travel of 11,000 miles, and made the most extensive observation, in a fine spring vacation of less than twelve weeks.

We like to travel with Mr. Jobson. He is a true and genial spirit, with a great heart vocal with eloquent utterance, rich with nature's noblest impulses, and warmed and sanctified with the unctions of our blessed Gospel. His style has power, less from a wiry outline, or a terse precision, or an intensity of phrase, than from its soft rich flow and its abounding volume. Hence his painting of natural scenery has much of the spontaneous and natural vraisemblance that charms us in Irving. His observations on men, manners, and institutions show how immensely a genial sympathy, limited by conscientious truth, aids the searching eye and the accurate judgment. Our detractors and satirists may benefit, while they provoke us, by pointing out, with a keen, unflinching finger, the faults we indulge. But our friends are our most accurate judges as well as our truest benefactors.

Mr. Jobson is no flatterer. His soul expands over our expanding greatness, and his pulse proudly feels that it beats with a fraternal blood. He is proud of America, and prouder still of American Methodism. But not a whit the less keen and jealous is his eye to detect all the symptoms, with all their aggravations, of that vital malady which threatens to make our history a failure. He sees, as the world sees, with infinite loathing, that infernal system which transforms our self-styled democracy into a lie, and one half our Methodism into a twin mendacity. He sees our national executive, created by our Southern slave-power combined with our Northern mob-power—the genuine blended image of both—aiming, by the most unscrupulous lawlessness, to attain the ends of the most unscrupulous despotism. With all the interior and home horrors of the slavery system, and the black-hearted state legislation, sanctified by the piety of an Iscariot Church, and sustained by the administration of a Lynch judiciary, the chapter of Mr. Jobson on the subject shows the most perfect acquaintance and the most perfect faithfulness of delineation. Trained in the vigorous school of English abolitionism, of which the competent masters were Watson and Wesley, he smiles with a good-natured contempt as he riddles the stereotype sophisms with which puling apologists attempt to glose over the abominations of despotism. So far from not being able to "comprehend" the subject, he comprehends it, alas! a little too well.

And the English Conference, be it here recorded, did in the most quiet, yet most unequivocal way, SHUT ITS DOOR IN THE FACE OF THE CHURCH, SOUTH. It thereby solemnly confirmed and ratified, before God and the world, the precedent set to the same effect by the Methodist Episcopal Church

of these United States. It reaffirmed the verdict that the Church, South, is a pro-slavery church. We pretend not to judge whether or not the Church, South, consists of salvable Christians; but this we say, with the profoundest sorrow, that they are inculpated *in a great* MORAL HERESY, by which they must stand out of the door of our communion, until, by penitence and purgation, they obtain a due restorement. For that blessed day of revival and reunion, let our hopes survive and our prayers devoutly ascend.

(14.) "*The Life and Labors of the Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, LL.D.*, by Rev. HEMAN HUMPHREY, D.D." (12mo., pp. 440. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) The blessed philanthropist, Gallaudet, was one of the descendants of the Huguenots whom Louis XIV. drove from his dominion by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was born 1787, in Philadelphia, but spent his life mostly in Hartford, Connecticut. Here he was led by the case of the deaf mute Alice Cogswell to visit France, and, under the celebrated Abbé Sicard, to become accomplished in the art of teaching that class of unfortunates. Thereby an institution was founded, which became the pioneer of some twenty now existing in our country for the same benevolent object. For several years Mr. Gallaudet, aided by Leclerc, a young French mute whom he persuaded to come with him from Paris to this country, taught in this institute. His rare benevolence of heart, amiable manners, and genius for imparting instruction, produced an eminent success. Ill health compelled him at length to resign, and during an interval of leisure of some years he produced some publications characterized by his peculiar powers of communicating to the simplest mind, by means of happy illustrations, the deep truths of the soul and of God. These publications have been translated into foreign languages; and an interesting letter is given from the King of Siam, in inimitably bad English, expressing the royal wish for further books, as well as admiration for the writer. During the remainder of his life, Mr. Gallaudet filled the chaplaincy of the Insane Retreat at Hartford, where he closed his labors of love and mercy with an end of transcendant peace. Tears, such as are shed for the good alone, from those who had no *voice* to bless his memory, bedewed the grave of Gallaudet. By that same grateful class a monument, engraved with emblems of most appropriate beauty, was raised to his memory. And this volume from the pen of ex-President Humphrey is a suitable memorial from a class-mate of the subject. It is a most mysterious anomaly in human nature, that the records of conquerors and destroyers fasten the attention and attract the interest so much more intensely than the history of deeds of benevolence and lives of good doing. Why does the human heart so bribe men to devastate and destroy, rather than win them to succor and to bless? Were it not so, and human nature were true to itself, the biography of Gallaudet would be in every reader's hand, while the history of Napoleon would be an obscure and hateful legend.

Gallaudet spent some months in England and Scotland, during which he became acquainted with Zachary Macaulay, Chalmers, Dugald Stewart, and Dr. Thomas Brown. Macaulay (the father of the celebrated historian) was an eminent philanthropist, a leader of the great battle of English abolitionism, and

editor of the Christian Observer. Such a paternity, and the example and education of such a father, ought to have prevented Thomas Babington Macaulay's witless sarcasms upon "the braying of Exeter Hall." A letter of Zachary's to Gallaudet contains the following allusion to Thomas Babington:

"I thank you for your kind inquiries respecting my son. He is now in good health, and prosecuting his studies with ardor at the University of Cambridge. God has been pleased to endow him with very considerable powers of mind, and with a very strong desire for knowledge. My prayer—and, indeed, I am thankful to say, my hope is, that these may be sanctified and made subservient to his glory."—Pp. 89, 90.

The following extract from a letter by Gallaudet, written from Edinburgh, will interest our readers:

"You and I have often *Dugald-ized* together, and I dare say you will remember the enthusiasm with which I used to speak of the possibility of seeing Mr. Stewart. A curious chain of providences gave me this gratification. There is something most engaging about him. I dare not attempt to describe him, for I have but little talent at tracing stature, and form, and voice, and physiognomy. Dignity, benevolence, modesty, nay, child-like simplicity, combined with great ease and elegance, and, when I saw him, softened almost into tenderness, somewhat like melancholy; these were the traits of manner which most forcibly caught my attention, and I have often thought within myself, why cannot some, whose radical principles of thought and action, being founded on the precepts of the New Testament, should lead to the same exterior of deportment; why cannot they, too, adorn with its proper graces the religion which they profess? And I thought, how would some of our self-conceited, ostentatious, confident, domineering, conversation-engrossing, literary, scrap-puffing, oracular, dogmatical, would-be great folks, hide their diminished heads, and blush at their petty greatness, if they could see the chaste modesty of one of the greatest philosophers and scholars of Europe!

"Mr. Stewart's successor in the chair of moral philosophy is Dr. Thomas Brown. I have already heard nearly *forty* of his lectures. He differs from all his predecessors in his views of the human mind. He thinks the Scotch metaphysicians have made too many divisions of the powers and faculties of the mind, and that the French have aimed at too great simplicity. He pursues a middle course. In general, I like his nomenclature. It is somewhat new. Of the essence of the mind we know nothing. We only know its states and phenomena. These may be divided into internal and external affections. The latter includes all that we usually call sensations. It embraces those traits of mind whose existence and modifications depend on external objects. The former includes all the mental phenomena, and is divided into intellectual states of mind and emotions. Dr. Brown has a great deal of the most luxuriant imagery in his writings; almost too much for a metaphysician, and abundance of classical allusion and quotations. He is quite a young man, unmarried, and his family is made up of his mother and sisters. I have often been at his house, and lately at a conversational party, at which Professor Playfair was present, remarkable for his great plainness, simplicity, and modesty of manners; a venerable man of more than sixty years of age. I cannot finish without a moral. Before I left home, could I have wished to be transported to any part of the globe, in order to enjoy the richest treat of which my intellectual nature was susceptible, it would have been my first desire to have been placed amid the very scenes through which I have passed. And what is the result? A stronger conviction than ever that literary grandeur, 'this also is vanity:' and that he best consults his true dignity and peace, who walks humbly with his God, in whatever sphere of usefulness he may be placed; and that to be the means of saving one soul is a more desirable blessing than to hold the proudest rank among the learned, or to enjoy the highest of those delights which literature and taste claim as their own."—Pp. 46–48.

Gallaudet was not merely a philanthropist by temperament, or, forsooth, by mere *organic developments.* His was the benevolence of principle, of duty, of piety, of deep Christian love. His features, as exhibited in the frontispiece, seem not merely to beam with benevolence, but as if the spirit were so exuberant with joyous goodness that its overflow had to be restrained by a pressure of the lip. Yet a spirit of earnest devoutness, of solemn unworldliness, and sometimes of weeping self-humiliation, pervades his letters and the record of his private experiences.

(15.) "*The Methodist Episcopal Church and Slavery*, by DANIEL DE VINNE, of the New-York East Conference." (12mo., pp. 96. New-York: Francis Hart, 1857.) Some years since Mr. De Vinne published in the Zion's Herald, a series of letters on the subject of Slavery and the Church, which, from the peculiar ground they covered, the masterly knowledge of the subject they exhibited, and the forcible simplicity of their style, attracted general attention, and by general consent obtained a publication in pamphlet form. The interest that produced the edition, in no long time exhausted it; and for years it was out of print, forgotten apparently by its author, but not so by some of its ancient readers. The present re-publication is its resurrection at the instance of the friends of freedom, in an enlarged and perhaps improved form; and we cannot doubt that it will find a far more numerous audience and achieve a thrice reduplicated amount of good. The changed reception it now meets is a triumph, and a proof how great the revolution in the public mind. It has not now the difficult task of creating a non-existent interest, and compelling, by the power of its utterance, a reluctant attention. It finds inquiry all alert, and the public ear calling for the details of truth and the trains of argument it once repelled.

Mr. De Vinne is familiar, by Southern residence and close observation, with all the details of slavery *as it is;* and speaks with all the authority of absolute accuracy and unimpeachable veracity. He has maintained his principles with unswerving rectitude for long past years amid no ordinary ordeals, and may therefore be considered an established exponent. He has studied the subject in every phase it presents, and doubtless presents for the side he sustains one of the best possible arguments. His work has attracted extensive attention without the limits of our own denomination. The conclusions he maintains are generally not within the prescribed limits of our Quarterly, and we do not express any opinion of their soundness.

We could have wished that the historical element had been larger in proportion to the argumentation. A history proper, written as a matter of standing authority, and without any eye to conclusions, is yet a desideratum. We are not certain how nearly Dr. Elliott's History of the Secession, had it been less voluminous, would have met the demand. Rev. Lucius Matlack's "Methodism and Slavery," though written from a one-sided stand-point, has more consecutive historical information—stated with more geniality and candor than many would expect—than any book we can name.

The history of the class to which the author belongs is an exemplification of true loyalty to Methodism. It is loyalty not to the accidents nor the inci-

dents, not to the self-appointed expositors nor the temporary administrators of Methodism, but to essential, central Methodism itself. Whenever all these subordinates vary from that essential, such men struggle in the true spirit of a real love—stern love, rebuking love, it may be, but still enduring, suffering, laboring, Christ-like love—to restore the whole to their proper position and harmony. No prospect on earth is more immediately dear to the eye of their faith than the Church of their love marching up with unbroken unity, loyal subordination, and harmonizing step, to that purity from great acknowledged sin, that elevation above all low unholy compromises, by which she may look serenely down upon a world acknowledging her sanctified fitness for the indwelling presence of God.

(16.) "*Lady Huntingdon Portrayed:* Including brief Sketches of some of her Friends and Co-laborers. By the Author of 'The Missionary Teacher,' etc." (12mo., pp. 319. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) Lady Selina Shirley, by marriage Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, was born August 24, 1707. She was endowed with a noble person, courtly manners, unusual executive talent, and a rare power of influencing the circle in which she moved. Deep impressions of the truth of eternity led her to seek the favor of God, and when Whitefield and Wesley appeared, they were as messengers of God to her glad soul. The character of her religion, as well as of her mind, was too decided to allow it to shrink from prominence; on the contrary, her high soul compassionated the fearful condition of the wealthy and noble, and she boldly sought to spread the influences of Methodism, not only through the highest aristocracy of the realm, but to the royal family itself. She persuaded the highest ladies of the court to listen to the preaching of these great evangelists, with an influence more or less powerful upon some, and a saving change in others. Among the former were the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough and the Duchess of Buckingham; among the latter the Duchess of the celebrated Chesterfield, Lady Ann Frankland, and Lady Fanny Shirley, the theme of the admiring muse of Pope. She numbered among her friends some of the most venerated personages of England's history: Watts, Doddridge, Romaine, Venn, and the sainted Fletcher. As the work of conversion prospered, and the numbers of those who were called to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ were multiplied, informal meetings for planning and maintaining a network of itinerant preaching constituted a "conference;" and their formation with their churches into an organization formed "Lady Huntingdon's Connection." To fit young men for this arduous work, a "School of the Prophets" was established under her patronage, at Trevecca, in Wales, over which Fletcher presided.

When Mr. Wesley and his conference of preachers came to the conclusion that they had "leaned too much to Calvinism," Lady Huntingdon, who had imbibed from Whitefield the Calvinism by him imported from New-England, received the impression, erroneous but inveterate, that Mr. Wesley denied the doctrine of justification by faith to the exclusion of the saving merit of works. Her relative, Rev. Walter Shirley, with the small remnant of Calvinistic preachers, called for recantation. A controversy arose, in which

the virulent Toplady was chief champion of Calvinism, and love and truth, on the Arminian side, found their model in Fletcher. Each party went on, in spite of the break, in spreading the essential truths of the Gospel maintained by both. Lady Huntingdon and Mr. Wesley never again met on earth. But when, near the close of her own career, she read the dying ascription made by Mr. Wesley of his salvation to the blood of the Lamb, and when she learned from Wesley's fellow-traveler, Bradford, that such had ever been the tenor of his preaching, her soul melted, and bursting into tears, she bewailed that the unhappy separation had ever taken place. She survived him but a few months, and closed a life of holy usefulness seldom equaled in female history, with "nothing but victory" and "joy unspeakable" on her lips.

Lady Huntingdon has as yet had little or no place on the copious roll of our Arminian Methodist saintship. Her Connection has had no existence on this side of the Atlantic. Her separation from Mr. Wesley has drifted her beyond the full sphere of our sympathies. We thank the author, therefore, of this beautiful portraiture of her noble character, for recalling her into the circle of our denominational history. He has clothed the narrative with no ordinary grace of style; and though the book be anonymous, we trust no confidence is broken by our saying that the writer is Professor Z. A. Mudge. We recommend the work to the ladies of our Church, as well calculated to aid in adorning the character with the highest Christian graces.

(17.) "*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of H. B. M. in the Years 1849–1855. By Henry Barth, Ph. D., D. C. L., Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Asiatic Societies, etc., etc. In three volumes." (8vo., vols. i, ii, pp. 656, 709. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Christian enterprise is fast accomplishing in our day the ancient prophecy that "the vail shall be taken away from the face of all nations." Africa, although one of the earliest opened and marginally occupied of all the sister continents, has been longest overshrouded with the gloomy shades of obscurity, mystery, and myth. Problems stated by Herodotus as matter of doubt, have waited patiently through more than two thousand years, till the advent of our nineteenth century, for solution. In our day the scroll of African discovery can display its heroes and martyrs. From the time of Bruce, in 1769, the explorations of Mungo Park, Burckhardt, Denham and Clapperton, Major Laing, the first visitor of Timbuctoo, the Landers, and others, have in succession spread the area of our geographical knowledge into the central interior.

The author of these magnificent volumes, laid by the Harpers upon our critical table, is an eminent German professor, the sole survivor of a trio of explorers sent forth under the auspices of the British government. Genius is a disease that assumes, in its various possessors, a variety of phases; in Dr. Barth, the complaint is decidedly geographical. His early years had been much spent in exploring the northern regions of the African continent, before he assumed the geographical chair at Berlin. When he learned that the way

was open for a British commission, the impulses of his soul prompted him to share in the expedition, which he was alone destined to complete, and of which this elaborate and most detailed report is the invaluable monument.

On the 24th of March, 1850, Dr. Barth and company left Tripoli for Central Africa, intending to penetrate, by a southeastern course, to the Indian Ocean. He visited the great city of Kano, "the London of Sudan," and thence explored the celebrated Lake Tschad. The death of his German coadjutor induced him to forego the project of persevering to the Indian Ocean, and he turned a western course for the city of Timbuctoo.

In these regions of Central Africa our author found populous cities, a semi-civilized people, an exuberant richness of soil, magnificent lakes, rivers, and streams, "park-like scenery," and all the advantages for opening, what was the real object of the British share in the enterprise, a lucrative commerce. The slave-trade, with its accompanying catalogue of atrocities, may be supplanted by a legitimate and humanizing traffic. Paganism and Mohammedanism may give way to Christianity. The immeasurable field for the production of cotton may enable Africa to emancipate and perhaps recall her tawny sons from America. The public will look with much expectation for the appearance of the remaining volume from the Harpers' press.

(18.) "*Illinois as it is;* its History, Geography, Statistics, Constitution, Laws, Government, Finances, Climate, Soil, Plants, Animals, State of Health, Prairies, Agriculture, Cattle-breeding, Orcharding, Cultivation of the Grape, Timber Growing, Market prices, Lands and Land prices, Geology, Mining, Commerce, Banks, Railroads, Public Institutions, Newspapers, etc., etc. By Frederic Gerhard. With a Prairie and Wood Map, a Geological and other Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 451. Chicago: Keen & Lee; New-York: Fowler & Wells, 1857.) The title-page of this book eminently possesses a merit which should in some degree belong to all title-pages; namely, it is a clear exponent of the character of the book. Both author and publisher have successfully fulfilled the promises it offers. It is a model book for the inquiring emigrant.

(19.) "*Life in the Itinerancy*, in its Relations to the Circuit and Station, and to the Minister's Home and Family. By Rev. L. D. Davis, of the Oneida Conference." (12mo., pp. 338. New-York: Carlton and Porter, 1857.) The Itinerancy as it is—not its sunny side nor its shady side specially—is the subject pictured in this volume. It is elementarily fact; the grouping and the drapery alone are furnished from the writer's conception. He has been considered as one of the most successful essayists in this new literature. Those who commence his narrative are apt, like his hero, to persevere steadfastly to the end. If truth in an imaginative garb be allowedly contemplated, it can be nowhere more innocently studied, perhaps, than in these pages.

(20.) "*Life of James Montgomery*, by Helen C. Knight." (12mo., pp. 416. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1857.) We regret that our space does not permit us to give a full critique upon this

beautiful volume. Montgomery's history has its interest and its lesson. His name stands amid high associations, not as peer to the highest, but as impregnate with an interest of its own. His poetry has stood the test of searching criticism, and he has left some strains which will not soon be allowed to die in silence. Mrs. Knight has performed her task in a genial spirit and a graceful style.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(21.) "*The Impending Crisis of the South, how to meet it*, by HINTON ROWAN HELPER, of North Carolina." (8vo., pp. 420. New-York: Burdick Brothers, 8 Spruce-street, 1857.) Mr. Helper's book has a few leading points of peculiarity, among which we specify,

1. Its intense Southern sectional feeling. In temperament, in local attachment, in hereditary memories and proud associations, he is a true-born Southron. The South has had loyal sons, but none more loyal; she has driven them by thousands into reluctant expatriation, but none more sadly *exiled* than Helper. No banishment and no threats dampen one spark of his undying love for his dear sunny South. When he beholds her desolated and barren-struck soil, her sons crushed in dumb silence under the pressure of an iron caste, her trade and her industry fettered to the triumphal car of the commercial and industrial North, her ports unvisited and undocked, her cities dwindling to villages and hamlets, her institutions of science and literature stunted and brain-bound, her morals polluted, her civilization rapidly retrograding into a turbulent barbarism, her name a *synonym* for *infamy* throughout the civilized world, all the impulses of a true-hearted son swell within his soul to rescue the land he loves from ruin and shame. Mr. Helper did not come to the North because he loved the North, any more than Kossuth came to America because he loved America. The noble Magyar came here because he loved sweet Hungary and hated the Austrian; the Southron is here because he loves dear Carolina and hates the oligarch. There are noble bursts of freedom on his pages; there are eloquent denunciations of despotism; but the most deeply burning with insuppressible fires of all Mr. Helper's paragraphs, are those that paint the utter subjection of his dearly beloved Sunnyland beneath the yard-stick of the Northern money-power.

2. Mr. Helper sees the great truth to which the Southern eye is blind, that it is the slave system which victimizes and sacrifices Southern prosperity on the altar of the Northern Mammon. While the North throws open her ports, her cities, and her wide-spread acres to a free immigration; while she scatters intelligence and confers the largest freedom on the great productive masses, and pours thoughtful material energy over all her surface, the South is employing all her genius and power to construct a system by which exclusion is passed upon the entrance of the industrial millions from abroad; by which she declares a most ferocious and crushing legislative war upon her own sole industrial caste; by which she separates intellect from labor, and crushes life out of industry; by which all energy is palsied and all prosperity annihilated.

Mr. Helper sees that those grand opium dreams cherished by the South, and so voluminously vapored forth by Southern orators at great conventions, are composed of the very thinnest of bombast; and that they ignore the true cause of all ruin—*slavery*, and the true restorer of all prosperity—*freedom*. Pour freedom through your masses, O statesmen of the South, and you pour prosperity over your soil.

3. Mr. Helper has a strong *class* feeling. He belongs to the body of free-born non-slaveholders of the South. He is against the chivalry for the YEOMANRY. He goes for the Franklin against the Feudalist. And herein Mr. Helper, though sectionally a Southron, is morally a Northman. His whole class is in interest identical with us. The freeborn slaveless Saxon is the North running southward, even to the Gulf. It is the North in the South. This is the true "UNION."

When the great mass of our northern voters go to the polls with an overwhelming suffrage in their free-laboring hands, it is astonishing that they give their votes for the crushing feudalist, "booted and spurred," and not for their oppressed fellow yeoman. We should hardly suppose that our very Irishry could be led up in solid platoons to vote for the exclusion of their own free labor from the most luxuriant soil in the bosom of our continent. Alas, poor Celt! in Ireland he was victimized by the English landlord; in New-York by the American slaveholder. Land-holding oppression banished him from Ireland; slave-holding seduction will exclude him, by his own vote, from the fairest part of America. Because he hates a negro, he is giving to the negro the rich exuberance of our virgin American soil. Should he go to the West to claim a field for toil, he may find that his own vote has covered it with negro-ism. Such is the result of surrendering the safe keeping of his interests, spiritual and secular, to the faithless hands of trustees like Orestes A. Brownson and John Hughes.

4. In giving his plan of emancipation, Mr. Helper, perhaps, unfolds the magnificent impracticability of a Southern imagination. His plan, in short, is, proscription of the chivalry by the yeomanry. Exclusion from office, from business custom, and even social intercourse, and taxation of slave property to the destruction point, are its main articles. This is to be done by a thorough organization of the non-slaveholders. This is certainly a very pretty string of bells for this formidable grimalkin, and the non-slaveholding unity is the proper agent to circle the sonorous collar around the feline neck; but *the* HOW, Mr. Helper does not clearly explain. Oligarchy is now as absolute in Southrondom as in Austria. Mr. Helper is an exile for suggesting the project. He proposes a convention "some time during this year, next, or the year following," in the Southern States; but we fear that it will be a permanent "next year." Such a convention, triumphantly held in the bosom of the South, would be the first sensible convention the South has for some years seen. It would be a symptom, if not an inauguration of a policy of future freedom, such as the poor South has never beheld. But at the present time the non-slaveholders, great as are their numbers, their interests, and their wrongs, give no signs of independent life. They are an immense majority over their oppressors, perhaps six to one; their disfranchisement, though

complete, is founded upon no right and no real power; its overthrow can be accomplished without violence or revolution; so easily, indeed, that Dr. William Smith declares that the Methodists alone could at any time, by joining, awakening, and leading the non-slaveholders in a movement, entirely abolish slavery throughout the South. Yet, to all appearance, the subjection is complete and deepening. The slaveless white is a superfluity; he is sinking into deeper ignorance, thriftlessness, and degradation; and he is the idiotic tool and the mob material ready to operate, to defend, and complete the supremacy of the system which is fast placing him beneath the condition of genuine slavery itself. Such is the melancholy and pitiable, though silent appeal which the free laborer of the South presents for the sympathies and succor of his brethren of the North. But just because silent it is unheard and unfelt. And though Mr. Helper's book itself is by many considered a sign that the slaveless South is waking, all the facts and accompaniments rather seem to show that it is sleeping the sleep that knows no waking, unless an alarum from the free North arouses its conscious life. Let the reviving project of the slave-trade be accomplished, and its doom is sealed. The entire South will be Africanized, the white non-slaveholder will depart, and no distant age will present a complete negroland upon the entire surface of her Atlantic States.

5. For his love to the South Mr. Helper is an exile from her bosom. He is to be crushed because he dares to speak for freedom and for right. *That is* DESPOTISM! It is the pure genuine article. Within twenty-five years past a strange, exotic, but veritable DESPOTISM has arisen on our American soil, which violates and crushes to the earth the blood-bought rights of American freemen. Freedom of discussion, the boast and glory of our American birth, is as truly suppressed and murdered, south of our Potomac, as upon the banks of the Douro, the Tiber, or the Neva. Despotism is as rampant and as ferocious in Virginia or Carolina, as in Austria. Slavery is as true a suppressor of free speech as Popery. Lynch law is just as unsparing as the Spanish inquisition. And, shame to say, this crushing despotism is upheld by Northern statesmen, sanctified by the defenses, direct or indirect, of Northern ministers, and created and perpetuated by the blind suffrage of Northern majorities.

(22.) "*The Progress of Slavery in the United States*, by GEORGE M. WESTON." (12mo., pp. 201. Washington, D. C.: Published for the Author, 1857.) Few publications called forth by the anti-slavery controversy can compare in excellence with this volume of Mr. Weston's. Speaking from the stand-point of a right-minded freeman, it develops, without the slightest temper, with a complete knowledge of the subject, and in a masterly style, the character, plans, and prospects of the slave-power, with a sagacious measurement of the means and instrumentalities it adopts, the impediments and dangers in its way, the true modes of defeating its projects, and the prospects of the final issue.

Mr. Weston shows that slavery is but the pretext, and not the real motive of Southern agitation. The real basis of all this Southern movement is an intense political desire in the South for sectional supremacy. It first arose at

the origin of nullification, before the anti-slavery controversy had become national. The slavery interest was seized upon by the heads of the movement as the best point of concentration by which the entire South could be seduced or driven into a unit. To the extreme point short of disunion they would never hesitate to go, and would be undividedly sustained; but when that fatal revolution is really commenced, the slaveholders, and the great slaveholders especially, would be the most earnest opponents of the disruption. All history shows, and the nature of the case demonstrates, that a slaveholding population is as timorous and as quietistic as it is weak; as inert as regards all bold movement as it is unfitted for any energetic action. Where, indeed, as in the present case, a factitious stimulus excites the feudal class to active concentrated complotment, it will drive with buoyant desperation to the extremest point of venture. But let the great slaveholding body once become conscious that a hostile separation or an open convulsion between the two sections is on foot, and the sensibility to the danger of the most insecure of all property is roused. The palpable approaching destruction of all their interests would reveal the natural timidity of their class. The most reckless champions of slavery are not the eminent slaveholders, but the politicians; and the politicians will be allowed to play their unmolested game until signs appear that the united North is resolved to stand a rupture. Hence the Union has never been in the slightest real danger. The slave property owners have never turned coward, because the submissionism of the northern mercantiles has always proved the first craven. Castle Garden union meetings and Wall-street contributions to pro-slavery triumphs have precipitately anticipated the slaveholder's submission, and done their best to deposit all Northern interest in the hands of their Southern masters.

Mr. Weston holds that the annexation of Cuba, while its advocacy by the Southern slaveholders evinces an extraordinary preference of political supremacy over economical interests, would prove not only the destruction of the sugar interest of Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, but would be a great detriment to the existence of the slave power. Cuba is the most inviting soil and climate in the world for free labor. Its slaveholders have no fanatical attachment to the system akin to the rabidness of our South. Let but the genial clime and the fertile soil pregnant with a triple annual harvest be open and known, and it would soon be flooded and freed by a deluge of slaveless Saxondom. The result would be emancipation, and the addition of an indefinite number of free states to the Union.

The extension of slavery is the perpetuation of slavery. It increases the number of slave states, and so enlarges the slave power. It inaugurates a slave-breeding system, by which, singularly though truly, actual propagation is largely increased. Yet when the area is a continent, and there exists the competition in time against free extension, the colored population is at present not sufficient for the extending demand. The re-opening of the slave-trade is therefore the only resource of the slave power. Without that, no exertion of our pro-slavery administration is able to prevent a cordon of free states from Kansas southward to hem in slavery, so that in due season it shall, "like the scorpion girt with fire," die by its own spontaneity. It is very probable that

the great Armageddon, then, is yet to come, the battle over the revival of the slave-trade. Unless that project can be accomplished in some underhand mode, its open attainment will become the great battle strife.

Mr. Weston makes evident the fact that, inasmuch as the superior profitableness of free over slave labor will stand in a state of continuous demonstration, too palpable to remain ignored, the disappearance of slavery before the face of freedom, with proper effort, is as necessary and resistless as it is desirable. Strong, indeed, is the obligation on the friends of freedom to disseminate the truth; and all the energy and heroism of religion and philanthropy are in demand, with the full assurance that, however formidably the face of the slave power now frowns and menaces, actual weakness pervades its body, and dissolution is within its substance, already beginning to sever its particles and complete its disintegration.

Such views, most ably and clearly presented by Mr. Weston, cheer us as a Church to preserve our unity of body and of action; and to stand up, in every section, in intrepid accordance with the noblest facts of our history. The friends of righteousness on the margin of slave territory had never so strong omens of encouragement for preserving an erect bearing and a fearless tone, in the firm and increasing support they may expect from the great body of the Church and the free North, and in the brightening tokens that the day of redemption is not distant.

V.—*Educational.*

(23.) "*The Illustrated Family Gymnasium;* containing the most improved Methods of applying Gymnastic, Kinesepathic, and Vocal Exercises to the Development of the Bodily Organs, the Invigoration of the Functions, the Preservation of their Health, and the Cure of Diseases and Deformities. With numerous Illustrations, by R. T. Trall, M.D." (12mo., pp. 216. New-York: Fowler & Wells, 1857.) It is some compensation for the materialistic tendencies of the phrenological theory that it produces an increased attention to physiological science, and a practical application of elaborate thought to the business of physical education. The increase of our population compels a large and enlarging class to devote themselves to sedentary and intellectual life, while among all classes there is a sad tendency to neglect the fundamental laws of our corporeal nature. There is great reason to fear that we are becoming *an unhealthy nation;* and for an immense mass of us the truest remedy is to be found in a better understanding, not only of the laws of our animal nature, but of the modes within our reach of training it to health and vigor.

This desideratum Dr. Trall has furnished in this beautiful little volume. By description and superabundant pictorial illustrations he has potentially made *every man his own gymnast.* Let the student, the sedentary, and the secluse, here learn the art of securing full play to the system, and full development of his entire corporeal soul-organ.

Fowler & Wells have given the work a very attractive external furnish.

(24.) "*The Hand-Book of Household Science.* A Popular Account of Heat, Light, Air, Aliment, and Cleansing, in their Scientific Principles and Domestic Applications. With numerous Diagrams. By EDWARD L. YOUMANS, Author of the 'Class-book of Chemistry,' 'Chemical Atlas,' and 'Chart of Alcohol and the Constitution of Man.'" (12mo., pp. 447. New-York: Appleton & Co., 1857.) Professor Youmans has a special genius for inventing educational means and methods, and for bringing science into successful contact with the practical operations of life. The book before us is a very successful effort in the latter of these two departments. It has the systematic method and *lucidus ordo* of science, with much of the freedom and ease of popular discourse. There is much which any can understand and all should know. It will be a valuable manual for the academic teacher, and may well be recommended to general popular perusal, as containing the last results of research contributed to the benefit of life.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(25.) "*The Poets of the Nineteenth Century.* Selected and edited by the Rev. ARIS WILMOTT, Incumbent of Bearwood. With English and American Additions, arranged by EVERT A. DUYKINCK, editor of the Cyclopedia of American Literature. Illustrated with one hundred and thirty-two engravings, drawn by eminent artists." (4to., pp. 616. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) A gorgeous annual! The finest and latest gems of literature in a congenial casket. Munificent art has done her fitting homage to genius, to furnish an appropriate tribute to friendship.

VII.—*Miscellaneous.*

The following works our space does not allow us to give a full notice:

(26.) "*Life Studies; or, How to Live.* By Rev. JOHN BAILLIE." (18mo., pp. 108. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.)

(27.) "*Lectures on Temperance*, by ELIPHALET NOTT, D.D., President of Union College. With an Introduction by TAYLER LEWIS, LL. D." (12mo., pp. 341. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.)

(28.) "*The Northwest Coast; or, Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory.* By JAMES G. SWAN. With numerous Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 435. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.)

(29.) "*Hand-Books of Improvement*, comprising How to Write, How to Behave, How to Talk, How to do Business. Complete in one volume." (12mo. New-York: Fowler & Wells, 1857.)

Of the following, a notice may be expected in our next number:

(30.) "*The Convert; or, Leaves from my Experience.* By O. A. Brownson." (12mo., pp. 450. New-York: Edward Dunigan & Brother, 1857.)

(31.) "*Aspirations of Nature.* By J. T. Hecker, author of 'Questions of the Soul.'" (12mo., pp. 360. New-York: James B. Kirker, 371 Broadway, 1857.)

(32.) "*Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.* By Eleazar Lord." (12mo., pp. 312. New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1857.)

VIII.—*Periodicals.*

(33.) "*The Phonetic Journal*, (weekly,) devoted to the Propagation of Phonetic Reading, Writing, and Printing. By Isaac Pitman, Bath, England." We are in the regular receipt of this, the organ of the phonetic reforms of Pitman, the ingenious inventor of Phonography and Phonotypy. We have seen articles written in our standard periodicals upon phonography, which showed that the writers did not know what phonography was, nor its differences from phonotypy. Phonography is the most perfect of short-hand; expansible enough to be safely used for a correspondence or a legal document; contractible enough to keep pace with the most rapid speaker. Phonotypy is a reformed orthography, by which there becomes but one possible mode of spelling a word. All the difficulty of learning our written language by foreigners or children, and all danger of misspelling, are by this method ended. Phonography will in time supersede all other stenography, and phonotypy *ought* to supersede all other orthography.

(34.) "*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review.* Conducted by Freeman Hunt. Published Monthly. Vol. 37, No. 5, November, 1857." (New-York: Freeman Hunt, No. 142 Fulton-street.) Mr. Hunt's Magazine is a permanent as well as a peculiar institution. Its attainment to a thirty-seventh volume proves that there is a demand for it, and that it very ably supplies the demand. It abounds with mercantile essays and articles of the highest value.

Art. XI.—LITERARY ITEMS.

Of Mr. Rigg's work on Modern Anglican Theology, the Clerical Journal (Eng.) says: "Perhaps nowhere else can be found more discriminating estimates of the characters and writings of Hare, Maurice, Kingsley, and Jowett, both in relation to general theology and to the Church of England." The British Standard says: "It may be doubted whether any other man in Great Britain has so complete and strong a grasp of the entire theme." Our American Bibliotheca Sacra calls it "A small book, of greater pretense than performance."

T. & J. Clark of Edinburgh are publishing a translation of John Albert Bengel's valuable *Gnomon of the New Testament.*

Essays on the Accordance of Christianity with the Nature of Man, by Edward Fry, are noticed by critics with high commendation.

An experiment has been completed to test the validity of the methods of deciphering Assyrian inscriptions, by placing in the hands of four independent translators a single document, namely, the inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., King of Assyria, B. C. 1150. The translations have been published, and are considered as establishing in the main the valuation of the character of these inscriptions, and the scientific character of the method. The general sense of the translations is similar, with plentiful and essential variation in the details. Rawlinson's translation is as follows: "Bit-Khamri, the temple of my lord Vul, which Shansi-Vul, high-priest of Ashur, son of Ismi-Dagan, high-priest of Ashur, had founded, became ruined. I leveled its site, and from its foundation to its roofs I built it up of brick; I enlarged it beyond its former state, and I adorned it. Inside of it I sacrificed precious victims to my lord Vul."

The Prophecies relating to Nineveh and the Assyrians. Translated from the Hebrew, with Historical Introduction and Notes, exhibiting the principal Results of the recent Discoveries. By George Vance Smith, B. A.

The Book of Jonah, illustrated by Discoveries at Nineveh. By Rev. P. S. Desprez, B. D. London, 1857.

These two works are considered as interesting, but somewhat premature in the attempt to make abundant and safe illustrative use of the recent developments.

Chevalier Bunsen is engaged in a new translation of the Bible into German. The work will consist of seven volumes. It will be divided into three sections, and the last section will be entitled, Bible and World History; or, the Life of Jesus, and the Everlasting Kingdom of God.

The Lectures of Sir William Hamilton, embracing his Metaphysical and Logical Courses, with Notes from the original materials, and appendix containing the author's latest development of his Logical Theory, is in process of publication by Messrs. Blackwood of Edinburgh. They are to be published in four octavo volumes, under the editorial care of Rev. H. L. Mansel, Oxford, and John Veitch, Edinburgh.

The article in the London Quarterly on Philosophy Old and New, which was republished in the Eclectic of this country, was written, as we learn, by Richard Watson Dixon, son of the late delegate to our General Conference, and late a graduate of Oxford.

Herodotus, a new version, from the text of Gaisford, with Illustrative Appendices, founded upon recent Historical and Ethnographical discoveries, obtained in the progress of the Cuneiform and Hierological developments, by Rev. George Rawlinson, assisted by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir G. J. Wilkinson, is in the press of Murray.

A History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke, by Thomas M'Knight, author of the Biography of D'Israeli, by the same publisher.

A work on The Light of Nature, by Nathaniel Culverwell, with a Critical Essay on the work by John Cairns, M.A., is just published by Constable & Co.

The Romish paper, the Tablet, in discoursing on the future of the Romish Church in the United States, says: "Few insurance companies, we venture to assert, would take a risk on the national life of a creed which puts five hundred daily into the grave for one it wins over to its communion. And yet this is what Catholicity is doing in these States while we write."

Smith's Harmony of the Dispensations, from the press of Carlton & Porter, is just issued, and will be noticed in our next number.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1858.

ART. I.—FRIAR BACON AND LORD BACON.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

1. *Lord Bacon's Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, and Henry VII;* with Introductory Dissertations and Notes, by J. DEVEY, M. A. London: H. G. Bohn. 1 vol. 12mo.
2. *The Entire Works of Francis Bacon*, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. A new Edition, revised and elucidated; and enlarged by the addition of many pieces not printed before. Collected and edited by ROBERT LESLIE ELLIS, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; JAMES SPEDDING, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; and DOUGLAS DENON HEATH, Esq., Barrister at Law, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. [Announced in Oct., 1848.]

WE have been anxious to introduce the evidences which justify the suspicion of Francis Bacon's obligations to Roger so gradually that they may prepare the way for more conclusive testimonies, and give to the whole array a cumulative effect. Francis Bacon was a man of wonderful and versatile powers of mind, and of vast genius. Tact, sagacity, ingenuity, depth, eloquence, and facility of expression he possessed in the highest degree. After all possible deductions are made from his reputation, he will still remain a great man, a great reformer, a great philosopher. If such a man stooped to plagiarism, or the semblance of plagiarism, he would carefully conceal all traces of the source to which he was indebted. It is, consequently, a difficult as well as a delicate task to demonstrate the suspected crime, and to catch the criminal *flagrante delicto;* and, however strong the direct testimony may be, it will be scarcely credited, unless the evidence is sustained by previous indications, and the combined significance of the separate testimonies is duly appreciated.

It may be that everything hitherto advanced is insufficient to prove that the later philosopher was indebted to his predecessor. If this constituted the entire proof, it might be represented as too slight to sustain any definite conclusion, though, in our opinion, it would sanction a very strong suspicion of such obligations. When, however, this is confirmed by such coincidences as could not be accidental, and which, nevertheless, are essential characteristics of each author, these acquire additional strength themselves, and prepare us for a more correct and prompt estimation of the relations of the parties.

Will any casual agreement explain the fact that both allege the same four impediments to correct knowledge? Roger Bacon declares that "there are four principal obstacles to the discovery of truth, which embarrass every one in the pursuit of knowledge, and scarcely permit any to attain true wisdom; namely, the example of frail and inadequate authority; length of custom or habit; the belief of the untrained multitude; and the concealment of one's own ignorance with the pretension to apparent learning."* It is stated by Brucker,† that Roger Bacon wrote an essay "On the Four Universal Causes of Human Ignorance." This must have been the work entitled in Jebb's catalogue, *De Causis Ignorantiæ Humanæ*, and which that learned editor, as already observed, regards as contained in the First Book of the *Opus Majus*. If, however, it was a separate work, the means are not accessible to us of determining the fact, or consulting its pages. We must content ourselves with what is before us, but that suffices to demonstrate that Roger Bacon reduced the chief impediments to the apprehension of truth to four, to wit, authority, habit, popular opinion, and vain ostentation.

Is it an accident that Lord Bacon agrees so completely with Roger Bacon in declaring that "four species of idols beset the human mind; to which, for distinction's sake, we have assigned names; calling the first, Idols of the Tribe; the second, Idols of the Den; the third, Idols of the Market; the fourth, Idols of the Theater?"‡ The designations are Lord Bacon's, and are glaring instances of that constant affectation of quaint and novel technicalities, which was peculiar to his style. But the division itself is Roger Bacon's. If the developments of these general fallacies by each author are carefully compared together, it will be apparent that the Idols of the Theater correspond with the fallacies proceeding from undue reverence for authority; the Idols of the Market with those occasioned by vulgar

* Opus Majus, Pars I, cap. i, pp. 1, 2.

† Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil., tom. III, p. 822.

‡ Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. xxxix.

opinion; the Idols of the Den with those resulting from habit; and the Idols of the Tribe, alone, do not accord thoroughly with those caused by empty display and the desire to conceal ignorance. These fallacies seem to be included under the Idols of the Tribe,* but they are not distinctly assigned to any of the four divisions; and on a close examination it will be discovered that there is much confusion in Lord Bacon's distribution of fallacies, and that the four *genera*, which the translator has clumsily rendered *species*, run continually into each other. His hand is not as steady as Roger Bacon's in drawing the lines of demarkation between the several classes; and his exposition manifests much more poetry than logic.

We cannot repress the conviction that Lord Bacon originally derived his ideas on the subject of idols from his Franciscan precursor, and that he expanded and modified them according to his own taste, with rare sagacity and exuberant imagination. He did not copy servilely, but if he copied at all, he is guilty, because he studiously concealed the obligation and withheld all commendation. We only remember a single instance in which he has mentioned Roger Bacon; but that instance proves that he either was acquainted, or pretended to be acquainted with his writings, and that he disguised their true character.† His own doctrines on the subject of fallacies grew as he advanced in his philosophical career. The idols are not mentioned under their distinctive names in the Advancement of Learning,‡ though their subsequent appellations manifestly grew out of the metaphorical expressions there employed. These designations are introduced in the *Novum Organon*, and thence transferred to the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum*,§ whose views, however, approximate in other respects to the original draft of the doctrine. The distribution of fallacies, as it appears in the *Organon*, was, therefore, not conceived at a single heat, but gradually assumed its present shape. Still, in the earlier and the later forms, it bears such a resemblance to the ideas of Roger Bacon that we cannot resist the conviction that it was thence derived. There is a singular and inexplicable substitution, at times, of four for three classes of fallacies, and three for four, in the writings

* Vide Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. xlix.

† In his censure of the Alchemists, he remarks, "Yet I count them not all alike; forasmuch as there is a useful sort of them, who, not very solicitous about theories, do, by a kind of mechanic subtilty, lay hold of the extensions of things; such is Bacon."—Interpretation of Nature, vol. xv, p. 98; vol. x, p. 440.

‡ Bacon's Works, vol. ii, pp. 190–193.

§ De Augm. Scient., lib. V, cap. iv, vol. viii, pp. 292–296.

of Lord Bacon.* This vacillation produces much confusion, and is wholly unintelligible, until we perceive a similar hesitancy and inconsistency in Roger Bacon.†

It must be observed that the mode of reasoning usually adopted by Roger Bacon is widely different from that employed by Francis. The former assails authority; he declares it to be the cause of fallacy; yet his opposition to it is sustained by the citation of authorities. Each position is backed by a long array of quotations from saints and sinners, from the classical authors, from the Christian fathers, from the Arabian philosophers, and occasionally from his cotemporaries, of whom he speaks not very highly.‡ Some reason for this procedure may, however, be discovered in the fact that the *Opus Majus* was addressed to Pope Clement IV., and was written for his especial illumination.

We will not dwell upon the four kinds of causes, the efficient, the material, the formal, and the final, which were accepted by both the Bacons. These are borrowed from Aristotle, and had been fully expounded by Abelard.§ But we will note that the maxim of Aristotle, repudiated in our days, and which Lord Bacon has been represented as repudiating, that true knowledge is a knowledge of causes, is distinctly endorsed by him, "*Recte ponitur; vere scire est per caussas scire.*"||

Induction and experimentation have been regarded almost universally as the characteristic triumphs of the Baconian method, meaning thereby the method of Lord Bacon. In very recent times the more intelligent scholars have renounced this old delusion, and, acknowledging the important services rendered by Lord Bacon in directing public attention more forcibly to these processes, they have ascribed to Socrates and Aristotle the merit of developing the Inductive system, and to the Alchemists the credit of having employed experimentation in physical inquiries, and of having applied induction to the investigation of nature with much greater success than attended the efforts of Lord Bacon. If, indeed, he had otherwise any special claims to original invention in these respects, they would be sadly attenuated when it was recognised that he had been anticipated by Roger Bacon. Both modes of proceeding are

* Advancement of Learning, vol. ii, p. 193. De Augm. Scient., lib. V, cap. iv, vol. viii, p. 292.

† Opus Majus, Ps. I, cap. ii, p. 2; cap. iii, p. 3; cap. iv, p. 6; cap. viii, p. 9; cap. ix, p. 9.

‡ Opus Majus, Pars I, cap. vii, p. 9.

§ Rémusat Abélard, No. II, chap. v, vol. ii, p. 444.

|| Nov. Org., lib. II, Aph. ii.

contemplated in the significant precept, "*per experientiam sensibilem in arcanis naturæ et artis expergefactus inveniat rationem.*"* Nor can it be objected, that the induction proposed by the friar is nothing more than the "*inductio simplex*" ascribed by Lord Bacon to Aristotle. It is true, he does not trouble himself with the cumbrous and complicated system of Instances, Prerogative, Negative, Comparative, Proximate, Exclusive, Solitary, Migratory, Conspicuous, Clandestine, Constitutive, Proportionate, Conterminous, Dominant, Concomitant and Hostile, Subjunctive, Federative, Crucial, Divorcing, Illuminating, Thural, Citing, Itinerant, Supplementary, Twitching, Mathematical, Benevolent, Ferular, Cursive, Quantitative, Wrestling, Suggestive, and, what might have included all, and dispensed with all, Instances generally Useful. He does not embarrass himself with this artificial and inoperative machinery, nor does he concern himself with First and Second Vintages, but he distinctly declares that his notion of the experimental procedure was very different from anything contained in Aristotle, Seneca, or Avicenna,† and Lord Bacon makes a similar declaration for himself.‡

There is nothing in Lord Bacon more urgent or explicit than the manner in which Roger Bacon continually insists upon the necessity of observation and experimentation. It is not a bare or hurried perception of facts and relations which will content him, but a regular, methodical, diligent investigation, assisted, in case of necessity, by suitable apparatus. This is evident from his plain and repeated declarations,§ and is acknowledged by Humboldt.‖ In

* Opus Majus, Pars I, cap. x, p. 11.

† "Sed nec Aristoteles, nec Avicenna in suis naturalibus hujusmodi rerum notitiam nobis dederunt; nec Seneca, qui de eis librum composuit specialem, sed scientia experimentalis ista certificat."

‡ Instaur. Magna. Distributio Operis, vol. viii, p. 167; v. Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. lxix.

§ "Ad hæc intelligenda necessarium est uti experientiis certis." Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. vii, p. 344. "Hæc omnia docet experientia, sicut de Iride, unde argumenta non certificant hæc, sed grandes experientiæ per instrumenta perquiruntur, et per varia necessaria; et ideo nullus sermo in his potest certificare; totum enim dependet ab experientia; et propter hoc non reputo me attigisse hic plenam veritatem, quia nondum expertus sum omnia, quæ oporteat requiri in studio sapientiæ; . . . sic igitur quilibet sapiens de facili recipiet, quod experientia certificat quæstiones circa has res, et non argumentum." Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. xii, p. 351. "Veritates magnificas in terminis aliarum scientiarum, in quas per nullam viam possunt illæ scientiæ hæc sola scientiarum domina speculativarum (*Experimental Philosophy,*) potest dare." Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. xii; De Sec. Prærog. Sci. Exp., p. 352.

‖ Humboldt's Cosmos, part II, sect. vi, vol. ii, pp. 619, 620. Ed. Bohn.

one respect Roger Bacon's views reached through the future generations far beyond the range of Lord Bacon's, and anticipated the time when the physical sciences would be treated mathematically, a prevision only realized by the labors of Newton, La Place, and Fourier.*

There is a distinctive feature in the Baconian philosophy which has been rarely noticed, though it is one of its most valuable characteristics, and the one which has unconsciously exercised the greatest influence on our modern sciences and scientific methods. This is the entire elimination of all consideration of first principles, and the repudiation of all research into occult causes. It is a point frequently and most strenuously insisted on by Lord Bacon;† but it is not original with him. The same doctrine is inculcated by Roger Bacon,‡ and has been repeated, more or less distinctly, by many other philosophers, ancient and modern. In them, however, it is, until very recent times, rather an indication than a cardinal principle.§

We will pass on to the consideration of the agreement between the special positions assumed by the two Dromios. For the sake of condensation we will refrain from commentary, as far as practicable, though the temptations to violate this rule will be almost irresistible, and we will also exhibit our illustrations, whenever it can be done conveniently, in parallel columns. We shall also occasionally append extracts from other authors, who may have rendered unavowed services to Lord Bacon. We turn to the *Novum Organon*, and commence with the celebrated Aphorism with which it opens:

* "Nulla scientia potest sciri sine mathematica." Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. ii, p. 338. ". . . scientias alias non debere sciri per argumenta dialectica et sophistica, (cf. Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. xi,) quæ introducuntur communiter, sed per demonstrationes mathematicas descendentes in veritates et opera aliarum scientiarum, et regulantes eas, sine quibus nec possunt intelligi, nec manifestari, nec doceri, nec disci," etc., etc. Op. Maj., Ps. IV, Distinct. I, cap. iii, p. 49.

† Fab. Cupid., vol. xi, p. 99. De Augm. Scient., lib. V, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 262. Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. lxvi.

‡ ". . . hæ veritates non sunt de primarum substantia, sed penitus extra eas, licet sint in terminis earum, quum nec sint quæstiones ibi, nec principia." Op. Maj., Ps. VI, cap. xii, p. 352; cf. Ps. I, cap. x, p. 11.

§ Theophrast., Metaph., c. 5. Aristot., Metaph., III, c. iv; X, c. 5, 6. Anal. Post., I, c. ii. Alex. Aphrod., Schol. Aristot., pp. 525, 527, 592, 605, 653. Asclep. Schol., p. 599. Ammon. Schol., p. 519. Plat., Tim., p. 17, Caietan. ap. Leibn's: tom. i, p. 94. Leibnitz, Op., tom. i, p. cxliv, clxi. Des Cartes, ap. Morell., Hist. Phil., p. 117. Spinoza, *Ibid.*, p. 125. Jacobi, *Ibid.*, p. 597. Comté, Syst. Phil. Pos., vol. i, p. 7.

"Man, as the minister and interpreter of nature, does and understands as much as his observations on the order of nature, either with regard to things or the mind, permit him, and neither knows nor is capable of more."—*Nov. Org.*, lib. I, Aph. I. Cf. *Inst. Magna. Distr. Op.*, vol. ix, p. 178.

"The whole aim of philosophy is nothing more than to evolve the natures and properties of things."—*Rog. Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 22. ". . . . multa secreta naturæ et artis complentis naturam."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. I, cap. x, p. 11.*

"The unassisted hand, and the understanding left to itself, possess but little power. Effects are produced by the means of instruments and helps, which the understanding requires no less than the hand."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. II. Cf. *De Augm. Sci.*, lib. V, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 264.†

"Truths are infinite, and so are virtues, and there are innumerable degrees of truth and virtue, so that the human mind is manifestly insufficient to provide what is necessary in all things, or to avoid falsehood and evil in single things."—*Rog. Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. I, cap. vii. p. 7.

"Even the effects already discovered are due to chance and experiment, (*casual experience?*) rather than to the sciences."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. viii.‡

"Experience assures us of this, since more of the secrets of wisdom have been discovered among the simple and neglected, than among those famous with the vulgar."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. I, cap. x, p. 12.

"Our only hope then is in genuine induction."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. xiv. Cf. *Instaur. Mag. Distr. Op.* vol. ix, p. 170. *De Augm. Sci.*, lib. V, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 262.

"Therefore let not your Holiness be surprised, nor disdain the authority, if my labors are opposed to the habits of the multitude and vulgar examples: For this is the only way of arriving at the knowledge of truth and perfection."—*Op. Mag.*, Ps. I, cap. viii, p. 9.

"There are and can exist but two ways of investigating and discovering truth. The one hurries on rapidly from the senses and particulars to the most general axioms; and from them

"This Experimental Science has three great prerogatives with respect to the other sciences. One is that it tests by experiment the noble conclusions of them all. For the other

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* "ὅλως δὲ ἡ τεχνὴ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτελεῖ ἃ ἡ φύσις ἀδυνατεῖ ἀπεργάσασθαι, τὰ δὲ μιμεῖται." Aristot., Phys., Ausc. II, VIII. "Homo non est institutor naturæ, sed utitur in operibus artis et virtutis ad suum usum rebus naturalibus." S. Thom. Aquin., Summa., Ps. I, Qu. xxii, Art. ii. ". . . ut exinde stupenda sæpe consurgant miracula, non tam arte quam natura, cui sears ista ministram exhibet hæc operanti." H Corn. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. Scient., c. xlii. ". . . . . cum tamen ars omnis non posset naturam superare, sed illam imitatur, et longis passibus sequitur, et multo fortior sit vis naturæ quam artis." H Corn. Agrippa, ejusd. op., c. XC. Cf. Fr. Bacon, Nov. Org., I, Aph. III.

† The idea of an instrument for the mind is taken from the word *Organon*, and Aristot., Probl., lib. xxx, § 5.

‡ This idea is originally from Cassiodorus, Var. I. Ep. ii. ". . . ut est mos hominibus, occasiones repentinas ad artes ducere, talia exempla meditantes, fecerunt," etc.

as principles, and their supposed indisputable truth, derives and discovers the intermediate axioms. This is the way now in use. The other constructs its axioms from the senses and particulars, by ascending continually and gradually, till it finally arrives at the most general axioms, which is the true but unattempted way."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. xix. Cf. Aph. lxix, civ. *Inst. Magna. Distr. Op.*, vol. ix, p. 167.

sciences can discover their principles by experiences, but they arrive at their conclusions by arguments drawn from the principles so found. But if they ought to have a particular and complete experience of their conclusions, they must have it by the aid of this noble science."—*Rog. Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. VI, cap. ii, p. 338.*

"For there are two modes of knowing, to wit, by argument and experiment. Argumentation concludes and makes us conclude; but it neither certifies nor removes doubt, so that the mind may rest in the apprehension of truth, unless this has been confirmed by the experimental method. For many possess arguments in regard to things which may be known, but for want of actual experience, they neglect them, and neither avoid things pernicious nor prosecute the good. . . . . Wherefore argument does not suffice, but experiment."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. vi, cap. ii, p. 336. Vide Ps. iii, p. 35.

The opening aphorisms of the *Novum Organon* contain the essence of the Baconian reform of philosophy, and to these we have appended the parallel passages of Roger Bacon. Those which we have already cited are succeeded in the *Novum Organon* by the aphorisms related to idols, and the agreement subsisting between the two Bacons in regard to this topic has been noted. In our future extracts we can follow no regular order; nor is it necessary, as the characteristic tenets of both philosophers have been shown to be the same, and it only remains for us to illustrate similarity in details. We do not pretend to expose all the parallelisms, but merely to select from the copious array which might be adduced. We proceed with our comparisons, inattentive to the order of their occurrence:

"And as we expect a greater knowledge of human affairs, and more mature judgment, from an old man than from a youth, on account of his experience, and the variety and number of things he has seen, heard, and meditated upon; so we have reason to expect much greater things of our own age, (if it knew but its strength,

"Moreover, the pursuit of wisdom ought always to advance in this life, since there is nothing perfect in human inventions. Wherefore, we, their posterity, ought to supply the defects of the ancients, because we have entered upon the possession of their labors, by the aid of which, unless we are asses, we may be stimulated

* This, however, is only the reaffirmation of the doctrine of Aristotle. Eth. Nicomach., lib. VI, cap. iii, p. 1189, ed. Bekker.

and would essay and exert it,) than from antiquity, since the world has grown older, and its stock has been increased and accumulated with an infinite number of experiments and observations."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. lxxxiv.

"So much concerning Magic; the name of which we have rescued from infamy, and the true species of which we have distinguished from the false and ignoble."—*De Augm. Sci.*, lib. III, cap. v, vol. viii, p. 197. The whole passage (pp. 193–197) is too long to be extracted. Cf. *Adv. of Learning*, B. II, vol. ii, pp. 145–148.

(This distinction was made also by Giov. Pico di Mirandola, Martin del Rio, and H. Corn. Agrippa, before Lord Bacon.)

"And as concerning Divine Philosophy, or Natural Theology, it is that knowledge or rudiment of knowledge concerning God, which may be obtained by the contemplation of his creatures."—*Adv. of Learning*, B. II, vol. ii, p. 128; *De Augm. Sci.*, lib. III, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 158; compare *The New Atlantis*, vol. ii, p. 349.

"This only remains, that the whole scheme of philosophy be commenced anew, with better precautions; and that there be a universal instauration of the sciences, the arts, and all human learning, raised upon the proper foundations."—*Franciscus Baconus sic cogitavit*, vol. ix, p. 146.

"But because the distribution and partitions of knowledge are not like several lines that meet in one angle, and so touch but in a point; but are like branches of a tree, that meet in a stem, which hath a dimension and quantity of entireness and continuance before it come to discontinue and break itself into arms and boughs; therefore it is good, before we enter to still better things; for it is a most miserable condition to be always using the inventions of others, and never inventing ourselves, as Boëthius says, and as we have already shown in its proper place."—*Rog. Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 28.

"We have proposed inquiries in Magic, in which we intimate that Magic is two-fold; of which one consists entirely of the work and authority of demons, a thing truly execrable and portentous; the other, when it is fairly examined, is nothing else than the absolute consummation of Natural Philosophy."—*Apolog. Baconis*, p. 80, cit. *Prolog. Galeatus*, p. 34.

"But the aim of all philosophy consists in this, that the Creator should be known by the knowledge of his creatures, . . . for speculative philosophy extends to the knowledge of the Creator through the knowledge of his creatures."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. I, cap. vii, p. 22.

"Therefore, philosophers ought to contemplate philosophy as if it were recently discovered anew, so that they may adapt it to its proper ends."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 31.

"For Metaphysics* is the science of those things which are common to all subjects and sciences, and therefore it indicates the number of the sciences, and that another science is required superior to philosophy, whose properties it treats as a whole, though it cannot determine its particulars."—*Roger Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p, 30.

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* Aristotle calls Metaphysics the First Philosophy, Metaph. I, c. x. The distinction of Roger Bacon between Metaphysics and Philosophy corresponds nearly to that of Proudhon in his *Création de l'Ordre dans l'Humanité.*

into the former distribution, to erect and constitute one universal science, by the name of 'Philosophia Prima,' primitive or summary philosophy, as the main and common way, before we come where the ways part and divide themselves."—*Adv. of Learning*, B. II, vol. ii, pp. 124, 125. Cf. *De Augm. Scient.*, lib. III, cap. i, vol. viii, pp. 152, 153.

"There is no author, who, in addition to his main purpose, does not introduce incidentally some things more appropriate elsewhere; and the cause of this is the connection of the sciences, because each depends in some sort upon the rest."—*Op. Maj.*, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

"To conclude, therefore, let no man, upon a weak conceit of propriety, or an ill-applied moderation, think or maintain, that a man can search too far, or be too well studied in the book of God's word, or in the book of God's works, divinity or philosophy; but rather let men beware that they apply both to charity, and not to swelling; to use, and not to ostentation; and again, that they do not unwisely mingle or confound these learnings together."—*Adv. of Learning*, B. I, vol. ii, p. 13.

"For in theology the stars of philosophy, which have hitherto chiefly enlightened us, suffice no longer. Therefore it would be right to observe silence in this matter." . . . . "Let us conclude, therefore, that sacred theology ought to be drawn from the word and oracles of God, not from the light of nature, and the dictation of reason," etc.—*De Augm. Scient.*, lib. IX, cap. i, vol. ix, pp. 116, 117.

"The bounds of this knowledge are, that it sufficeth to convince atheism, but not to inform religion; and therefore there was never miracle wrought to convert an atheist, because the light of nature might have led him to confess a God; but miracles have been wrought to convert idolaters and the superstitions, because no light of nature extendeth to declare the will and true worship of God."—*Adv. of Learning*, B. II, vol. ii, p. 128; *De Augm. Sci.*, lib. III, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 158.

"Hence it necessarily follows that we Christians ought to use philosophy in Divine things, and to accept many theological dogmas in philosophy, so that it may appear that one wisdom is shining in both, which obligation I would desire to certify, not only on account of the unity of wisdom, but because, as I shall show hereafter, it behooves in philosophy to resolve the sublime sentences of faith and theology which we find in the books of the philosophers and in the walks of philosophy."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 28.

"The persuasion of faith is necessary; but this can take place only in two modes; either by the wonderful works of God which are over the faithful and the infidels, in regard to which no one can presume that the way is common to believers and unbelievers, or by the way common to both; but this is only by way of philosophy. Therefore, it is the function of philosophy to afford confirmation of the Christian faith. But the articles of this faith are the peculiar principles of theology; therefore philosophy must descend to the confirmation of the principles of theology; although less freely than in the case of any of the other sciences."—*Rog. Bacon*, *Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 31.

Our budget is by no means emptied; the parallel instances which we have collected still abound; but the duplex mode of their exhibition occupies so much space, that we cheerfully abandon it, as the evidence is already sufficient to demonstrate that Lord Bacon, if acquainted with Roger Bacon, as he professes to be, must have either

borrowed from him extensively without confessing the loan, or must have been aware that the doctrines promulgated by him as new were already contained in the system of the friar. In either event he was guilty of the crime, which, without the least foundation, he has charged upon Aristotle. We shall add a few passages, in the original Latin, from Roger Bacon, in which the agreement is not so direct and obvious as in the examples already cited, but in which there is a remarkable community of ideas and conformity of doctrine. In the notes we shall refer to the corresponding passages of Lord Bacon, whenever we are able to refer to them:

"Sed tamen quantumcunque fragilis sit auctoritas, nomen habet honoris, et consuetudo violentior est ad peccatum quam ipsa; utraque autem earum impetuosior est sensus vulgi. Nam auctoritas solum alticit, consuetudo ligat, opinio vulgi obstinatos parit et confirmat."*

"Nomen autem auctoritatis favorabile est. Et ideo majores nostri venerandi sunt, sive habeant auctoritatem veram, sive apparentem, quæ est auctoritas ducum vulgi."†

"Nam tanta difficultate videndi veritatem premimur et vacillamus, quod fere quilibet philosophorum contradicit alii, ita quod vix in una vanissima quæstione, vel in uno vilissimo sophismate, vel una operatione sapientiæ, sicut in medicina, et chirurgia, et aliis operationibus secularium, unus cum alio concordat."‡

"Nec est mirum, si dico istos libros logicæ meliores, nam oportet esse quatuor argumenta veridica, duo enim movent intellectum speculatorum seu rationem, scil. dialecticum per debilem habitum et initialem, qui est opinio, ut disponamur ad scientiam, quæ est habitus completus et frialis, in quo quiescet mens speculando veritatem. Et hic habitus non adquiritur per demonstrationem. Sed cum voluntas seu intellectus practicus sit nobilior quam speculativus, et virtus cum felicitate excellit in infinitum scientiam nudam, et nobis est magis necessaria sine comparatione, necesse est ut habeamus argumenta ad exercitandum per intellectum practicum, præcipue cum magis simus infirmi in hac parte quam in speculatione."§

"Demonstratio efficacissima est in speculationibus nudis, sed impotens est omnino in practicis."‖

"Hæ rationes sunt universales, sed in particulari contingit hoc ostendi descendendo ad omnes partes philosophiæ, quomodo per applicationem mathematicæ sciuntur omnia. Et hoc nihil aliud est, quam ostendere scientias alias non debere sciri per argumenta dialectica et sophistica, quæ introducuntur communiter, sed per demonstrationes mathematicas descendentes in veritates et opera aliarum scientiarum, et regulantes eas, sine quibus nec possunt intelligi, nec manifestari, nec doceri, nec disci. Si quis vero in particulari descenderet applicando mathematicæ potestatem ad singulas scientias, viderit quod nihil in eis posset sciri magnificum sine mathematica."¶

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* Op Maj., Ps. I, cap. iv, p. 5. De Augm. Scient., lib. I, vol. viii, p. 35.

† Op. Maj., Ps. I, cap. v, p. 6. De Augm. Scient., lib. I, vol. viii, p. 39. Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. xxxii.

‡ Op. Maj., Ps. I, cap. vi, p. 8.

§ Op. Maj., Ps. III, p. 35. De Augm. Sci., lib. VII, cap. i, vol. viii, p. 390.

‖ Op. Maj., Ps. III, pp. 35, 36. De Augm. Sci., lib. V, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 262. Inst. Mag., Distr. Op., vol. ix, pp. 157, 172.

¶ Op. Maj., Ps. IV, dist. i, cap. iii, p. 48. A part of this remarkable passage has been cited before.

"Oportet ergo omnia certificari per viam experientiæ. Sed duplex est experientia; una est per sensus exteriores, et sic experimenta ea, quæ in cœlo sunt per instrumenta ad hoc facta, et hæc inferiora per opera certificata ad visum experimur, et quæ non sunt pervenientia in locis in quibus sumus, scimus per alios sapientes qui experti sunt."*

And then he wanders on to the inspiration of the patriarchs and the necessity of divine illumination; for if, in many things, Roger Bacon was in advance of his age, he was in all deeply imbued with its spirit.

We will here discontinue our laborious gleanings from the old Franciscan friar. In our opinion, they are amply sufficient to establish the fact of Lord Bacon's direct or indirect, but very extensive obligations to his work. In Roger Bacon, however novel his views, or however great his originality, there is rarely any pretension to the merits of a first discoverer. He is always anxious to confirm his positions by respectable or sanctified authorities; to shield himself from the suspicion of innovation by fathering his doctrines upon patriarchs, sages, and Scripture. If we were familiar with the works of Albertus Magnus, Hugh and Richard de St. Victor, and the other precursors of Roger Bacon; if we were as well acquainted with the lucubrations of the early Alchemists, with the writings of the Rabbinical doctors, and the volumes of the Arabian naturalists, as we are with the Novum Organon, we might be able to trace the origin of Roger Bacon's doctrines. But his claims to our regard would not be impaired thereby, because he never seeks to conceal, but always to proclaim and multiply his authorities, and because it was the habitual practice of the mediæval writers to repeat each other without any purpose of concealment; but also without acknowledgment frequently.

With Lord Bacon, the case is entirely different. He announces himself as the herald of a new philosophy; he promulgates a reform in his own name. "Thus thought Francis of Verulam, and this method he adopted himself, the knowledge of which by his cotemporaries and posterity, he deems of interest to themselves."† In the whole range of literature and philosophy there is no more lofty utterance. It is the tone of a monarch, and might have been issued with the sign manual of a king, and under the broad seal of the sovereign. It sounds like the decree of an autocrat, or the voice of a sole, self-sufficient legislator. Whether this haughtiness of expression should be admired as the fruit of sublime confidence, or censured as the strut of arrogant pretension, will depend very much

* Op. Maj., Ps. VI, cap. i, p. 337.

† "Franciscus de Verulamio sic cogitavit, talemque apud se rationem instituit, quam viventibus et posteris notam fieri, ipsorum interesse putavit."

upon the decision which may be given to the question, whether Francis Bacon was the discoverer and founder of the system he promulgated—whether he was the author of what he thought, or merely the sonorous mouthpiece of other men, whose names he left to languish in cold obscurity. That he intended to proclaim himself the author of these doctrines is evident both from his manner of publishing them, and from his repeated censures of Aristotle. But that he had been anticipated by Roger Bacon in nearly everything that was most distinctive in the double forms of the same identical philosophy, cannot be doubted after the copious illustrations given in this essay. That he borrowed directly and consciously from him is our own private conclusion; and that the forced loan amounted to plagiarism, and was levied, like one of James I.'s voluntary gifts from his people, forcibly and without acknowledgment, is also our conviction, though we will not demand from the public an absolute verdict to this effect. But we do claim that the highest honors which have been assigned to Francis Bacon are due to Roger Bacon and his cotemporaries, and we do assert that the friar has been as harshly and unjustly dealt with by the Lord Chancellor of Nature, as Aubrey and Egerton and the other suitors in the Court of Equity were handled by the Lord High Chancellor of England.

The claim of Lord Bacon to be regarded as the inventor, not of the inductive process, which is an absurdity that Mr. Macaulay has been absurd enough to impugn, but to be the inventor, promulgator, or sponsor of the inductive method, and of experimentation, is preposterous. Roger Bacon, more than any other single individual, is entitled to that credit, though the Arabians, the alchemists, Albertus Magnus, and others, had preceded him, and though Aristotle himself had both preached the doctrine and illustrated the practice in his own investigations. A full century before Francis Bacon, Leonardo da Vinci, a poet, a painter, an architect, a sculptor, an engineer, a mathematician, and a philosopher, had declared induction to be the only sure method in natural science: "dobbiamo cominciare dall' esperienza, e per mezzo di questo scoprirne la ragione." So again: "questo é il methodo da osservarsi nella ricerca de' fenomeni della natura."*

De Maistre has amused himself at the expense of Bacon and the secret society of select philosophers congregated at Paris, as if this was an association of atheists and illuminati—as if, indeed, it was an unquestioned reality, instead of being probably a fiction, like the House of Solomon in the New Atlantis. But if it were the repre-

* Humboldt's Cosmos, vol. ii, Pt. II, § vi, p. 661, ed. Bohn.

sentation of a real assemblage in which Francis Bacon himself had in aforetime participated, and from which he had derived some of his ideas, it would be more reasonable to regard it as a society of alchemists and students of nature, for these pursuits were combined, and were actively and secretly prosecuted at that time, which was, indeed, the most brilliant age of alchemy. But, however this may be, the passage in which this Parisian coterie is introduced, is a memorable one. Lord Bacon distinctly announces that he meditates "a renovation of philosophy;" he as distinctly states that he had no associates in this work. "I have not even a person with whom I can converse without reserve on such subjects, none at least in whose converse I can explain myself, and whet my purpose."* Yet his interlocutor adds, that "others have also at heart such subjects ' Is it not strange that there is no intimation of the previous and similar labors of Roger Bacon, no admission of the analogous inquiries and the congenerous conclusions of other inquirers?

The services of Lord Bacon in advancing, illuminating, and especially in popularizing scientific studies are immense. They are more brilliant than Roger Bacon's, and they were rendered in a more propitious time; but they are not equal to them, nor could they have been achieved, unless he had gone before to lighten the way with his torch. The light and the guide are both unacknowledged by him whom they illuminated. Yet justice will yet be done to the fame of Roger Bacon, and his star will pale the fires of his rival and namesake. A recent scientific writer of some eminence pays this just compliment to the poor Franciscan friar, "*pauperculus ego,*" as he calls himself:

"Roger Bacon, the vastest intellect that England has produced, studied nature as a natural philosopher rather than as a chemist, and the extraordinary discoveries he made in those branches of science are familiarly known; the rectification of the errors committed in the Julian Calendar with regard to the solar year; the physical analysis of the action of lenses and convex glasses; the invention of spectacles for the aged; that of achromatic lenses; the theory and perhaps the first construction of the telescope. From the principles and laws laid down or partially apprehended by him, a system of unanticipated facts was sure to spring, as he himself remarked; nevertheless, his inquiries into chemical phenomena have not been without fruit for us. He carefully studied the properties of saltpeter, and if, in opposition to the ordinary opinion, he did not discover gunpowder, which had been explicitly described by Marcus Græcus fifty years before, he improved its preparation, by teaching the mode of purifying saltpeter by first dissolving the salt in water and then crystalizing it. He also called attention to the chemical action of air in combustion."†

* Redargutio Philosophiarum. Bacon's Works, vol. xi, p. 437.

† Figuier, L'Alchimie et les Alchimistes, Part I, chap. iv, pp. 80, 81.

And, as we have already remarked, he seems to have suspected the polarization of light.

Where are the actual scientific discoveries of Francis Bacon which can be compared to this brilliant array? There are none. The philosophical theories of the two are identical, only one is barely indicated, the other luminously expanded and magnificently expressed. The superb motto of Francis Bacon, "*Aut viam inveniam, aut faciam,*" is a delusion; he neither invented nor made the road he traveled; he followed in the path beaten by the footsteps of his namesake, to whom alone it would be appropriate to apply such a device as this, which itself seems imitated from a straggling verse of a lost Greek tragedy:

ἰδίας ὁδοὺς ζητοῦσι φιλόπονοι φύσεις.°

Art. II.—BRITISH METHODISM AND SLAVERY.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

Mr. Wesley's "Thoughts on Slavery," in 1774, produced a wonderful effect in the connection. The preachers entered fully into his views; and probably it had no small influence in stimulating the natural ardor of Dr. Coke against slavery in his first visit to America. Partly from reading it and partly from conversation with the preachers, the Methodists everywhere became fixed in their enmity against the slave-trade; and public discussions in the nation confirmed them in their aversion. The peculiar sympathy awakened for the poor blacks made the West India Mission for more than half a century the most popular, as it has been the most successful, of all our missions. And when in the end the feeling of the connection was roused against slavery itself, the religious interest so long cherished for the slave, quickened the zeal for his deliverance from legal bondage. In 1778, Mr. Wesley commenced our first periodical, "The Arminian Magazine." In that work, several articles and facts bearing on slavery and the slave-trade were inserted from time to time; and as it was very much read among the Methodists, the subject was continually kept before their mind. In 1787 Mr. Wesley again published "Thoughts on Slavery," concerning which he thus writes to one of his correspondents:

° Agathon. Incert. Fabb. Fragm., xiii, (7.) Fragm. Trag. Græc. Ed. Didot.

"Whatever assistance I can give those generous men who join to oppose that *execrable trade*, I certainly shall give. I have printed a large edition of the 'Thoughts on Slavery,' and *dispersed them to every part of England.* But there will be vehement opposition made, both by slave merchants and slave-holders; and they are mighty men: but our comfort is, He that dwelleth on high is mightier."

Wilberforce had now become the acknowledged leader of the abolition movement. Mr. Wesley's celebrity and known sentiments induced him to seek an interview with him, which proved highly satisfactory. He thus briefly relates it: "February 24, 1789. I called on John Wesley, a fine old fellow." With his brother Charles, Mr. Wilberforce had formed an acquaintance some three years before. "I went," says he, "I think in 1786, to see Mrs. Hannah More, and when I came into the room Charles Wesley rose from the table, around which a numerous party sat at tea, and coming forward to me, solemnly gave me his blessing. I was scarcely ever more affected. Such was the effect of his manner and appearance that it altogether overset me, and I burst into tears, unable to restrain myself." That blessing of Charles Wesley, and the anti-slavery efforts of John, show how deeply both the Wesleys were interested in that cause to which the life of Wilberforce was consecrated. But perhaps nothing had so powerful an influence on the Methodist body as the almost dying letter of Mr. John Wesley, written to Mr. Wilberforce only six days before his death. It is as follows:

"*February* 24, 1791.

"My dear Sir,—Unless the Divine power has raised you up to be as Athanasius contra mundum, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villainy which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils; but, if God be for you, who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God? O be not weary in well-doing. Go on in the name of God, and in the power of his might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it. That He who has guided you from your youth up, may continue to strengthen you in this and all things, is the prayer of,

"Dear sir, your affectionate servant,

"JOHN WESLEY."

A short time also before his death, he issued the fifth edition of his "Thoughts on Slavery." These two things conjoined, Mr. Wesley's last pamphlet, and his last letter, occasioned the abolition cause to be as it were stereotyped on the Methodist mind; so that the members of his society were constituted en masse, a body of Christian opponents to the anti-Christian slave-trade. He bequeathed to them by his dying acts the guardianship of the sacred cause of freedom.

That same year an occurrence took place which was like affixing a seal to his legacy, and thereby rendering it imperative and unalterable. At the conference of 1791, the first that assembled after Mr. Wesley's death, Mr. Wilberforce sent a letter to the conference, accompanied with a present of one hundred and two volumes of "The Evidence that appeared before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, relative to the Slave-Trade." One was for each member of the hundred preachers who legally constituted the conference, and two additional copies for the president and the secretary. In his letter he complimented them on their piety and zeal, and entreated them to use their influence in getting petitions signed and presented to Parliament, praying for the abolition of the slave-trade. The conference sent him a polite answer, in which they promised to comply with his request. From a principle of conscience they entered heartily into the work, and were instrumental in promoting what appeared to be the general sense of the country respecting the slave-trade, namely: "That it ought to be abolished." The letter of Wilberforce was connected with the plan of future operations on which he had resolved. Finding that he failed to carry his measures in Parliament, notwithstanding the eloquent support he received from Pitt and Fox, the two leading statesmen of the age, so strong was the slave interest in both houses, backed by wealthy merchants and West India proprietors in many cities, he determined to make a more general appeal to the conscience of the nation, that he might move the legislature by means of the constituency, and the force of the popular will. By such an opportune resolve, at such a crisis of Methodist history, he was sure of their united zeal. Petitions soon came pouring into Parliament against the slave-trade, and they were renewed from year to year, in accumulated numbers, till the public demand of the people could be no longer withstood. And although the Methodists at that time acted more in connection with their fellow-citizens than as a distinct body, or connectionally, scarcely a Methodist, whether elector or not, neglected to affix his signature to these petitions. In no county in England had the Methodists so large a number of electors as in Yorkshire, for which county Wilberforce was member, and from their heartiness in the cause of freedom, they uniformly gave him their votes, which contributed to the security of his return for the largest constituency in the kingdom; Yorkshire not being then divided into the East and West Riding, as on the passage of the Reform Bill at a later period. He was therefore the most popular candidate and representative for that large county for twenty-eight years, during which time there had been five or six elections.

This is an unequaled triumph in the Parliamentary Annals of Great Britain. Once in particular he was opposed by two of the most powerful noble families in the kingdom, whose wealth could purchase all the votes (alas! not a few) that were buyable, and sway others who found that to serve them on such an occasion would be to their interest; but Wilberforce, without a bribe, and without compromising his principles or his character as an avowedly religious man, won the day in spite of all opposition. "I have great reason," says he, "to be thankful for the kindness with which I was received. Indeed, I can only ascribe it to that gracious Providence which can control at will the affections of men. I never took pains, though feeling the deepest sense of my constituent's kindness, to cultivate an interest; nay, more, I have been very deficient in all personal attentions, owing to my health requiring me to live as quietly and regularly as I can, during the recess from Parliament. I never attend races or even assizes, which members for Yorkshire before me used to do; and yet I have been elected five times, and never with more unanimity than the last. It really shows that there is still some public spirit among us; and that if a member of Parliament will act an honest and independent part, his constituents (such at least of them as are themselves independent) will not desert him." This was written in 1806, and his renewed success as the favorite candidate for Yorkshire foreshadowed the downfall of slavery advocacy in Parliament.

Immediately after his re-election he completed and published an earnest pamphlet on the Slave-trade, which he had prepared with great care. It had immense success. "Its effect," say his biographers, "was greatly strengthened by its mild and generous temper toward the defenders of the system" he sought to overthrow. Its influence was considerable even in the House of Lords, where some of the largest West India proprietors occupied a seat. Several times had he been defeated; but thrice Wilberforce, with varied majorities, carried his motion in the Commons, which was always in substance the same, embodying three arguments, namely, that the slave-trade was "contrary to *humanity, justice*, and *sound policy*;" but when he succeeded in the Lower House, his motion failed or was postponed in the House of Peers. But after his last return for Yorkshire, so loud was the voice of the people, so united and firm their determination, that it passed both houses; and, says Myles, the Methodist chronologer, "on Wednesday, the 25th of March, in Passion week, 1807, the king, by commission, gave his royal assent to a bill for the entire abolition of the slave-trade, after the 1st of January, 1808." It was the religious influence, the Christianity of the nation, that

after many a hard-fought battle won the day. Among the centers of that influence, Methodism was very considerable, if not the chief; for though less conspicuous than some other bodies, it was more energetic than most; and it wrought wonders by means of its diffusiveness among the masses, its uniformity of principle, its oneness of action, its heartiness of co-operation, and its Divine power with God. The long-continued interest which the Methodists had felt in the spiritual labors of their missionaries made them now, above other people, deeply concerned to prevent any increase or prolongation of the wrongs of Africa.

III. We now come to the third period, from the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807, to the extinction of slavery in 1834.

In the Life of Mr. Wilberforce it is remarked that, "so early as the year 1780, the slave-trade had attracted the attention of Mr. Burke," a man for greatness of mind, and splendid eloquence, never surpassed by the senator of any nation. "He had even proceeded to sketch out a code of regulations which provided for its immediate mitigation and ultimate suppression. But after mature consideration he had abandoned the attempt, from the conviction that the strength of the West India body would defeat the utmost efforts of his powerful party, and cover them with ruinous unpopularity. Nor could any mere political alliance have been ever more likely to succeed. The great interests with which the battle must be fought could be resisted only by the general moral feeling of the nation. There was then no example upon record of any such achievement, and in entering upon the struggle it was of the utmost moment that its leader should be one who could combine, and so render irresistible, the scattered sympathies of the religious classes." This is a highly valuable quotation, not only because it recognizes the importance of true religion, but also because it shows *how* the religion of any country must be employed to insure success. Desultory efforts of a detached kind will end in disappointment; "the scattered sympathies" of righteous men must be collected into one focus; and then their concentrated energies will never fail to accomplish a great object on which their hearts are set, conducive to the national honor, and the general welfare of mankind. Of course this is not to be done by mere political tactics, so as to make the churches of Christ subservient to the aggrandizement of any political party; for that were to damage the Churches without benefiting the nation; on the contrary, this plan proposes the laying aside of party objects and sectional differences, for the sake of insuring, by religious principles and religious means, the enactment of righteous laws, or the nullifying of such as are unjust. In that way the Church collectively

becomes "the salt of the land; a city set on a hill that cannot be hid." To adopt the parliamentary abolition phrases, the Church pronounces in favor of "humanity, justice, and [consequentially] sound policy." No other object would have moved the Methodists from the death of Wesley to the Abolition Act of 1807; and by it alone were they guided in their subsequent movements against slavery.

Interwoven with the events narrated from 1791 to 1807, there are two facts that should not be suppressed; it is essential to a fair and truthful representation of Methodistic action in regard to slavery that they should be recorded. Different opinions will no doubt be held as to some points stated. Mild and moderate men will admire a commendable prudence, adapting itself to circumstances; men of a sanguine and somewhat choleric temperament will reprehend such prudence as time-serving servility and inconsistency. We have already seen that the Conference of 1791 shared in the commonly prevailing sentiment that "slavery ought to be abolished," meaning thereby the slave-trade; that they engaged to aid Wilberforce, and that the same engagement was faithfully maintained. But the same Conference sent no resolutions to their missionaries on so delicate a subject; they were left to pursue the even tenor of their way in simply and solely preaching the gospel of Christ; and the remarkable case of Mr. Brownell, quoted in a former page, shows how well it was for them and their work that they were never advised to move in abolition affairs. By that same Conference, Dr. Coke was specially designated "their appointed delegate to the West Indies." The doctor was secretary of that Conference, and of course received equally with the president his *two* copies of Wilberforce's select committee volumes; nor would he be at all inferior to his brethren in earnestness for the abolition movement. Yet, with this powerful stimulant to his natural ardor, when he arrived in the West Indies, he did not allow his zeal to carry him out on this subject with the same impetuosity as in Virginia in 1785. In Grenada we find him enjoying his usual friendship with the Rev. Mr. Dent, an excellent clergymen, who was exceedingly kind to our missionaries; indeed, he was a father to them as long as he lived; and "through whose assistance and fostering care," Dr. Coke's biographer testifies, "religion continued to flourish in the midst of surrounding vice." Yet that clergyman had a few domestic slaves, and *actually went to purchase another while the doctor was his guest.* This was about fifteen years before the Abolition Act, and *within two of the above-mentioned Conference.* Dr. Coke himself thus relates the matter, nor does he appear at the time to have uttered any expression of disapprobation:

"Mr. Dent, who, with his amiable lady, lives quite a retired life, thought his family stood in need of another servant girl. *He therefore went one day to a sale of negroes*, and fixing his eye on a girl about ten years of age, said to her, 'Will you come with me?' The poor child, who was totally unacquainted with the English language, seemed nevertheless to understand him, and nodded her head. He then conversed with the proprietor about some other negroes, but afterward, recollecting himself, he turned arouud again to the girl, and said to her, 'Well, will you come with me?' The little naked child immediately threw her arms around him, and burst into tears. His heart was exceedingly touched, *and he purchased her and brought her home.* She was immediately well clothed; and before I left the island could speak several words of English, and had begun to sew."

This is a singular narrative, and might give rise to many reflections, such as, How came so young a child to be severed from her parents? etc., etc.; but it shows the best side of slavery, and the varied circumstances in which the missionaries met with it, and the impossibility of carrying out on mission ground the earnest abolition principles that were so effectually worked out at home.

The second noticeable fact is, that up to 1807 a few of the missionaries themselves were holders of slaves; it is presumed not by purchase, or rarely so; but through marrying persons in the colonies who possessed them, either by gift or inheritance. In the memorable year of abolition the Conference took this matter up; probably at the suggestion of Dr. Coke, though he must have known the fact some years before. The Conference of 1807 passed the following resolutions on the subject; drawn up by the doctor as secretary that year:

"1. The Conference determines, that none of our preachers employed in the West Indies shall be at liberty to marry any person, who will not previously emancipate, in the legal methods, all the slaves of whom she may be possessed; and if any of our brethren there, already married, have, by such marriage, or in any other way, become proprietors of slaves, we require those brethren to take immediate and effectual steps for their emancipation.

"2. The Secretary of our Mission Committee in London is directed to send a copy of this Minute to every preacher in the West Indies, and to require a report next year of the manner in which it has been obeyed."

Some who learn for the first time of the necessity of such an investigation will feel, perhaps, not only surprise, but indignation; severe censure, however, must not be passed on a few brethren for conduct which in the present day would be deemed quite inexcusable. Indeed, the Conference inflicted neither reproof nor censure, but only insisted on a correction of the evil. Men who are suddenly placed in a new position, with a community different to any they have been associated with before, are apt, in certain circumstances, without much reflection, to fall in with their usages. We have seen that the father of Methodism in the West Indies was an

extensive planter, and the master of many slaves. Baxter, who succeeded Gilbert, and knew him to be a Christian slaveholder, might, innocently to him, all circumstances considered, fall into the same error, and procure a few domestic servants, while he was employed in the dock-yard at English Harbor; especially as it is difficult then to get free servants at all. It is presumed that he sustained the same relation to them after he entered the ministry, and up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1806, for it is said of him that he was "an indulgent master to his servants." The Rev. William Warrener, the first ordained missionary in 1786, possessed domestic servants, after the custom of the country; and a slave was reckoned as his property so late as 1816, long after his return to England. Perhaps he reaped no advantages by it, in the shape of wages or in any other way, still she was legally his slave. We were present in the district meeting when a formal complaint to that effect was entered on the Minutes, and transmitted to England; and her manumission papers were signed and transmitted to her before the meeting of the ensuing year. That was the last slave-holding of Wesleyan missionaries, and that, for several years, was but nominal; for practically the resolutions of 1807 brought the evil to a speedy termination. That year three of the brethren refused compliance with the new regulations, as the slaves were considered to belong to their wives, on the ground that the connection made no adequate provision for widows and families; and therefore they resigned their office as missionaries. They were all senior men, and had been of irreproachable character, and had even taken the lead in the work of missions in those islands. We knew the last survivor of their number, and have often worshiped with him in the sanctuary. In those commendable and fitting regulations of the Conference, although they only related to missionaries, we may mark the progress of truth in the world. They were not aimed at the slave-trade, which was now abolished, but at slavery itself. In fact, they are *the first step in advance of that act;* although a movement in the same direction soon afterward commenced in England. Here Methodism led the way.

The carrying out of these resolutions, however, as an integral part of the future constitution of Methodism in regard to the missionaries and slavery, occasioned quite a sensation in the West Indies. The retiring missionaries were estimable men; and, besides their relatives, had many friends in the islands, who naturally considered them injured and ill-treated men; moreover, the general structure of West India society disposed the community at large to sympathize with them. For a season the other missionaries were

placed in a disadvantageous position as to public prejudice, for those resolutions were considered as involving the virtual condemnation of all slavery, which indeed could not be denied, however cautious the missionaries might be of avoiding offenses by confining themselves to their spiritual work, without interfering with the civil condition of the people. Never had ministers more need of remembering the Scripture maxim, "I wisdom dwell with prudence." Nothing would have been easier than for them, through the medium of correspondence with their own committee, or with other parties, to have furnished statements and facts that would have been of great service to the abolitionists; but such a forfeiture of honor by acting contrary to their own avowed principles would have ultimately answered no good end; it would have exposed them to just reproach, and brought them into collision with those whom they wished to conciliate, and, by hindering the Gospel, would have retarded the progress of freedom. The course they pursued was truly Wesleyan, for it was carrying out in a manner befitting their position, both toward master and slaves, the maxim of Mr. Wesley: "The friends of all, and enemies of none." If sometimes ungenerously suspected as acting the part of spies, no one could ever produce the least evidence of such mean conduct, for in truth there was no foundation for such suspicions. They were the honest men they professed to be, and eventually verified the truth of the inspired declaration, "Discretion shall preserve thee, understanding shall keep thee."

But however discreet, the anti-slavery resolutions of the conference, so closely following the abolition of the slave-trade, would probably, at that initiating crisis, have occasioned a general storm of persecution against all the missionaries, if it had not happened a few years before, through the good providence of God, that the most irrefragable proofs had been given of the value of their labors, politically considered, in seasons of extraordinary colonial peril and danger. We quote from Drew's Life of Dr. Coke, only adding that we ourselves have heard the same things confirmed in the West Indies by those who were eye-witnesses of the occurrences:

"It was not long after the commencement of the late war with France, [about 1800] that the President of the Council for the Island of Tortola, who represented the governor, received information that the enemy were at that time fitting out an expedition at Guadaloupe, against that island. Being aware that the military force in Tortola was insufficient for its defense, he was reduced to the momentous alternative either to surrender to the invaders, or to arm the negroes to oppose them. It was in the latter he could find his only resource, and this was an expedient to which he even trembled to resort. Such, however, was his confidence in Mr. Turner, the missionary, and so strong the conviction of his influence over the negroes, that he sent for him, and plainly stated their perilous condition. Relying on Mr. Turner's acquaint-

ance with the disposition of the slaves, he inquired whether they might be armed with safety. Mr. Turner was willing to vouch for the loyalty of those who were connected with the Methodists. Confiding in this, and in the influence of their example, [on the rest of the negroes,] he declared himself willing to arm the slaves, upon condition that Mr. Turner would accompany them in their military services. At first the latter conceived a compliance with this request to be inconsistent with his station as a minister of the Gospel. But finding the case to be urgent, and that the loss or preservation of the island probably depended upon his decision, he consented to the condition. The negroes were accordingly armed and trained, so far as time would allow. Within about a fortnight the French squadron arrived. But finding, as they approached the shore, a more formidable body to oppose them than they had been taught to expect, they first hesitated, and after cutting two merchant ships out of the bay, retired without making any attempt to land. During this time the negroes behaved with the utmost order, and, when directed, laid down their arms, and repaired to their accustomed employment."

The knowledge of such praiseworthy fidelity on the part of Christian slaves, and of their influence over the rest of the negroes, produced a vast effect in the other islands. "Shortly after, the Governor of the Leeward Islands sent a request to the Methodist missionaries in Antigua and St. Christopher's, that they would make a return of all the negroes in their societies who were capable of bearing arms, as he had received satisfactory information of their loyalty and fidelity. A list was made out; and the negroes so returned were immediately armed, and incorporated among the defenders of their respective islands." Soon after these things "a plot was laid among the negroes in the Island of St. Vincent, to rise in one general insurrection, and murder all the white inhabitants. Not long before this plot was to have been carried into execution, some intimation of their designs was communicated to a negro belonging to the Methodist society. The negro went immediately and imparted the information to the missionary. Both immediately repaired to the governor, who, taking decisive measures for the security of the island, prevented the consequences of this intended massacre." Here are facts abundantly proving that, much as religious slaves value freedom, they will never secure it in an irreligious way. Christianity undoubtedly prepares them for liberty; but in the meantime it is a mighty conservator of the lives, property, and temporal interests of the master, till the good desired can be peaceably and lawfully confirmed by a wise and equitable administration.

Such decisive evidences of fidelity, the fruit of missionary instruction, neutralized in part the hostility awakened by the conference resolutions; and had there been no deeper cause of vexation it would have died away, and the missionaries would have been spared those subsequent bitter persecutions which many of them had to

endure. But slavery in the West Indies, as everywhere else, was a hotbed of licentiousness; and the moral teaching of the missionary was a continual source of annoyance to those who "took pleasure in unrighteousness." Methodism was opposed to the common practice of concubinage. Admission into society was refused to those who lived in that sin. From first to last that rule was unflinchingly maintained. Hence it was that awakened colored females, many of them highly respectable, resisted all worldly solicitations and advantages; and others renounced a comfortable house and home, that they might become united to the Church of Christ, and secure the salvation of their souls. It was this more than anything else, that stirred up dire enmity against the missionaries; although it was more convenient to allege dangerous and seditious doctrines, which, it was contended, in opposition to manifold proofs to the contrary, the missionaries taught, exposing the colonists thereby to ruin. Yet such fears were in many instances practically refuted; for it was commonly found that the trusty negroes on the plantation were selected from the members of religious societies. Our best class-leaders were generally persons in whom their masters placed the greatest confidence, which was a singular method of demonstrating the dangerous tendencies of Methodism.

Turning then from the missionaries, who confined themselves to the last to the sole prosecution of their one object, let us mark the movements of the Methodist connection in Great Britain. When the agitation against the slave-trade commenced, its leaders did not contemplate the abolition of slavery. It was rather their aim to prevent an increase of the evil than to extinguish it; and to that effort they would not probably have been aroused, but for the atrocities of the trade. Yet there were a few discerning politicians who foresaw from the beginning that the termination of the one would lead to the extinction of the other. In 1806, the year before the last great struggle for abolishing the slave-trade was successful in both Houses of Parliament, Earl Westmoreland objected in the Upper House that "the abolition of the trade would lead to emancipation of the slaves in our colonies." In reply, Lord Holland did not deny the probability of such a result, "which," he added, "in its due time, would be highly desirable." Bishop Horsley thought so too, for, said he, "though the slaves in the West Indies were even to be pampered with delicacies, or to be put to rest on a bed of roses, they could not be happy, for—a slave would be still a slave." And when the bill passed the Commons the following year, and finally, "Earl Percy wished that a clause might be inserted, by which all the children of slaves, born after January 1810, should be made

free." And Clarkson, the celebrated author of "The History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade," closes his volumes with these remarkable words:

"*A new hope rises to our view.* Who knows but that emancipation, like a beautiful plant, may, in its due season, rise out of the ashes of the abolition of the slave-trade, and that, when its own intrinsic value shall be known, the seed of it may be planted in other lands? And looking at the subject in this point of view, we cannot but be struck with the wonderful concurrence of events as previously necessary for this purpose, namely, that two nations, England and America, the mother and the child, should, *in the same month of the same year*, have abolished this impious traffic; nations which at this moment have more than a million of subjects within their jurisdiction to partake of the blessing; and one of which, on account of her local situation and increasing power, is likely in time to give, if not law, at least a tone to the manners and customs of the great continent on which she is situated."

Similiar opinions were entertained by Mr. Wesley; hence, though he wrote against the slave-*trade*, his tract was entitled "Thoughts on *Slavery*;" and it is evident that he had the destruction of both in view. Soon after the act of abolition a new organization was formed, called "The African Institution," to watch the working of the Abolition Bill, and the carrying out of the work of mercy and justice now begun. This was the more necessary as the anti-abolitionists were still violent, and even threatened the repeal of that measure. To this new movement the Methodists lent their aid, publishing in their Magazine its first report, and occasional extracts of proceedings. The cause of freedom never slept; in one shape or other it was continually kept before the Methodist community and the public mind. A new mission to Sierra Leone contributed much to this result. It was a gracious Providence which caused that settlement to be made on the West Coast of Africa some years before the act of abolition passed. By such an arrangement, when slave-ships were afterward seized by British cruisers, a colony with an incipient civilization was prepared for the reception of the re-captured negroes, who, instead of being thrown loose upon the world, found protection and a home on the shores of their own continent. It was an abolitionist colony, as the name of the capital—Free Town—sufficiently indicates; and but for its existence, philanthropy would scarcely have known how to have disposed of the liberated slaves. It was in 1811 that the first Wesleyan missionary was sent to that coast. The mission has been very successful, and is now greatly extended. Exciting information has been communicated from thence at our missionary meetings, keeping alive, though but in an incidental way, Methodist enthusiasm in the cause of liberty; for there also, as in the West Indies, it was the salvation of souls which employed the time and energies of the

missionaries. Still interesting facts were occasionally announced; such as that a condemned slave-ship had been broken up, and part of her timbers employed in building a chapel for the re-captured negroes; or that in such a chapel the more polished parts of the cabin of a slaver had been worked up to form the communion rails; when the cheers that followed such announcement, even in the sanctuary, might have told all the world how much the Methodists love freedom, and how thoroughly they hate slavery. Our missions, wherever planted, made us hearty in the cause of freedom; one country connected itself with another, nor is it possible to determine in how many ways an intense interest in the liberated Africans wrought in the Methodist community a growing concern for the emancipation of the same race who were in bonds in our colonies.

In process of time the African Institution was followed by a more extended and comprehensive organization, designated "The Anti-Slavery Society," whose avowed object was the complete abolition of slavery in every part of the British dominions, at the earliest period consistent with the safety and well-being of all parties concerned. What originated and gave strength to this society was a more complete acquaintance with the inherent and inseparable evils of slavery, which it was found impossible to control, or extensively ameliorate and modify. Besides, a calm investigation produced a conviction, which no sophistry of argument could shake, that substantially there lay the same objections against slavery as against the slave-trade, and that both were contrary to "justice, humanity, and sound policy." It was not, therefore, a political, but a moral bond, which held together the members of this sacred confederation. Politicians, a cunning generation in their way, who endeavor to make capital of everybody and everything for their own purposes, were never able to turn them aside from their object, and if their proffered and valuable services were accepted, no compromise enabled them to make political gain for themselves in return. Party was eschewed; parties might come to them, but they went not over to parties; their cause was too high and too holy for merchandise; they sought to emancipate the bodies of men from thrall, that slaves might gain a higher freedom still; that when the shackles were gone, along with freedom of limb they might inherit freedom of thought, of speech, of intellect, of soul. Wilberforce was slow and cautious in his further resolves; but of him in 1818, his biographers say, "a fuller view of the secret iniquities of the colonial system too surely convinced him of the inefficiency of former measures; and now, therefore, *for the first time*, the word *emancipation* occurs among his secret counsels." Accordingly he took his share in this new enterprise, both in

parliament and in the nation; but, as it advanced, increasing years and declining health compelled him to transfer the onerous duties of leadership to another, whom God had raised up to complete what he had begun. He addressed a letter to Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., in which he constituted that gentleman "his parliamentary executor;" for such were the terms he most emphatically employed. Still the emancipation movement was not conducted with precipitation; for four years later, in a noble speech in the House of Commons, Mr. Buxton stated that "their object was by ameliorating regulations, to advance slowly toward the period when those unhappy beings might exchange their degraded state of slavery for that of a free and industrious peasantry."

Mr. Wilberforce had long known, as we have seen, the value of religious men; and he had had large experience of the importance of the Methodist connection, when its energies were called into action. He tells us, therefore, that "being at a loss to know" what steps to take in this perplexing question, "he sounded the Wesleyan Methodists, but found that they, though sometimes in advance of others, were still for leaving to their masters all improvements in the condition of the slaves." It is probable that he chiefly consulted Joseph Butterworth, Esq., who was at that time member of Parliament, and for whom Wilberforce had a high esteem; he designates him in his correspondence "Honest Butterworth." This gentleman was brother-in-law to Dr. Adam Clarke, and also general treasurer to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. His influence, therefore, was considerable in the Methodist community; but his official position, and his knowledge of the real liberality and kindness of some West India gentlemen in supporting our missions and encouraging the missionaries, would naturally induce caution, and lead him to contemplate the accomplishment of the desired object in the gentlest way. At that time also, the Rev. Joseph Taylor, a man of sober thought and sound judgment, who had been himself several years a West India missionary, was resident secretary at the Mission House; and his opinion would have great weight with those whom Wilberforce consulted on that occasion. But in spite of the moderation with which the Methodists desired to proceed, the abettors of slavery became in many instances so violently outrageous and persecuting, *that they themselves broke up slavery*, and convinced all honest men that a system which countenanced the perpetration of such atrocities as demolishing chapels, tarring and feathering, and then attempting to set on fire unoffending missionaries, who were in truth their best friends, and casting others of them into loathsome dungeons, *could never be made workable in civilized*

society, and must be therefore utterly overthrown. It came to be not merely a contest between freedom and slavery, but of barbarism against civilization. Even Butterworth himself became "a sturdy abolitionist," and was reckoned as such in the House of Commons. From love for their missionaries and the work in which they were engaged, the entire body of Methodists espoused their cause, and were converted into earnest abolitionists; and from that time they never slacked their hands till the law of the land declared, Slavery shall be no more.

Of the original slave-trade abolition committee, nine, some say ten, out of the twelve who composed it, were belonging to the Society of Friends. They had now the further honor of commencing the war against slavery, by petition to the House of Commons, the first presented, which Mr. Wilberforce introduced on the 19th of March, 1823. After a little more than ten years' struggle, the glorious victory was won. Mr. Canning, who was then prime minister, "had been a steady and consistent abolitionist" of the slave-trade; "but this new question involved him as a minister in many difficulties, and the influence of personal attachment gave his powerful mind a strong but secret bias to the wishes of the planters." He was, besides, member for Liverpool, where the West India interest ruled; "and hence he was anxious to put this trying question aside." But the subject was now fairly launched in the House of Commons, so that in a few weeks after, Mr. Buxton brought forward a substantial motion, declaring that "*Slavery was repugnant to Christianity and to the British Constitution.*" Those pithy terms contained the substance of all the debatable points from year to year; they were accepted also as the rallying maxims of the abolitionists, which their antagonists could not overthrow; and they were adopted as the grand principles which combined the masses, either as Christians or as Englishmen, in one vast phalanx for the defeat of slavery. The publications of Methodism show that the Christian view was most predominant with the Methodists, as might be expected of a religious people; yet were they not uninfluenced by the latter consideration; for genuine religion does not extinguish, but refine and exalt, the noblest patriotism. Mr. Canning endeavored to stave off the evil day by promising reforms, such as putting an end to the flogging of females, the removal of the drivers' cruel whip from the plantations, and the abolishing of Sunday work and Sunday markets; but those fair promises came to nothing; slavery would not submit as long as the breath of life remained in it. And so the decree went forth, "It shall die." Never could history write with greater truth than in this instance, "The voice of the people is the voice of God."

The last public service which Mr. Wilberforce rendered the cause of emancipation, was the occupancy of the chair at the anniversary of the Slavery Abolition Society, May 15, 1830. "All the old friends of the society gathered around his enfeebled frame, when, with a weakened voice, he declared his conviction that we ought to aim at producing throughout the whole country a just sense of our crime in maintaining so cruel a system as slavery." About this time the Rev. Richard Watson became an avowed emancipationist, and, at the request of the committee, took an active part in the promotion of the cause. At first he hesitated, on account of his official position as Wesleyan missionary secretary, fearing lest his agency should involve the missionaries in trouble. But it had from the beginning been maintained that there was a marked difference, intelligible enough to everybody, between the *special* calling of the missionaries to preach Christ to the negro population, and the *general* right, and duty if they thought so, of Christians at home, to oppose slavery to the utmost of their power. Time also had made it evident that no amount of voluntary forbearance and conciliation could win over the slaveholders to the cause of freedom. He therefore felt satisfied that now it was not only justifiable, but a positive duty to enter boldly on this new course, from which he never deviated, devoting as much of his time to it as was consistent with his primary engagements as a director of our missions. The preachers perfectly and unanimously concurred in his views; some of the men of renown imitated his example; and their proceedings met with the hearty approval of the whole of the Methodist people; not a single dissentient voice was heard.

From that time especially, so far as Methodism was concerned, slavery was doomed. It had neither friend nor advocate in all our borders. The Conference took up the matter from year to year, and brought it before the societies in the shape of resolutions, or advice, or recommendations. To copy the whole would occupy too much space. As a specimen, comprehending all the rest, we copy the following resolutions, which Mr. Watson moved in conference, in 1830, at Leeds, and which were "adopted with perfect cordiality," with this brief preface:

"The Conference, taking into consideration the laudable efforts which are now making to impress the public with a due sense of the injustice and inhumanity of continuing that system of slavery which exists in many of the colonies of the British crown, and to invite a general application to Parliament, by petition, that such measures may, in its wisdom, be adopted as shall speedily lead to the universal termination of the wrongs inflicted on so large a portion of our fellow-men, resolve as follows:

"1. That, as a body of Christian ministers, they feel themselves called upon again to record their solemn judgment, that the holding of human beings in a state of slavery is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural right, and to the benign spirit of the religion of Christ.

"2. That the system of bondage existing in our West India Colonies is marked with characters of peculiar severity and injustice; inasmuch as a great majority of the slaves are doomed to labors inhumanly wasting to health and life, and are exposed to arbitrary, excessive, and degrading punishments, without any effectual protection from adequate and impartially-administered laws.

"3. That the Conference, having long been engaged in endeavoring the instruction and evangelization of the pagan negroes of our West India Colonies, by numerous and expensive missions, supported by the pious liberality of the friends of religion at home, have had painful experience of the unfavorable influence of a state of slavery upon the moral improvement of a class of men most entitled to the sympathy and help of all true Christians; that the patient and devoted men who have labored in the work of negro conversion have too often been made the objects of obloquy and persecution, from that very contempt or fear of the negroes which a system of slavery inspires; that the violent prejudices of caste, founded upon the color of the skin, and nurtured by a state of slavery, and inseparable from it, have opposed the most formidable obstacles to the employment of colored teachers and missionaries, who would otherwise have been called into useful employment, in considerable numbers, as qualified instructors of their fellows; that the general discouragement of slave marriages, and the frequent violent separation of those husbands and wives who have been united in matrimony by missionaries, have served greatly to encourage and perpetuate a grossness of manners which might otherwise have been corrected; that the nearly absolute control of vicious masters, or their agents, over those under their power, is, to a lamentable extent, used for the corrupting of the young, and the polluting of the most hallowed relations of life; that the refusal of the Lord's day to the slave, as a day of rest and religious worship, besides fostering the habit of entire irreligion, limits, and in many cases renders nugatory, every attempt at efficient religious instruction: all which circumstances, more or less felt in each of the colonies, demonstrate the incompatibility of slavery with a general diffusion of the influence of morals and religion, and its necessary association with general ignorance, vice, and wretchedness.

"4. That the preachers assembled in conference feel themselves the more bound to exhort the members of the Methodist societies and congregations at home to unite with their fellow-subjects in presenting their petitions to the next Parliament, to take this important subject into its earliest consideration, because of the interesting relation which exists between them and the numerous Methodist societies in the West Indies, in which are no fewer than twenty-four thousand slaves, who, with their families, have been brought under the influence of Christianity, and who, in so many instances have fully rewarded the charitable toil of those who have applied themselves to promote their spiritual benefit, and whose right to exemption from a state of slavery is, if possible, strengthened by their being partakers with us of "like precious faith," and from their standing in the special relation of "*brethren*" to all who themselves profess to be Christians.

"5. That the Conference fully concur in those strong moral views of the evil and injustice of slavery which are taken by their fellow-Christians of different denominations, and in the purpose which is so generally entertained of presenting petitions to Parliament from their respective congregations for its speedy and universal abolition; and earnestly recommend it to all the congregations of the Wesleyan Methodists throughout Great Britain and Ireland, to express in this manner, that is, by petitions to both Houses of Parliament

from each congregation, to be signed at its own chapel, and presented as early as possible after the assembling of the next Parliament, their sympathy with an injured portion of their race, and their abhorrence of all those principles on which it is attempted to defend the subjection of human beings to hopeless and interminable slavery.

"6. That the Conference still further recommend, in the strongest manner, to such of the members of the Methodist societies as enjoy the elective franchise, that, in this great crisis, when the question is, whether justice and humanity shall triumph over oppression and cruelty, or nearly a million of our fellow-men, many of whom are also our fellow-Christians, shall remain excluded from the rights of humanity, and the privileges of that constitution under which they are born; they will use that solemn trust to promote the rescue of our country from the guilt and dishonor which have been brought upon it by a criminal connivance at the oppressions which have so long existed in its colonies, and that, in the elections now on the eve of taking place, they will give their influence and votes only to those candidates who pledge themselves to support in Parliament the most effectual measures for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies of the British empire."

Those resolutions, as forcible as clear, as irresistible as unimpassioned, at once carried conviction to the understanding and determination to the heart; everybody in Methodism approved of them. It happened also, in the ordainings of Providence, that soon after, that great political measure, the passing of the Reform Bill, took place in the nation. About that movement the Methodists were much divided in sentiment; perhaps the majority of leading minds in the connection were adverse to it; certainly during that struggle the members of society in almost every town and county were divided in their votes. One result, however, of the passing of that bill was, by enlarging the franchise, to augment greatly the number of Methodist voters, and thereby increasing the political strength of Methodism. In regard to this great question of slavery, in some places it doubled or even trebled their power; and however divided as to the Reform Bill, here they were concentrated into one bond of union, so that the first use which many of the new electors made of their privilege was to bring all their influence to bear against slavery. Not one pro-slavery petition went from a Methodist society or congregation; such a thing would not have been tolerated for a moment; in fact no one had the hardihood to propose it. Every Methodist hand that could write signed for freedom; every Methodist voice cried out in unison with the nation, "Let the oppressed go free." It was fitting that a people who had been for half a century nurturing Christian missions among West India slaves should now demand their admission into the full "privileges of that constitution under which they were born." The insertion of those words in *the sixth resolution*, shows that the Conference did not forget to claim for the slaves rights as subjects of the British crown; they had on that ground a right to be born free; while *the*

long bill of indictments, as we may call it, against slavery, contained in *the third resolution* evinces that it was the Christian rather than the political consideration by which the Methodist mind was swayed. It reminds us of the correctness of the great Edmund Burke's philosophical remark, when he was contemplating certain civil changes for the benefit of the nation: "I depend for success infinitely more on the effect and influence of religion, than upon all else put together." The following analysis, printed by order of the House of Commons, when the struggle was ended, will clearly show the energy put forth by the Methodists, at the close of the contest, in the form of petitions against slavery:

	Petitions.	Signatures.
Presented from the several bodies of Dissenters, (twenty-one in number are enumerated)	923	122,978
Wesleyan Methodists	1,953	229,426
	2,876	352,404
Other petitions	2,194	957,527
Total	5,070	1,309,931

From this document it appears that the number of petitions from the Wesleyan Methodists was more than double those of all the other Nonconformist bodies put together; and the number of petitioners also was nearly double; and that the connectional number of both petitions and petitioners was highly respectable in comparison with those of the wealthy and powerful establishment of the Church of England, and such as may have been more immediately associated with it. If the Methodist body had not then a direct representative within the House of Commons, they had a powerful influence without as electors; much more so than when in former years they helped to secure the return of Wilberforce for Yorkshire. That veteran abolitionist well knew the value of their efforts when, at his last public meeting in May, 1830, he "particularly recommended the promoting of petitions to Parliament." The Conference of that year, and subsequently, recommended the same thing to the Methodist congregations; and the numbers just quoted evidence the earnestness of the Methodists in the abolition cause.

Religious zeal for freedom operated powerfully even on the merely political lovers of liberty, and upon the nation at large. The biographer of Buxton correctly remarks: "The outcry against slavery seemed to be rising at once from every corner of the land. Men of all ranks, of all denominations, were joining in the attack. And the House itself, where but a few years before scarcely half a dozen hearty advocates for emancipation could have been numbered, *was now filled with zealous friends of the cause.*" This last sentence tells a tale as to the power of the elective franchise in a free

state; for by means of it the electors had completely new modeled the present House of Commons, and molded it after the national will. And it is of importance to notice how closely connected was the enlargement of British freedom at home with the complete emancipation of the slaves in our colonies. Philosophically examined, it will ever be found that one branch of freedom invariably supports the rest, the civil the religious, the religious the civil, till perfect freedom becomes universal law; while slavery is always encroaching, so that the longer the negro wears his chains, the more powerful will be the usurpation of the rights of freemen, till slavery has become a universal domination; and then follows chaos, civil wars, the dissolution of empires, and universal ruin. Religiously considered, we see that the Gospel is the only hope of the world's liberty; "the leaves of this tree of life are for the healing of the nations." However great the difficulties to be overcome, however long and arduous the struggle, *where there is a free Bible slavery must come to an end.* This was aptly, though undesignedly symbolized, when, on the day of emancipation, the British and Foreign Bible Society gave a copy of the New Testament to every free man, woman, and child, who could read the word of God.

The new and reformed Parliament, moved by its own zeal, and stimulated by so vast a multitude of petitions, and led on by a government not unwilling to meet the national demand, soon brought the matter to a glorious decision in a manner which made stern justice herself smile most benignantly on mercy. The British Parliament resolved that emancipation should be *accompanied by a grant from the national treasury of twenty millions sterling,* to be equitably distributed among those who held slaves in the British colonies. This sum was not voted as a bribe, or as a dole of benevolence to the planters, but as, all things considered, no more than a just though liberal compensation to them, considering the share of guilt the nation had incurred by introducing, and for so long a season upholding the unrighteous system of slavery. Compensation to the injured Africans was a simple impossibility; they never desired that, and were only too grateful to receive their long-withheld right of liberty. At length *the negroes' chartered bill of rights,* having passed through both Houses of Parliament, received the royal signature on the 28th of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three of the world's redemption by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By that signature the freedom of the king himself was promoted. He was constituted the freest of rulers, and therefore the greatest, whether among monarchies or republics; because, controlled by the law and Christianity of the

land, he could only rule over free men; the shadow of his scepter could no longer be polluted by falling on a slave. The law was appointed to take effect on the first of August, 1834.

And now let us turn aside and see this great sight, the emancipation in the solemn midnight hour of about 800,000 souls. The 31st of July came, 1834; *it was emancipation eve.* The negroes returned from their plantation labors at the usual hour. About ten o'clock they left the estates, and crowded the different chapels to hear their beloved missionaries; and their masters, to their honor be it recorded, ungrudgingly allowed them this privilege; it was certainly a graceful act on their part in this kindly manner to bid farewell to slavery; and all the more kindly considering the fears and excitements that had previously prevailed. Now was seen the wide extent of missionary influence, and its conservative power while it was still the foster-father of liberty; for though all the slaves were not converted, the Christian portion guided the movements of the whole, and brought all to the house of prayer. It was "a night much to be remembered," not by a destroying angel's visit, for it was the Lord's night of mercy, and in every island, "praise waited for God in Zion." The old Methodist watch-night service was employed on a new occasion, such as Mr. Wesley never contemplated when he held his first watch-night service at Kingswood, near Bristol. When wanting a few minutes of midnight, every one knelt down in silence; (O, who that was never a slave can conceive the emotions of slaves on the eve of such a tremendously glorious event to them;) at length the clock struck the solemn sound—one—two—three—four—five—six—seven—eight—nine—ten—eleven—twelve;—*and they were free. Slavery was over.* "Ethiopia" received her freedom on her knees; the chains fell off while she was literally "stretching out her hands unto God." *They knelt down slaves, they rose up freemen.* Their *first utterances* when free were thanksgivings to Jehovah, the several congregations in those many isles singing this noble doxology:

> "Praise God from whom all blessings flow,
> Praise him all creatures here below;
> Praise him above ye heavenly host,
> Praise, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

What music was that ascending to heaven at the midnight hour, in that unclouded atmosphere? Such strains for such an event had never been heard since the foundations of the earth were laid! One could imagine that angels suspended their songs in amazement at this new wonder which the Lord had done, and this wondrous praise,

till as it ceased below they burst forth with new raptures of "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men." One could imagine (perhaps it is not imagination) that "the spirits of the just made perfect" hushed their harps to listen; and that then prophets, and apostles, and Coke, and glorified missionaries, and all the redeemed, "cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb:" "for he hath saved the souls of the needy; he hath redeemed their soul from deceit and violence; and precious hath their blood been in his sight."

So ended slavery in the British empire! Were not a people who could *so* receive freedom *prepared* to be free? We were not then in the West Indies, but in Southern Africa; and we witnessed *the religious termination of slavery in that country.* Business was suspended, and all the places of worship were opened in the morning in Graham's Town. Early in the afternoon an Auxiliary Bible Society was formed; and the day closed with a public prayer-meeting of all denominations united in the Wesleyan Chapel. At five in the afternoon, the colonists held a public tea-meeting. And now a most pleasant incident occurred; we witnessed the gratifying spectacle. Twelve young men genteely clothed, who had that day receive emancipation, came forward with *a request that they might be allowed to perform their first act as freemen, by voluntarily waiting on the company as servants, in honor of the nation which had made them free!* Were not men of such nobility of mind worthy of liberty? Since emancipation, *slaveholders have themselves emerged into freedom;* the slave has lost his fetters, and the master has lost his fears. Incendiarism and insurrections are now unknown. "They sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none maketh them afraid." This is *the crowning compensation* for doing the thing that is right in the eyes of the Lord, and is quite equal in value to the twenty millions of wealth which a guilty nation laid as an expiatory offering upon the altar. Every man now finds his place in the commonwealth settled, not by his descent, or the color of his skin, but by his ability and worth; instead of a rivalry of race there is a rivalry of merit; and Lord Nelson's noble motto, "Let merit bear the palm," has ample scope for illustration.

When the struggle was over, it was well said by Mr. Buxton, at a Missionary Meeting in London:

"Let it not be supposed that we give the praise of the abolition of slavery to Mr. Wilberforce, or to Mr. Macaulay, or to any man. I know the obligations we owe them; but the voice of the Christian people of England was the *instrument* of victory. Its *author*, however, was not of human race, but, infinite in power; *what His mercy decreed, His fiat effected.*"

Art. III.—THE POET AND THE DREAMER.

1. *The Faerie Queen*, by Edmund Spenser.
2. *The Pilgrim's Progress*, by John Bunyan.

Language, as well as dress, has its fashion. A simple mode of expression would have been thought rustical by the admirers of Sidney's Arcadia, and have been considered as ungraceful as the scanty drapery and shorn tresses of the Empress Josephine's court would now appear in that of the English queen. It was once deemed a refinement in France to call dinner "the meridianal necessity," and the sun "the amiable illuminator," when, instead of being asked to seat yourself, you were told to "fulfill the desire which the chair has to embrace you," when horses were called "plushed coursers," the ear "the gate of hearing," the cheek "the throne of modesty," and the hat "a buckler against the weather." Akin to this frivolous pedantry were the "taffeta phrases" at one time so much in vogue in the court of Queen Elizabeth, which Sir Walter Scott ridiculed in the character of Piercie Shafton, the euphuist. But this perversion of language was only temporary. A better taste soon prevailed, and the age which produced Bacon, Shakspeare, and Spenser, spurned such fantastic jargon. Still the language was vitiated by foreign intermixture when the Pilgrim's Progress appeared. It is a book in which the soul of the writer was fused, and it drew other hearts to it, as a blossoming plant attracts the elements which nourish it. Written in the familiar idiomatic style which the people understood, it took hold of the popular mind with a grasp which has never been relaxed.

Yet, admirable as its pure and vigorous Saxon is now esteemed, there was a time when the Pilgrim's Progress was looked upon as a book for the cottage and the nursery alone. The wits of Queen Anne's day smiled to hear Dr. Johnson say that the narratives of De Foe and Bunyan, two authors who had much in common, and who now sleep together in Bunhill fields, were the only ones he had ever read which he could have wished longer. Even after such a testimony from the great critic, Cowper dared not allude to Bunyan except enigmatically, lest he should provoke the facile sneer. Southey had not then written the life of "the glorious old dreamer" in his lucid English, nor had Macaulay placed him beside the author of Paradise Lost, and pronounced theirs the only creative minds of

the latter part of the seventeenth century. To use one of Bunyan's own similitudes, "the precious stone was covered over with a homely crust." Art has since encircled it with costly settings, and genius has given form and color to its beautiful creations. It has been said that "allegory has defects so inherent and unconquerable that the English taste turns from it in its fairest forms;" and the question has been asked, "If Spenser could not bend the bow, what hand may try?" What the poet, with all his classic lore and rich command of words could not always effect, has been done by an untrained and unlettered mind. By instilling into his story the vital element of his own experience he gave it a human interest, and "in making the imaginations of his own mind become the personal recollections of another's," he accomplished what is said to be the highest miracle of genius. Others have vainly essayed to follow the illiterate tinker. Their imitations have been as brief as the rose's bloom; while the remark which has been made of Chaucer's Pilgrims is yet more true of Bunyan's: "their garments have not decayed, neither have their shoes waxed old," after a travel of many years. This book is now translated into every living language, not excepting the barbarous Feejeean; and the interest it excites in minds of the highest grade, proves the truth of Coleridge's assertion, that "intense study of the Bible will prevent any writer from being vulgar in point of style." It also confirms the principle which Ruskin would inculcate when he says that "Tintoret, although the most powerful, was not the most perfect of painters, because he was destitute of religious feeling, with its accompanying perception of beauty."

> "Such flowers can grow
> In that sole garden where Christ's brow dropp'd blood."

But while the Pilgrim's Progress is now prized by the cultivated and intelligent, its peculiar charm is for those who first read it in the golden days of childhood. Then truly it becomes,

> "Bound up like pictures in our book of life,"

and its scenes and actors are not visions, but obvious realities. We still remember how perfect and entire those forms of beauty and of terror stood out before us, as we read the wondrous drama for the first time, by a lonely lamp on a winter's eve. How they played and wrestled with the flickering shadows on the wall! How wild they looked by the varying fire-light! Sunny faces were there and dragons horrible; forms dark as midnight, and others as brilliant as the figures of an ancient missal. Dreaded was the order to go

to bed, for our way lay through passages of shadowy gloom, like the valley in which Christian fought with Apollyon, and our flesh crept at the thought that the monster might possibly stand in bodily shape before us. And Great Heart, the chivalrous knight, the spiritual Bayard, *sans peur, sans reproche*, who alternately helped the women, comforted the children, fought giants, and backed the lions, how strangely he became identified in our minds with the itinerant minister who laid his hand upon our head and talked to us of heaven! How we longed to travel with him to the Celestial City; to sit in the arbor on the side of the hill, and drink of the spring at its foot; to go with him to the Palace Beautiful, there to sleep in the Chamber of Peace; and to walk in the King's Garden among "trees of frankincense and all chief spices."

The holy man did not know what a material image of heaven his words evoked, and could not dream that we had long been inquiring in what direction the Celestial City lay, while we only received jeering answers in return.

We put aside the book as our literary stores increase, but we are apt to return to it when the mind awakens to strong spiritual influences. If the panorama then appears "less gross and bodily" it is not less impressive. We looked at it first through the eyes of the imagination, but now we follow the author's advice, and

"Lay the book, and head, and heart together."

The picture-gallery of our childhood becomes the monitor and guide of our youth, and we place it only below the One Inspired Book. We study them together, and the Pilgrim's Progress seems like "a casket of jewels of which we have just found the key." We find an echo of heaven in the words. The writer appears like an instrument touched by an unseen hand, and we think of Blake, the dying artist, who, with melodies supernaturally sweet upon his lips, continually exclaimed, "They are not mine, my beloved! my Catharine, they are not mine!"

We have often known this book of power called for by the dying believer; we have heard him ask to have Christian's passage over the river read to him when his feet were touching its waves, and he has spoken of the comfort it gave him, while he wondered that one in the fullness of his strength could so truly describe the shadowy land.

The Lord has said, "What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." It seemed a grievous thing, in days when vice was rampant, and virtue needed all the aid the preached word can give, that Bunyan's tongue of fire should be silenced, and that he

should be torn from his family and pastoral charge to bear a long captivity in Bedford Jail. But from the blossom, sorrow, springs forth the richest fruit. Through that captivity, painful and unjust, the Pilgrim's Progress came to us, and perhaps all the sermons that its author might otherwise have preached, would not have benefited the world like this one precious volume. Uttered words perish and are forgotten, but the pen transfixes them, and printing is the amber to preserve them for succeeding generations.

It is pleasant to turn from Bunyan, the magician of our childhood, to Spenser, the favorite poet of our youth. We have often wondered that the coincidences between them should not have been fully traced, although the two are often named together, and Bunyan has been styled "the Spenser of the people." To us it appears as evident that Bunyan had read, at least the first book of the Faerie Queen, as that Chaucer had read Boccaccio, or Milton, Dante. We cannot but think that it in some degree molded his narrative and colored his descriptions, for there are parallelisms that would hardly have occurred otherwise, although there is no borrowing and no imitation. On the contrary, it is interesting to observe how kindred minds, with dissimilar culture and circumstances, follow a train of thought along a given track, alike, yet unlike. Each in this instance pursues the topic according to his own peculiar character and station in life. Bunyan's is the style of a simple man of humble pretensions; Spenser's that of one of high station and chivalrous affinities. There is contrast as well as similitude between them.

It has been said that "Spenser should be read as he wrote, in the sun." We first read him in summer, in the shadow of "broad, embracing trees," and his pictures, "warm as the glow of a Tuscan vintage," brought back the memory of our early friend. It was he, wearing the same features, but clad in another costume, and withal less cordial and glowing, more stately and reserved. Our rustic favorite in his undressed genius, had become a polished courtier.

Under very different aspects are the heroes of Spenser and Bunyan introduced to our notice. The taste of the reader is charmed by the description of The Red Cross Knight,

> "Yclad in mighty arms and silver shield,"

going forward

> "To prove his puissance in battle brave."

But we look upon him as an actor in some splendid pageant soon to open before us, while our sympathy is awakened by Bunyan's poor trembling wretch, clothed in rags and uttering his

lamentable cries. He is our brother; bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh. Although both authors present Divine truth in charming symbolism, yet the same difference exists between Spenser and Bunyan, as has been observed between the portraits of Titian and Reynolds, where one is said to give you real people, and the other their reflection. Bunyan's pilgrim is a reality; Spenser's knight a conception. And there is as strong a contrast between the silver melody of Spenser's verse, and the direct and homely style of Bunyan's prose, as may possibly have existed between the neat and delicate chirography of the poet and the jagged letters of the dreamer. We do not know that the handwriting of the former exists, but the cramped and uneven penmanship of the latter is well known.

We turn now from the contrast to the resemblances between our two authors; resemblances at times but faint and fleeting, and then again vivid and distinct. We have followed the pilgrim through the miry slough, and see with sorrow that wrong counsel has led him from the right path. We tremble for him when he stands confused and frightened, "hard by the hill that did seem so high," afraid to advance or recede. Did a vision of Mount Sinai suggest the description both of the poet and the dreamer? The one tells us, "It did seem so high, and did hang so much over, that Christian was afraid lest it should fall upon his head; and there came flashes of fire out of the hill, . . . and words and fire that made the hair of his flesh stand up;" and the other speaks of

> "The highest mount
> Such one as that same mighty man of God———
> Dwelt forty days upon; where, writ in stone
> With bloody letters by the hand of God,
> The bitter doom of death and baleful moan
> He did receive, while flashing fire around him shone."
>
> Book I, Canto X, v. 53.

We modernize the spelling in our extracts, although we think that the antique drapery beautifies the sentiment.

Extricated from his embarrassment by the words of Evangelist, who directs him to the light before him, Christian "in process of time arrived at the gate. He knocked there more than once or twice. At last there came a grave person to the door, named Good Will." When Spenser's Una leads her wounded knight to the House Holiness, which answers to the House Beautiful in the Pilgrim's Progress, we are told

> "The door they found fast lock'd,
> ———but when they knock'd
> The porter open'd unto them straightway."

while

> "The aged sire all hoary gray,
> With looks full lowly cast,"—Book I, Canto X, v. 5.

is certainly not unlike the sedate porter who admitted Christian. Christian passes onward to the Interpreter's House, where, among other profitable things, he sees "the picture of a very grave person, hanging on the wall, with eyes lifted up to heaven;" and Spenser tells us of one that

> "Ever up to heaven, as she did pray,
> Her steadfast eyes were bent, nor swervéd other way."
> Book I, Canto X, v. 14.

At the foot of the Hill Difficulty, our pilgrim found three men sleeping. "Christian then seeing them lie in this case, went to them, if peradventure he might wake them." But his efforts to rouse them were unsuccessful. They only looked upon him drowsily and gave dreamy answers, until Christian, after crying aloud to them in vain, "went on his way." This scene is almost exactly described in the Faerie Queen, Book I, Canto I, v. 42:

> "The messenger approaching to him spake,
> But his waste words return'd to him in vain;
> So sound he slept that naught might him awake.
> Then rudely he him thrust and pusht with pain;
> Whêreat he 'gan to stretch; but he again
> Shook him so hard that forcéd him to speak.
> As one then in a dream, whose drier brain
> Is tost with troubled sights and fancies weak,
> He mumbled soft, but would not all his silence break."

Spenser tells us of the

> "narrow way,
> Scatter'd with bushy thorns and rugged briers;"

and Bunyan tells us that the path before Christian was "a narrow way that lay right up the hill, and the name of the way," he adds, "is called Difficulty."

The "narrow way" is safely scaled, notwithstanding "the great wood" on the one side, and the "dark mountains" on the other. But Mistrust and Timorous, aghast with terror, come "running to meet Christian amain," with the report of lions in the way, and expressing their determination to go back, for "the further we go," say they, "the more dangers we meet with." "So Mistrust and Timorous ran down the hill."

In correspondence with this description is that which Spenser gives of Trevisan, in Book I, Canto IX, v. 21, 22. He comes running toward the knight,

"Trembling in every joint;"

and

"Still as he fled his eyes were backward cast,
As if his fear still followed him behind.
Nigh as he drew they might perceive
—— his hairs
Upstaring stiff.——
No drop of blood in all his face appears,
Nor life in limb."

This description of "the frightened varlet" reminds us of the wood-cut engravings that illustrated the Holy War and the early editions of the Pilgrim's Progress, so well calculated to put a timid child into the "misseeming plight" of the trembling coward.

After many sore trials Christian "lifted up his eyes, and behold there was a very stately house before him, the name of which was called Beautiful, and it stood by the highway side."

Here we are furnished with one of Bunyan's sweetly suggestive pictures. The day is closing, the last streak of light is fading in the West, a pale star glimmers in the sky. The roar of the lions is heard, but a refuge is at hand. The porter calls to him from the lodge, invites him to the house, and directs him to the entrance, where he is met by "a grave and beautiful damsel named Discretion." The Palace Beautiful, with its virgin sisters, is Spenser's

"Ancient house,
Renown'd throughout the world for sacred lore,
And pure unspotted life."—Book I, Canto X, v. 3.

The grave and beautiful damsel answers to one of our poet's heroines:

"Medina was her name;
A sober, sad, and comely, courteous dame.
Fair marching forth in honorable wise,
Him at the threshold met, and well did enterprise."
Book II, Canto II, v. 14.

Before Christian leaves the House Beautiful we must go up with him to the roof, and take a view of Emmanuel's Land. In brief words has Bunyan given us a landscape replete with beauty, over which Spenser would long have lingered, for he describes where Bunyan only indicates. He would have specified every variety of foliage "in that mountainous country beautified with woods," and told of

"The sayling pine, the cedar proud and tall,
The vine-prop elm, the poplar never dry,
The builder oak, sole king of forest tall,
The aspin good for staves, the cypress funeral."
Book I, Canto II, v. 8.

Spenser delights in trees, and often places his lovely lady in their softening shadow. He would have minutely painted "the vineyards and fruits of all sorts, flowers, springs, and fountains, delectable to behold," which Bunyan merely names; but if it requires more skill to sketch a picture with a few careless strokes, than by many and careful touches, Bunyan must be considered the superior artist. Moreover, we must remember that the Faerie Queen was written amid the rich and varied scenery which surrounded the castle of Spenser in Ireland, and that the silver Mulla and the leafy shadow of its banks are thought to be reflected in the poem. But ideal beauty followed Bunyan into a somber dungeon. He had no natural pictures to stimulate his fancy; his stony walls bore no impressions of the lovely scenes with which he regales his readers. But he who made a flute out of the leg of a stool, and drew sweet music from it, required no outward circumstances to aid his genius. He wove tag laces throughout the day, but the eyes of his mind beheld other objects. He saw "the meadows beautified with lilies," and heard the birds sing and the fountains fall, as he followed his homely employment. Both he and Spenser appear to have had a peculiar love for lilies. Bunyan's green grass is frequently spangled with them, and Spenser often alludes to "the lady of the flowery fields."

Bunyan had no time for lavish description. He groups charming objects together, but does not allow them to lure him from the goal on which his eye is fixed. They are not lost upon him, "the green valley," "the springs that rise up out of the top of the hill," "the rainbow caused by the sun," "the bright and twinkling stars," "the vineyards with purple grapes," "the voice of the turtle-dove," and "the song of the bird." All these he mentions, and his senses and his soul rejoice in them. But his object was to instruct.

> "The bloody cross,
> The dear remembrance of his dying Lord,"

which Spenser's knight wore upon his breast, Bunyan carried in his heart, and it was his sole object to lead his readers to it. Spenser, on the contrary, through the exuberance of his imagination and his command of musical words, often wearies his reader by tedious description. In the account of Christian's battle with Apollyon in the Valley of Humiliation, the coincidence with Spenser becomes more striking and distinct than before. "The foul fiend" meets him at its entrance. "He had wings like a dragon," says Bunyan.

> "His foe a dragon horrible and stern,"

writes Spenser, in his account of a battle between the knight and a foe not unlike Apollyon. Book I, Canto XI, v. 9.

"He was clothed with scales, and they are his pride," continues Bunyan; while Spenser describes one who

> "Over all with brazen scales was arm'd,
> Like plated coats of steel, so couchéd near
> That naught might pierce; nor might his corse be harm'd
> With dint of sword, nor push of pointed spear."
> Book I, Canto XI, v. 9.

"Then did Christian draw when Apollyon made at him." In like manner the Red Cross Knight,

> "Then when he saw no power might prevail,
> His trusty sword he call'd to his last aid."

But, in spite of his brave defense, Christian is wounded "in his head, and his hands, and his feet." The knight fares no better.

> "The wrathful beast about him turnéd light,
> And him so rudely pushing by, did brush
> With his long tail, that horse and man to ground did rush."

"Christian again took courage, and resisted as manfully as he could;" and so also did his counterpart, for

> "Horse and man up lightly rose again,
> And fresh encounter toward him address'd."

"This sore combat lasted for about half a day, even till Christian was almost quite spent;" while for two whole days Spenser's hero was as sorely beset.

Christian at last gives his enemy "a dreadful thrust," and the sword of the knight likewise

> "Wrought a wound full wide"

upon his adversary.

As Apollyon, at the end of the combat, "spread forth his dragon wings and flew away," so of the knight's foe it is said,

> "His flaggy wings, when forth he did display,
> Were like two sails in which the hollow wind
> Is gather'd full."

"No man can imagine what yelling and hideous roaring Apollyon made," says Bunyan; while Spenser similarly speaks,

> "He cried as raging seas are wont to roar,
> When wintry storm his wrathful wreck does threat."

"Then came to him a hand with some of the leaves of the tree of life, the which Christian took and applied to the wounds he had received in the battle, and was healed immediately," says Bunyan,

in evident allusion to that tree of life which grew in the garden of Eden, and which is seen no more in the Bible till its closing page. Thus Spenser celebrates its healing qualities:

> "There grew a goodly tree him fair beside,
> Loaden with fruit, and apples rosy red
> As they in pure vermilion had been dyed;
> Whereof great virtues over all were redd
> For happy life to all which thereon fed;
> And life eke everlasting did befall.
> Great God it planted in that blessed stedd [soil]
> With his almighty hand, and did it call
> The tree of life——

> "In all the world like was not to be found,
> Save in that soil where all good things did grow,
> And freely sprang out of the fruitful ground,
> As incorrupted nature did them sow,
> Till that great dragon all did overthrow.

> "From that first tree forth flow'd, as from a well,
> A trickling stream of balm, most soveraine
> And dainty dear, which on the ground still fell,
> And overflowéd all the fertile plain,
> As it had dewéd been with timely rain.
> Life and long health that gracious ointment gave,
> *And deadly wounds could heal.*"—Book I, Canto XI, v. 46-48.

After innumerable hardships and temptations, Christian walks with his beloved Hopeful by the River of the Water of Life. And they saw where "a path lay along the way on the other side of the fence." It was a path like that which Spenser graphically traces when he tells us

> "She found the trodden grass,
> In which the track of people's footing was."

Our pilgrims find it "easy to their feet," and, like Spenser's actors,

> "— forth they pass'd, with pleasure forward led,
> Joying to hear the birds' sweet harmony,"

until, like them,

> "They cannot find the path which first was shown,
> But wander to and fro in ways unknown."
> Book I, Canto I, v. 10.

"And now it began to rain, and thunder, and lighten in a most dreadful manner, and the water rose amain."

So with Una and her escort:

> "As they past
> The day with clouds was sudden overcast,
> And angry Jove an hideous storm of rain
> Did pour."—Book I, Canto I, v. 6.

Christian and Hopeful fall asleep in the neighborhood of Doubting Castle, "the owner whereof was Giant Despair." The next day they were found on his grounds and bidden to go along with him. "So they were forced to go, because he was stronger than they." "The giant therefore drove them before him, and put them into his castle in a very dark dungeon." In like manner did the knight's

> "Monstrous enemy
> With sturdy steps come stalking in his sight;
> An hideous giant horrible and high,"

who

> "Him to his castle brought with hasty force,
> And in a dungeon deep threw him without remorse."
> Book I. Canto VII, v. 15.

While Christian and Hopeful lay in the dungeon, Mrs. Diffidence, the wife of Giant Despair, who in many respects is a reflected portrait of the false Duessa, advised her husband to tempt them "to make away with themselves." "So when morning was come he goes to them in a surly manner, as before, . . . and told them that since they were never like to come out of that place, their only way would be forthwith to make an end of themselves, either with knife, halter, or poison; 'for why,' said he, 'should you choose life, seeing it is attended with so much bitterness?'"

> "A man of hell that calls himself Despair"

is made by Spenser to offer his victims a like temptation.

> "He pluckt from us all hope of due relief
> That erst us held in love of lingering life.
> Then hopeless, heartless, 'gan the cunning thief
> Persuade us die to stint all further strife,
> To me he lent this rope, to him a rusty knife."
> Book I, Canto IX, v. 29.

The strong resemblance here can hardly be accidental. The scene in the Faerie Queen would be just the one calculated to make a deep impression upon the earnest mind of Bunyan, and it no doubt dwelt there, and, perhaps unconsciously, assisted him in the composition of the picture.

Hopeful's counsel to Christian "did moderate the mind of his brother," and deter him from yielding to the temptation to take away his life. In the same spirit the wise and pious Una beseeches her knight not to allow such thoughts to dismay him, while she sweetly asks,

> "In heavenly mercies has thou not a part?
> Why should'st thou then despair, who chosen art?"

and then appears to hold out the same key which enabled Christian to open his dungeon, when she proceeds:

"Where justice grows there grows eke greater grace,
The which doth quench the brand of hellish smart,
And that accurst handwriting doth efface.
Arise, Sir Knight, arise, and leave this hellish place."
Book I, Canto IX, v. 53.

Escaped from their thralldom, the pilgrims go on till they come to the Delectable Mountains. And here in a brief manner Bunyan has sketched a perfectly lovely scene. "The orchards and vineyards" rise up before us in dewy freshness, and "fountains of water" sparkle in sunny light. How picturesquely Spenser would have clothed the shepherds, who are simply said to have "fed their flocks by the wayside;" how minutely he would have described the pilgrims, who, we are quaintly told, "leaned upon their staves, as is common with weary pilgrims when they stand to talk with any by the way." Yet a picture more suggestive of pastoral beauty could scarcely be drawn. The pilgrims and the shepherds became a part of the landscape, which appears like an Arcadian view under an English sky. In the morning "the shepherds called up Christian and Hopeful to walk with them upon the mountains," where, among other objects, they were shown "the gates of the Celestial City, and some of the glory of the place."

Spenser's knight, too, from the top of a high hill, was favored with the view of "a goodly city," which answers to that which Christian saw, and is thus beautifully described:

"Whose walls and towers were builded high and strong,
Of pearl and precious stone, which earthly tongue
Cannot describe, nor wit of man can tell.
The city of the Great King called well,
Wherein eternal peace and happiness doth dwell.

"As he thereon stood gazing he might see
The blessed angels to and fro descend
From highest heaven in gladsome company,
And with great joy unto that city wend,
As commonly as friend does with his friend."

When the knight, lost in wonder, asked,

"What stately building durst so high extend
Her lofty towers unto the starry sphere,
And what unknown nation there empeopled were?"

he was answered

"That is
The new Jerusalem, that God has built
For those to dwell in that are chosen his.
His chosen people, purged from sinful guilt
With precious blood, which cruelly was spilt
On cursed tree, of that unspotted lamb
That for the sins of all the world was kilt.

Now are they saints in all that city sam, [together,]
More dear unto their God than younglings to their dam."
Book I, Canto X, v. 55-57.

In passing, we may here notice a faint family likeness between Bunyan's "very brisk lad," Ignorance, so full of self-conceit, vapid talk, and real worthlessness, and Spenser's amusing and life-like character of Braggadocia.

And now we come to scenes upon which Bunyan was prone to look through the perspective glass, which he has put in the hands of his pilgrims. But their hands shook, and the objects they wished to behold, were in consequence not clearly visible. But through the mirror of God's word, they had become very distinct to the mind of Bunyan.

He lived in the land of Beulah. This, to him, was not an ideal image, but an actual reality. "His fiction was truth." The air of the country was as "sweet and pleasant" to him as it was to his aged pilgrims. But they are summoned thence to cross the dark river, and he leaves them not. He resolves not only to accompany them to its banks, but to go up with them on the other side. It was a daring attempt, but he probably might have said, with Elizabeth Barrett, "the subject and the glory covering it swept through the gates, and I stood full in it against my will." It was well that the curtain was raised by such reverend hands. Like one with anointed eyes, he goes on to describe "the glorious companions and shining ones" who met the pilgrims joyfully, and bore them to the Celestial City amid heavenly music, unutterably sweet. So our poet, also, in sweet and lofty cadence alludes to supernal sights and sounds, in a manner that justifies one of his admirers in remarking, that "great injustice is done to Spenser when, bewildered in the mazes of his inexhaustable creations, or by the brightness of his exuberant fancy, we see in the Faerie Queen nothing more than a wondrous fairy tale, a wild romance, or a glorious pageant of chivalry. Beyond all this, far within is an inner life, and that is breathed in it from the Bible."

"And is there care in heaven, and is there love
In heavenly spirits to these creatures base
That may compassion to their evils move?
There is, else much more wretched were the case
Of men than beasts. But O! th' exceeding grace
Of highest God, that loves his creatures so,
And all his works with mercy doth embrace,
That blessed angels he sends to and fro,
To serve to wicked man, to serve his wicked foe!

"How oft do they their silver bowers leave
To come to succor us that succor want!

How oft do they with golden pinions cleave
The flitting skies, like flying pursuivant,
Against foul fiends to aid us militant!
They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,
And their bright squadrons round about us plant;
And all for love, and nothing for reward:
O why should heavenly God to man have such regard!"
Book I, Canto VIII, v. 1, 2.

When we read these lines we do not wonder that two commentators on the Scriptures quote them in their notes, or that Mr. Wesley recommended the Faerie Queen to be read with other books by a young lady, who had asked him to prescribe a course of reading to her.

Christian and Hopeful vanish from our eyes, but the wife and children of Christian tread in his footprints, and again

"The pilgrim's staff
Gives out green leaves with living dews impearl'd."

In the second part of the Pilgrim's Progress we again see traces of Spenser, and gather flowers, perfumed with a diviner air, from the wreaths he was wont to weave. The hospitable reception of Christiana and her children at the house of the Interpreter, where "one smiled, and another smiled, and they all smiled for joy, that Christiana had become a pilgrim," and where they also looked upon the boys, and stroked them over their faces with their hands, in token of their kind reception," and "bade all welcome to their master's house," may be very well expressed in Spenser's own words:

"Where them does meet a Franklin fair and free,
And entertains with comely, courteous glee;
And in his speeches and behaviour he
Did labor lively to express the same,
And gladly did them guide, till to the hall they came."
Book I, Canto X, v. 6.

Conducted by their guide to the Palace Beautiful, they are laid to sleep in the Chamber of Peace, where they are soothed with music such as Spenser describes:

"An heavenly noise,
Heard sound through all the palace pleasantly,
Like as it had been many an angels' voice
Singing before the Eternal Majesty——
Yet wist no creature whence that heavenly sweet
Proceeded, yet each one felt secretly——
—— ravish'd with rare impression on his sprite."
Book I, Canto XII, v. 39.

Did Bunyan bethink him of Una's request to Charissa, to "school her knight in the virtuous rules of the house," when he makes

Prudence ask Christiana's leave to catechise her children? Charissa and Prudence resemble each other in being prone to teach

> "Every good behest
> Of love and righteousness."—Book I, Canto X, v. 23.

Perhaps this is the place to speak, although we attach but little importance to the fact, of the coincidence in names which appears in the Pilgrim's Progress and the Faerie Queen. There would naturally be an accordance where each author personifies abstract virtues and vices. They both have an Ignorance, an Hypocrisy, a Humility, a Despair; and the name of Sans Foy, though so different in character, cannot fail to recall the Little Faith of Bunyan. For "my old Lord Lechery" of Vanity Fair we have

> "Lechery
> Upon a bearded goat,"

in Spenser. Of Mercy, the sweet maiden who, Ruth-like, leaves her people and her country to cling to Christiana, we are told, "her custom was to make coats and garments to give to the poor," and, "when she had nothing to do for herself, she would be making of hose and garments for others, and bestow them upon them that had need." And of one of Spenser's personages it is said,

> "Her name was Mercy, well known over all,
> To be both gracious and eke liberal."—Book I, Canto X, v. 34.

At the House Beautiful the eldest son of Christiana fell sick. "His sickness was sore upon him," says Bunyan, in his homeliest manner; "he was pulled as it were both ends together." He had eaten fruit which he should not have touched; and the knight of Spenser is also a sufferer for indulgence in forbidden pleasures:

> "—— his torment was so great
> That like a lion he would cry and roar,
> And rend his flesh."—Book I, Canto X, v. 28.

Mr. Skill, "an ancient and well-approved physician," was hastily sent for to administer to Matthew; and for the knight they

> "Straightway sent with careful diligence,
> To fetch a leech; the which had great insight
> In that disease,———
> And well could cure the same."—Book I, Canto X, v. 23.

The ensuing lines of Spenser, as may be seen by comparing the two accounts, describe the course taken by Matthew's physician as accurately as possible, only that Bunyan goes into more particulars.

"—— All that noy'd his heavy sprite
Well search'd, eftsoon he 'gan apply relief
Of salves and medicine, which had passing prief."
Book I, Canto X, v. 24.

When the party of pilgrims were preparing to leave the place in which they had been so kindly entertained, many rarities were shown them. Among these was "a golden anchor." "So they bade Christiana take it down, for said they, 'You shall have it with you, for it is of absolute necessity that you should, that you may lay hold of that within the vail.'" Of the knight it is said,

"—— wise Sperenza gave him comfort sweet,
And taught him how to take assuréd hold
Upon her silver anchor."—Book I, Canto X, v. 22.

Again we enter the Valley of Humiliation, but it seems different from the place through which Christian walked. For Christiana and Mercy it is a spot all placid and serene, where the little shepherd boy wears "the herb called heart's-ease in his bosom," and where "a man shall be free from the noise and from the hurryings of this life." "I love to be in such places," said Mercy, "where there is no rattling with coaches, nor rumbling of wheels."

"—— A pleasant dale that lowly lay
Between two hills,"

says Spenser of a similar place.

From this lovely spot they came to the Valley of the Shadow of Death, through which they passed, terrified by undefined shapes of horror, like to those

"Legions of spirits out of darkness dread,"

which were called forth by Hypocrisy to do his bidding.—Book I, Canto I, v. 38.

At the end of the valley Giant Maul issues from his cave, and comes toward the travelers. "Mr. Great Heart went to meet him, and as he went he drew his sword, but the giant had a club. So without more ado they fell to it," says Bunyan.

"Therewith the giant buckled him to fight,
Inflamed with scornful wrath and high disdain,
And lifting up his dreadful club on hight
All arm'd with ragged snubbs and knotty grain,
Him thought at first encounter to have slain,"

says Spenser, describing a like engagement, (Book I, Canto VIII, v. 7,) "The first blow struck Mr. Great Heart down upon one of his knees," but he, "recovering himself, laid about him in full, lusty

manner, and gave the giant a wound in his arm;" while Spenser's hero, attacking the enemy

> "With blade all burning bright
> Smote off his arm;"—Book I, Canto VIII, v. 10.

and the battle in each concludes with the slaying of the giant. "The women and children rejoiced, and Mr. Great Heart praised God for the deliverance he had wrought."

> "Then 'gan triumphant trumpets sound on high,
> That sent to heaven the echoéd report
> Of their new joy and happy victory."
> Book I, Canto XII, v. 4.

They come to Doubting Castle, the grim old fortress in which Christian and Hopeful had been immured, and which Great Heart resolves to demolish. Prince Arthur has also a castle to storm, but he commences his attack in a different manner from Mr. Great Heart, and it is interesting to see how each writer preserves his identity in going over the same ground. The squire of Spenser's knight, finding "the castle gates fast shut," in accordance with the laws of chivalry, took

> "The horn of bugle small,
> Which hung adown his side in twisted gold,
> And tassels gay,"—Book I, Canto VIII, v. 3.

and blew a piercing blast, which made the castle quake and opened the gate at once.

Spenser proceeds:

> "The giant, self-dismayéd with that sound,
> In haste comes rushing from the inner bower
> With staring countenance stern, as one astound,
> And staggering steps; ——
> And after him the proud Duessa came."

> "Therewith the giant buckled him to fight,
> Inflamed with scornful wrath and high disdain,
> And lifting up his *dreadful* club on high,
> Him thought in first encounter to have slain."*

> "Then when his dear Duessa heard and saw
> The evil stownd [moment] that danger'd her estate,
> Unto his aid she suddenly did draw."
> Book I, Canto VIII, v. 5-8.

We have not interrupted the narration here to mark the correspondence between Spenser and Bunyan. It will be seen as we go

* We have previously given this quotation where it applies quite as well as here.

on to describe Great Heart's attack. No squire, with horn of gold and baldrick gay, had he to announce his approach; no pricking coursers, nor "purple and violet plumes" were there. Great Heart's company was composed of only a few footsore, though faithful and honest-hearted pilgrims. "When Great Heart and his company came to the castle gate, they knocked for entrance with an unusual noise. With that the giant comes to the gate, and Diffidence, his wife," (like Duessa,) "follows."

"Now Giant Despair, because he was a giant, thought no one could overcome him. . . . So he harnessed himself and went out; . . . he came out in iron shoes, with a great club in his hand. . . . Then these six men went up to him to beset him, . . . and Diffidence, the giantess, came up to help him."

The Prince and Great Heart were both successful. Doubting Castle was destroyed, and two wretched prisoners released. "In it of pilgrims they found one Mr. Despondency, almost starved to death, and one Mrs. Much-Afraid, his daughter: these two they saved alive." Spenser, in correspondence with Bunyan, tells us of the search for captives, which resulted in finding the adventurous knight, with whom Spenser's story opens, immured in a horrible prison,

> "A rueful spectacle of death and ghastly drere——
> His bare, thin cheeks for want of better bits,
> And empty sides deceivéd of their due,
> Could make a stony heart his hap to rue."
>
> Book I, Canto VIII, v. 41.

And Spenser proceeds to relate how

> "—— all the floor——
> With blood of guiltless babes and innocents true,
> Which there were slain as sheep out of the fold,
> Defiléd was;"

while Bunyan says, "It would have made you wonder to have seen the dead bodies that lay here and there in the castle yard, and how full of dead men's bones the dungeon was." No wonder that the pilgrims were jocund and merry, when such a tower of abomination was leveled.

"Now Christiana," continues the genial old dreamer, "could play upon the viol, and her daughter Mercy upon the lute; so, since they were so merry disposed, she played them a lesson, and Ready-to-Halt would dance. So he took Despondency's daughter, Much-Afraid, by the hand, and to dancing they went in the road. . . . He footed it well; also the girl was to be commended, for she answered the music handsomely." We presume that those of us who are most opposed

to dancing would hardly object to it under such circumstances, and with such a spirit. No ascetic was John Bunyan, with all his serious, earnest, intense views of eternity. His cheerful, loving nature is ever breaking forth in his narrative. We smile as often as we weep, at his artless naîveté and overflowing humor. He is an April day in which "gloom and glory meet together." Did the female sex ever have a nobler compliment given them than his? "I will say again, that when the Saviour was come women rejoiced in him, before either man or angel. I read not that ever man did give unto Christ so much as one groat; but the women followed him, and did minister unto him of their substance. It was a woman that washed his feet with tears, and a woman that anointed his body to the burial. They were women that wept when he was going to the cross, and women that followed him from the cross, and that sat by his sepulcher when he was buried: They were women that were first with him at the resurrection morn, and women that brought tidings first to his disciples that he was risen from the dead. Women, therefore, are highly favored, and show by these things that they are sharers with us in the grace of life." This lump of pure gold has been beaten very thin in some modern verses, without any credit being giving to the author of the sentiment.

Dancing and music in like manner celebrated the victory of Sir Guyon, another of Spenser's many knights-errant:

"All dancing in a row
The comely virgins came, with garlands dight, [dressed,]
As fresh as flowers in meadow green doth grow
When morning dew upon their leaves doth light,
And in their hands sweet timbrels all upheld on hight.

"And them, before the fry of children young,
Their wanton sports, and childish mirth did play,
And to the maidens' sounding timbrels sung,
In well attunéd notes, a joyous lay,
And made delightful music all the way."

Book I, Canto XII, v. 7.

We had begun this article before we saw Mr. Macaulay's very positive assertion that John Bunyan had never read The Faerie Queen, and that "a detailed examination" would convince any one of the fact. A detailed examination has confirmed our opinion to the contrary, but we leave it to others to decide whether the Dreamer had ever read the verses of the Poet.

Art. IV.—THE MORAL VALUE OF A MATERIAL WORLD.

Man is a spirit linked to a clod. His soul is like angels, like God himself, without weight or magnitude. In this part of his nature all his real power resides. Here lies the ability to perceive, remember, and reason, to will and to do, to enjoy happiness or suffer pain. Here holiness dwells, or sin reigns. The soul is the man. Of itself the body is a mass of inert, passive matter, deriving importance only from its connection with the unseen spirit. It has long been the fashion to speak of the body with contempt, and to bewail the degradation of the spirit in being compelled to drag this earthly clog after it in all its motions. The philosophers of one school declared matter essentially bad, unmanageable even by the power of God, an eternal obstacle in the path of Divine goodness, and the source of all evil. Even divines spoke of the body as the enemy of the soul, blinding its eyes, weighing upon its wings, and dragging it down from its heavenward flight. Hence arose the hermit seclusions of one set of dreamers, and the multiplied fasts and flagellations of others. It was deemed a virtue to lash and starve the body, and he was considered the nearest heaven, whose bones bore the least of earth.

But is this a correct view of the case? Is the union of the soul with matter an unmixed evil? Is the body a mere board tied before the eyes, or a weight bound to the neck of an unruly beast? Has this strange marriage of the material and the immaterial no beauty, no philosophy? Is it the creation of the Divine will, but not the Divine wisdom? What bearing has it upon human life and probation? It pleased God, ages, it may be, before the creation of man, to call into existence cherubim and seraphim, and "an innumerable company of angels." These, so far as the record informs us, were created spirits, untrammeled with material bodies. They nevertheless had a law and a probation suited to their nature, and some of them "kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation," and are now "reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." Others have kept their first estate, and now form the angelic "host of God." They are the "thousand thousands" that minister unto the Ancient of days, the "ten thousand times ten thousand" that stand before the throne of flame. But if a spirit can live, move, and have its being, be holy or unholy, undergo a probation and receive its reward, without a material body, or a material world, why has our Creator, in forming

man, departed from former modes? It is often said that God's works are varied and multiform; but does variation ever occur without reason? We would not take the ground, that our Creator has made us of spirit and matter both, because other modes of creation have proved of doubtful wisdom, or have been attended with unforeseen disasters. It is safe, however, for us to believe that, whatever means God may have employed to secure equivalent results in other cases, the union of the spiritual and the material in the formation of man, is a wise, benevolent, and beautiful element of his probationary life; and that, instead of bewailing our degradation, in being made dwellers upon the earth, we should rejoice, saying with the Psalmist, "*O Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all; the earth is full of thy riches.*"

But what are the peculiarities incident to life and probation in a material world, as distinguished from the probationary existence of spirits, unconnected with matter? It is evident that to attempt to investigate these things is to deal with shadows more than with substance, and to indulge in conjecture, rather than arrive at demonstration. Still, conjecture is sometimes allowable, even in Divine things; and if, in the present case, we attribute considerable importance to material things, it will be kept in mind that we value them only because God sees fit by their means to effect results which, it may be, Infinite Wisdom could have reached in a thousand other ways. God has adopted *this* mode, and though there may be many others, the wisdom and the beauty of this are none the less admirable. The question before us is, How is the probationary life of a human spirit affected by its being clothed in a material body, and placed in a material world?

1. The result which first strikes the mind is location, or confinement to a place. We learn from Revelation that spirits possess the power of motion. Of angels it is said that they are "all ministering spirits, *sent forth* to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation." Angels hastened Lot from the doomed city in which he dwelt, delivered Elisha from his enemies, and bore Lazarus to Abraham's bosom. At the day of judgment angels shall be sent forth to "gather together the elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other." Devils, too, can go from place to place. In the book of Job, Satan is addressed thus: "Whence comest thou?" He replies: "From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it." And at the end of the colloquy, "Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord." Angels and devils, then, not only appear and disappear, but come and go. They traverse space, but how, we know not; none of the laws pertaining to the motions

of material things will apply to them. And if they can move at all, we see nothing to limit their speed. The swift messengers of God may take the wings of the morning, may fly with the velocity of light to the uttermost parts of the earth, in an unappreciable point of time. A shining cohort may at one moment stand before the throne, in the heaven of heavens, adoring Him that sitteth thereon, and casting down their golden crowns before him; and the next may flash upon the darkening eyes of some dying Lazarus, and bear his soul from earth to paradise. Human spirits that have lived out their probationary life well, and have left their bodies on earth, to molder into dust, may possess the same power of motion. They may be able to outstrip the light. They may dart up to the stars with the quickness of thought, and soar among suns and systems as the strong eagle sails among the clouds. Newton and the kindred minds of the past, who rejoiced in the wonders wrought by creative wisdom, and to whose worshiping eyes the concave sky was but the dome of a vast temple, and every orb of night an altar of incense, may now be reveling in discoveries of which, in their lower life, they never dreamed; and to them the comets, those roving mysteries, the belts of Jupiter, the silver rings of Saturn, the zodiacal light, the evolutions of the periodic stars, the distant suns whose fires have paled and gone out, and those which have newly shot their beams down to the human eye, may be but the first steps of investigations now prosecuted among nebulæ as old as eldest creation, but whose first-born rays have not yet reached the earth.

But if angels, devils, and probably disembodied human spirits, possess powers of motion like these, then the effect of the body is to lessen greatly the mobility of the soul. In the flesh man is comparatively a very slow traveler, and confined to very narrow limits. The Divine hand molded a world for his home, and "and appointed his bounds, which he cannot pass." The spirit within may glance into space and long to explore its depths, but gravitation's strong but invisible chain tethers him to the earth. The body is a slow traveler, even upon the surface of the earth, the floor of its cage. It pants under its own weight, and the hill must be leveled, and the valley filled up, and the stream bridged, and recourse must be had to brute strength and to the power of wind and steam, to help on the tardy pace. We boast of the speed of modern travel, which often dashes the body in pieces in the vain attempt to make it keep up with the eager desires of the tireless spirit. Our present journeyings, therefore, as compared with what, without the body, they might be, are exceedingly slow in motion and limited in extent. Other incidental circumstances render us unwilling to rove even in the narrow circle

which our earthly nature allows. Local attachments, family, friends, possessions, interests tie us down, and, like plants, we take root in the soil, and resist removal.

And this feature of our probationary life has both meaning and value. All classes of theorists admit that a fixed population is more apt to be moral than a floating one. In the English penal colony of Botany Bay, men guilty of all descriptions of crime become moral, orderly, and industrious. Those who must stay and meet the consequences of their acts, have stronger motives to act well than those who are able to fly from justice. But this principle may be of wider application. It is evident that if man's whole being were as moveable as we have supposed the freed spirit to be, human law and human government would be impossible, and even the power of public opinion would be vain. A man might commit murder, and the next moment fly to Orion or the Pleiades; and a police whose "beat" comprised the solar system only, would not be very efficient conservators of law and order. To set man free thus from all responsibility to his fellow, would lessen his incentives to do right. His fixedness aids his conscience and strengthens his virtues. He cannot abandon his field and leave behind him the consequences of his evil deeds. Justice, with her sword and scales, and Rumor, with her ten thousand babbling tongues, are upon his track, and nowhere on earth can he find sure concealment. Like a soldier who knows that the bridge behind him is destroyed, he feels that there is no retreat. He cannot defy the justice of his fellows, he cannot be independent of public opinion, and he feels that his reputation and his property, his peace at home, and his reception abroad, depend upon the manner in which he performs his duties toward society.

But his fixedness and his materiality not only prompt him to be just toward those around him, but supply him with motives for words and deeds of benevolence. Conscience tells us that we ought to care for the moral condition of those around us; but self-regard shows us plainly that we must care for them. The good and the bad are launched in the same vessel, and in many respects control each other's welfare. The immortal spirit of the good man is wrapped up in a perishable, material body, which needs food, and raiment, and shelter. He therefore buys a field, and building a house thereon, becomes a resident. But the very hour in which he moves into his dwelling he finds his happiness at the mercy of those around him. Were he purely spirit, he need not care whether he was surrounded by the heavenly choirs, or the legions of Apollyon. Deriving his joys direct from God, he would be wholly above the

reach of evil men or evil spirits. But constituted as he is, goodness in those around him increases his enjoyment of life, while sin in others gives him trouble. Crime can ravage his fields, burn his dwelling, shed his blood, and ruin his children in body and soul. Go where he will, he finds no spot secure from the effects of sin in his fellow-men, nor one beyond the good influence of their virtues. His earthly nature lays him open to the inroads of evil, and he is like a snail that has been stripped of his shell. His exposure compels him to look with concern upon those around him, and desire that they may be peaceable, just, and benevolent. He is convinced by the severe logic of daily experience that "no man liveth to himself alone." He sees that to reclaim a sinner is not only to "hide a multitude of sins," but also to render his own well-being more safe. Thus a wise self-regard aids the benevolent virtues. For aught that we know, an angel's happiness is wholly independent of the action of his fellow angels. But human happiness here on earth is made up of a thousand elements. It spreads its network of nerves over a large space; and, like the tendrils of neighboring vines, the mental, moral, and social interests of the community meet and intertwine, and take hold of each other in a thousand different ways, and if the smallest fiber is rent the whole mass feels the attack. Thus the dependence and exposure which grow out of the materiality of man's nature, compel him to regard the interests of his fellows, and aid him in the practice of the noblest and best of social virtues. This feature of his probation surely is neither accidental nor valueless.

2. Man's earthly nature subjects him to various wants, to supply which demands mental and physical exertion. Spirits need not food, and drink, and shelter; and though both angels and devils may be ever busy, yet they do not *work*; "spirits ne'er can tire," and their action involves no weariness, and consequently no self-mastery. But the human soul is wrapped in a body which must be fed and clothed; industry is a necessity, and industry includes many of the elements of virtue. No industrious person can be destitute of self-control. A thousand attractions solicit the attention, and bid the worker cease his employment, but he learns to stop his ears against their allurements, and keep on his way. His form becomes weary, and the employment toilsome, but he holds mind and muscle to their work, as the driver urges on his flagging horses. Labor influences morals for good, not merely because it occupies mind and body, and thus leaves less time for evil doing, but by teaching self-government. The labor of the muscles disciplines the mind. Continuous physical effort requires continuous mental effort, that

action of the mind which chooses an object, and applies the power of the will, with steady force, to its attainment. A young man who has learned to work industriously at any kind of manual labor, and who afterward becomes a student, or a merchant, will be the more likely to succeed, not only because labor has strengthened his whole system, and consequently given him increased brain power, but because he has acquired habits of application and persevering effort. The pen is one of the best means of disciplining the mind in close reasoning and exactness of expression, because the written words keep the thought before the eye and the mind, till the idea has been examined on every side, and every feature of the language employed has been well considered. But physical labor does more than train the reason. It cultivates hope, fortitude, perseverance, decision—the characteristics of an active efficient man. We sometimes call these the sterner virtues, and say that life here demands that we possess them, that we may patiently bear its ills and fight its battles. Not so; we put the cause for the effect, and the effect for the cause. Every element of life here has its bearing upon life hereafter; and the necessity for labor was imposed, that in dealing with that which is visible and tangible, the immaterial nature may be tamed and disciplined, and developed into more beautiful and harmonious growth.

The same reasoning holds good in regard to those whose labor is that of the mind instead of the muscles. Action is necessary in order to development, and material wants secure action. One man holds the plough and another the pen, and the same necessities may keep both in motion. Poets and orators, historians and men of science, would be still less numerous than they are, if empty fame were their sole reward. The most beautiful flower springs up from the lowly dust, the brightest gems are born deep in the dark earth; and the most brilliant electric flashes of genius have often been generated by the friction of the material and the immaterial, the spirit roused to lofty deeds by the clamors of its earthly comrade. Go into a library and remove every volume except those whose authors neither needed nor desired pay, direct or indirect, and the deepest science, the loftiest eloquence, and even the profoundest theology will be gone. From the aggregated results of the labors of the race, take all that our wants have had no agency in producing, and we return at once to barbarism. Had the men whom we count the great lights of their times, been presented in their youth with a million of money each, the names of very few of them would have reached our ears. Greatness is based on labor, and the whole tendency of labor is in the direction of mental growth and virtue. The physical wants,

therefore, which create the necessity for labor, mental and physical, form a valuable element of our probationary life.

3. Human wants enable us to practice, and consequently cultivate, the most ennobling of social virtues. In Christ's description of the last great day, those to whom heaven opens its portals are the compassionate, the actively benevolent. "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." The Apostle declares that "pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction." No one will pretend that works like these purchase heaven; and yet, in the passages quoted, great stress is laid upon them. God delights in them, and they who engage therein from right motives, and in the right spirit, cultivate in their own souls the characteristics of God, and become "partakers of the Divine nature." These employments are not commended to the Christian solely as a test of his disposition to obey. They constitute one of the means whereby a newly created spirit is molded and disciplined, and, by sharing holy sympathies and Divine activities, is prepared for the sublimer life of heaven. But how could the spirit be beautified with pity, compassion, and kindness, if there were no one capable of feeling want and pain? Among mere spirits there is no Lazarus lying at the gate, no Bartimeus begging by the highway side; no Mary and Martha pouring out their tears on their brother's grave; no woman of Nain following the bier of her only son; no wanderer dying far away from his kindred; no widow desolate and heartbroken; no orphan homeless and friendless; no place for human sorrows, nor for deeds of human sympathy and love. But the soul is susceptible of growth as well as the body, and by right action its every attribute increases in power. Is it not well, then, that man is placed where the best emotions of his heart find a fitting sphere of action, and where he may not only adore, but even imitate the God of mercy and of grace? Man can act among his fellows more like God than can Gabriel. In fact our clearest, best, noblest idea of God himself is derived, not from the "throne, high and lifted up," with the hymning seraphim around; not from Sinai, with its fires, and its thunders, and its trembling summit; not from the great day of terror and of love, with its opening graves, its rising saints, and its words of doom; nor from the New Jerusalem, with its golden streets, thronged with the hosts of God; but from Immanuel, God manifest in the flesh; Jesus teaching the poor, holding forth a

brother's hand to the fallen, folding little children in his arms and blessing them, weeping at the grave of his friend, baring his brow to the thorns, and upon the cross forgetting his agony in his compassion for those that nailed him there, and expiring with the prayer, "Father, forgive them," upon his dying lips. Our union with matter gives rise to a thousand sweet ministries for which there would otherwise be no place, and thus our materiality becomes a valuable element in the probationary life of the soul.

Corporeal wants, too, join man to the throne of God. Angels may rejoice in the wisdom and power which called them into being, and devils may tremble at the might of him who can create and destroy, but man sees God in things near at hand and ever present. Every moment, he depends upon Divine goodness. Surrounded by many dangers, threatening every fiber of his sensitive nature, and every component of his temporal wellbeing, he has numberless admonitions to be as grateful as he is dependent. He treads God's earth, breathes God's air, beholds God's light, and lives upon the bread which God "giveth to the eater." Every human want is a link in the golden chain which binds man to his Maker; every sense is an avenue by which God's kindness reaches him, and every nerve of flesh is a telegraphic wire along which God sends the soul messages of love. The very element of his being which is most unlike God, is the means whereby he is brought into closest communion with him.

4. Our material nature furnishes the means of giving man a practical warning of the evil of sin, without involving him in endless woe. All pain, mental or physical, results from sin, in the sufferer or elsewhere. Every sorrowing tear shed on earth is a token of grief for the lost innocence of the race; every groan bewails the fall, and every tombstone commemorates the fact that death entered the world by sin. Many of our sufferings result directly from our own personal wrong doing. Sin in the heart tends to come to the surface; it presses the body into its service as an "instrument of unrighteousness." But when sin "reigns in our mortal body," it rends and destroys. It is a usurper and an enemy, and bone, and muscle, and nerve protest against it. Pain is the warning cry of the sentinel on life's outposts; and it not only bids us beware of the envenomed arrow, but points to the foe that sped it to its mark.

Thus our mortal body becomes the means of giving us sensible evidence that sin is an evil. Pain here, warns us to escape pain hereafter. It is the rattle of a deadly serpent, crying out to us to fly from the crushing coil and the venomous fang. To a being prone to moral evil, it is a mercy to dwell in a body that easily breaks down

under abuse; and God has so arranged it, that the very eagerness with which man pursues sin tends to cut short the pursuit. The more rapidly the prodigal wastes his substance with riotous living, the more rapidly does he approach the husks and repentant thoughts. A fallen angel, for aught we see, finds no halting place in his downward career. His nature is never weary, and his passions lead to no reaction. But in man the material part of his being acts as a brake on the wheels of transgression. Sensual satiety renders a longer indulgence tasteless and even hateful, and a reckless pursuit of wrong objects soon terminates by its own violence. Passion may rage for a time, but, from its connection with matter, the soul is incapable of perpetual emotion. Consequently man's mental state is full of alternate elevations and depressions. In the one he acts; in the other he reviews; and these involuntary changes of mood are far more favorable to growth in wisdom than a state of continuous emotion and ceaseless action. And this may be one of the subordinate reasons why God has given the human race a second probation. Man's material nature, and the material world which he inhabited, furnished the means of adapting his trial to his moral condition after the fall. The subjection of man to death, and the blighting of the ground, were not the natural results of man's sin. They form a part of the measures adopted by Divine wisdom to lessen the avidity with which a fallen nature would otherwise have plunged into the pleasures of sin, and thus to give him, speaking after the manner of men, a better "chance" to save his soul.

5. Our union with matter renders sleep needful, and sleep has moral value. Our physical states predispose to correspondent mental conditions. When the body is vigorous and every muscle is full of life, when the heart beats strong and the blood flows in full current, then the soul is most apt to be full of hope and courage, the sensations are most acute, the appetites and passions are strongest, and the whole being responds most forcefully to impulse and motive. This is the time for intense thought, high resolve, and vigorous action. But the hour of reaction comes, when the heart beats feebly and the life-tide ebbs, desire fails, the light upon our path fades, and we meditate, examine, and reflect. These alternations are good. It is well for us to view life amid the deepening shadows of waning day, as well as amid the rosy tints of the morning; and from our union with matter we are led, almost necessarily, to view it in different aspects. The soul grows not feeble by age; the mind never wearies with its own action, but the body drags upon it like a weight. Thus labor results in weariness, and activity is followed by reflection. We must rest; and sleep has value, not

merely in restoring material waste, but in breaking up our life into fragments. In the morning the aged man, refreshed and restored, feels a portion of the vital force of his early years return; and in the evening the young man, worn down by the labors of the day, experiences a languor, both of mind and body, which is akin to the weakness and decay of age. Every day is, in fact, a little life. Every morning we are born anew, and every night we stretch ourselves upon the death-bed of a day. In order that we may sleep, all excitement must die away, the heart must beat calmly, passion cease, and our whole nature become quiescent and inert. In the hour when slumber is approaching, and we passively await its leaden touch, the mind surveys the past without emotion, and decides rationally and dispassionately. We reflect upon the events of the day, somewhat as the dying reflect upon those of a lifetime; the vail falls from our action, self-deception loses its power, and we see things in their true colors, our thoughts excusing or accusing us before the relentless tribunal of conscience. But sleep creeps on. The light fades from our eyes, and the sounds of earth die away upon the ear. At last sight, and sound, and consciousness are gone; the soul is a blank, and the body is virtually dead. We no more belong to the thinking, acting world. A portion of our life is finished, its history is written to the last line, and entered upon the eternal record.

But the morning comes, and with it our daily resurrection. The past lives in our memories, to teach, to encourage, or to warn. Again we survey its actions and its results, while the passions of the past are no longer present to blind our eyes and mislead our reason. Thus our own history instructs us by example, and experience utters its lessons of wisdom. Thus impulse, emotion, and action alternate with repose and reflection; and these alternations, so regular, so inevitable, are valuable aids to virtue in a being so liable as man to be deceived by his own appetites and passions. Sleep, then, has moral value; and the periodical demand of rest, which the material enforces upon the immaterial, has a deeper meaning and a higher importance than mere physical renewal.

6. The sweetest and strongest ties of nature arise from our materiality. What better sight on earth than a family where the instinctive attachments and social affections which God has implanted within us, are seen in their native beauty and strength. The mother clasps her infant with a love that can brave all danger and endure all suffering. How pure and enduring the love which binds brother and sister to each other. How holy the regard which children have for their parents. How rich is such a household in

the wealth of the heart. And who shall say that all this is a mere temporary device, good only because productive of good results in this world? Not so. Love is the great educator of the soul. He that feels attachment, though the object be nothing but a dog, is the better for it. That disinterested regard which prompts to seek the good of the loved, is the friend of virtue. It curbs the sterner tendencies of our fallen nature, and opens the heart to all gentle influences and kindly emotions.

But angels "neither marry nor are given in marriage." Angels are not fathers or mothers, sons or daughters, and, as far as we can see, the existence of one has no essential connection with that of any other created being. Unfallen spirits stand before the throne of Jehovah, rejoicing in his love, and in the raptures of measureless devotion, but their regard for each other, so far as revealed to us, is only that love which springs from the mutual recognition of the Divine image. Devils are alienated from God, and isolated from each other, and if, as Milton pretends, they "firm concord hold," it is only the union of malignity for the sake of strength; the concord of wolves united to attack a victim otherwise too strong for them.

But love and friendship are instinctive in the human heart, and though they do not constitute piety toward God, they are aids to virtue. Every body recognizes the fact that an isolated man, without relatives and friends, and having none dependent upon him, and caring for none, is far more exposed to moral evil than they who hourly meet loving eyes and press loving hands. God saw at the beginning what is best for man. "He setteth the solitary in families;" and, other things being equal, he is the safest from moral danger over whom domestic ties have the most power.

Another result of the present arrangement is worthy of note. By virtue of his materiality, man enters the world a helpless infant, and passes through the various stages of childhood, youth, and maturity, to old age. In infancy and childhood he is comparatively passive, and, from the very necessity of the case, is subject to control. Self-mastery is an important element of all virtue, and children, by subjection to authority, acquire it. If the parent compels the passionate child to cease from his angry gestures and angry cries, the child, after all, must battle alone with his own passion, and overcome it. When parental rule urges a child to some unwelcome task, the child's own will, nevertheless, drives his muscles to their duty. Parental control supplies new motives for right conduct, but has no power to lessen resisting forces, or render right conduct, in itself, more easy. And when the child has acquired the power of abstaining from what he desires, and of doing that which is wearisome or distasteful, he

has begun to acquire the power to govern himself. Subjection to authority, therefore, subdues and disciplines the soul. But the spirit becomes subject to control by reason of its union with matter. The body is the handle by which one soul seizes another. Because it is clothed in a material body, the spirit of the child cannot escape; and even physical chastisement is a mode in which the immaterial nature is wrought upon and tamed by means of the material. The union of spirit with matter is the means whereby man, in the most docile, impressible stage of his existence, becomes capable of being governed; and all human experience testifies that the first few years of life exert a powerful influence, for good or evil, upon all that come after, and even upon eternal destiny.

It is true that a heartless, despotic rule tends to harden and demoralize; but God has guarded against this by implanting in the parental heart the strong instincts of parental love; and the child will not be morally injured by a government whose most unwelcome acts are but brief episodes in a history made up of tenderness and self-forgetful devotion.

Is not the relation of parent and child, then, a beautiful device for subjecting an immortal spirit to formative influences? The newly-created being, almost passive under impression, is placed in the custody of another, older spirit, who is bound by the strongest natural impulses to seek its good; and before it can possibly escape that control, its character begins to assume shape and solidity, and ofttimes the whole boundless future is foreshadowed. But, as far as we can see, this subjection could have no existence without the body. Angels act independently of each other, and are wise or otherwise, each for himself. In the apostasy that occurred before the fall of man, each spirit, so far as revelation informs us, decided his own fate independently of others. The first voluntary act of sin changed the angel to the devil; and from that moment every pure existence looked with horror and loathing upon it. But among mortals it is not so. Ours is the probation of impure spirits; the first sin does not render hopeless, nor cut off forever from holy influences and the ministries of love; and in forming the parental relation, God has ordained that the new spirit, though impure, shall be met, at the very threshhold of conscious existence, with the proof that it is not friendless. A devil has never had a friend, from the fatal hour when it became a devil; but, by the wise arrangement of Him whose mercy endureth forever, even the incorrigible human transgressor is the object of compassion and love, till he drops into the fire that never shall be quenched.

However deep the abyss of depravity and crime into which the

child falls, the affections of the parent still follow and embrace. In the prison, or even on the scaffold, surrounded by a raging crowd clamoring for his life, the mother clasps her son to her bosom with a love that "floods cannot drown." And who shall measure the blessed results of this heaven-implanted affection? How little of evil arises from it, even among the fallen. How powerful for good to parents and children. When strong temptation came upon the soul like a flood, and barriers of virtue were giving way, many a man, by a vision of little innocent faces at home, has been saved from crime and ruin. And though pious parents may long have slept the sleep of death, their example, their admonitions, and their prayers still live in the memory of their child; and though he may wander far from the path of peace, a voice within, small and still, yet louder in the spirit's ear than many waters, tells the story of their love, and cries, Return. Among the angels, the first transgression drew a line between the evil and the good; and at once hatred and envy on the one side, and horror and aversion on the other, arose, to last evermore. But when his fellow falls, man forsakes him not utterly, nor feels at once "immortal hate," such as must have sprung up between Lucifer and Gabriel. Saints pity sinners, and love them; and, next to the assurance that God loves them and Christ died for them, human sympathy and love are, of reclaiming influences, the strongest and surest to melt and win the heart of the fallen.

But we cannot, at present, pursue further this, to us, interesting subject. Matter is the educator of the soul. The infant intellect is first roused into activity by the visible and tangible things around it, and for years matter is our great teacher, exciting the senses, spurring the reason, calling into action every mental faculty, and training the whole into symmetry and strength. The instincts of our social nature and the ties of kindred bind us to our fellows, and prompt us to the benevolent duties of practical Christianity. Materiality supplies the means whereby we reach the evil and the good, and make our kindness manifest to the just and the unjust. By means of the press man graves high and holy thought upon that which many hands can handle and many eyes behold. Light and the optic nerve are the telegraph which unites the minds of millions; and while an angelic messenger may in a dream warn some Joseph to arise and save his household, or strengthen the sufferer in Gethsemane, a man like Paul, or John, or Luther, or Wesley is able to speak in the ear of nations, and kindreds, and tongues, and open founts of blessing, whose streams shall sweep on till time shall be no more. Materiality has an important part in our new probation. When man sinned, the created world, changed for his sake, furnished

the field of a new state of trial, suited to his fallen nature. Materiality is closely connected with our redemption. God has been "manifest in the flesh;" and by the assumption of a material body, Christ not only became capable of physical suffering, but also identified himself with the race, and became our brother. Materiality renders us a race, instead of a mere aggregate of independent existences; and thus, as physical vitality and moral corruption descend to us from Adam, so from Christ, the second Adam, we receive the new birth and life everlasting. Instead, therefore, of bewailing the indignity which the soul suffers in its union with matter, would it not be wiser for us to say, with the Psalmist: "I WILL PRAISE THEE, FOR I AM FEARFULLY AND WONDERFULLY MADE?"

ART. V.—MISSIONS IN AMERICA.

1. *Cyclopædia of Missions, by* NEWCOMB.
2. *History of the Methodist Episcopal Missions, by* DR. BANGS.
3. *History of American Baptist Missions, by* W. GAMMELL.
4. *Annual Reports of the various Missionary Societies.*
5. *Executive Documents.*

CHRISTIAN missions, wherever they have been established and prosecuted by the Church of Christ, are subjects of abiding and extensive interest, whether considered in their past history, their present influence, or their future promise. In all these respects they are, and have been, of very great importance to America. There is no country for which Christian missions have done more than for ours; nor is there a country which offers a wider field for their present usefulness than this. We have feared that the importance of missions to us as a people, and our importance to them for the conversion of the world, have been overlooked, or, at least, under-estimated, by the Church, whose work it is to prosecute them. This may be a groundless fear; the Church may see her whole duty clearly in this connection, and feel her entire responsibility; if so, our articles may still serve to stir up to increased activity. For our facts we shall draw upon the reports and other publications of the various missionary societies; and the more connected histories of missions. In accordance with usage, we have placed some of these works at the head of this article.

By America, in this connection, we include the entire continent; for we consider this the legitimate mission-field for the American Protestant Church. Our attention, however, will be more particularly given to the United States and Territories; because of their greater importance to us, and pre-eminent claims upon us.

In order that we may have a more distinct view of our subject, we will divide American missions into *Native* and *Foreign;* and briefly sketch the history, condition, and prospects of each.

In our native missions we include first, those established among the Indians.

The modern Protestant missionary spirit had its *origin* in connection with the New World, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The spirit of adventure was directed hither, and Christian sympathy allied itself with it in behalf of the savage aborigines. The first actual development of this spirit was in connection with a French Colony to Brazil, in 1555. At the suggestion of Admiral de Coligny, two Protestant ministers were sent out with the expedition, under promise of protection from Villegagnon, the leader, who was a Romanist. As usual, faith was not kept with heretics, and by ill-treatment the missionaries were compelled to re-embark for France. We can but imagine how different would have been the history of Brazil, if the Reformed religion had been permitted to establish itself there.

The colonists to the New World, whether Protestant or Roman, professed to seek, as one of their principal objects, the salvation of the heathen. It may be proper for us to glance at some of the more prominent of the Roman missions, though we are not disposed to accord to them the character of Christian missions, without very great abatement. The true character of these missions may be seen in the following extracts from an "agreement" between the King of Spain and Oñate, a Spanish adventurer in Mexico, in 1595. One article stipulated that the king should furnish him "six priests, with a full complement of books, ornaments, and church accoutrements," for the purpose of Christianizing the savage inhabitants. In another article we find the following significant inquiries:

"In case the natives are unwilling to come quietly to the acknowledgment of the true Christian faith, and listen to the evangelical word, and give obedience to the king our sovereign, what shall be done with them, that we may proceed according to the laws of the Catholic Church, and the ordinances of his majesty? And what tributes, that they may be Christianly borne, shall be imposed upon them, as well for the crown as for the adventurers?"

This furnishes a correct idea of Romish missions in the New World. Tribute was the great object.

The most successful missions of the Romanists were in South America and California. The Jesuits have been the pioneer missionaries. In 1586 they commenced their celebrated missions in the interior of South America, of which the city of Cordova became the center. The priests made extensive and toilsome journeys among the Indian tribes, and soon reported hundreds of thousands of converts to Christianity. The Romish priests, however, have great facility in making converts among the heathen. Baptism and the reception of the cross and a string of beads by the subject are sufficient. In 1602 the general of the Jesuits recommended the South American missionaries to form their converts into fixed settlements, instead of pursuing them as wandering tribes. In this work they were wonderfully successful, and laid the foundations of that vast Jesuitical establishment, which has been the subject of so much political and religious discussion.

In 1642 their towns or townships numbered *twenty-nine;* and the form of their government had attained a perfection that was the envy of every other in Spanish America. We cannot trace the history of their operations now, though it is an exceedingly interesting one. Their establishment became a vast political power, and a source of immense revenue. Some of the most intelligent Spanish writers have estimated that the fathers of these missions transmitted to their superiors in Europe an annual amount of *nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.* They were conducted on Oñate's principle of "tribute" from the Indians. The Jesuits were driven out of the country in 1767, and their missions soon went to ruin.

Their next largest and most successful missionary enterprise in the New World, was among the California Indians; and as early as 1612 the Canada missions were begun, also by Jesuits. Indeed the indefatigable Romish missionary has traversed the length and breadth of this vast continent; but we look in vain for the evidences of Scriptural Christianity in his track among the heathen. And these missions, such as they were, are now no longer prosecuted. Romanism is doing nothing for the Indians in South America; nothing for them in Mexico, or California, or in the territories. There are more signs of life, perhaps, in their Canadian missions. But, be this as it may, Christianity has nothing to expect, in the way of advancement, from Romish missions.

Our Protestant fathers, also, set forth, in the charter of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colony, their great desire to convert the Indians; and honestly and earnestly was this work commenced by them, soon after their arrival in the New World. Individual efforts were first made for their benefit, and were crowned with satisfactory results.

In 1636 colonial action was taken, and laws were passed for preaching the Gospel to the Indians. And this, we believe, was the *first united Protestant missionary effort* in behalf of the heathen world. It was a whole generation before the efforts made under the auspices of the "Dutch East India Company" in Ceylon. This movement by the colonists in New-England, led to the formation of the first society in the mother country for the propagation of the Gospel. This society was formed about the middle of the seventeenth century, by the Nonconformists of England, and its funds appropriated for the benefit of the North American Indians. Bishop Burnet says this example of the Nonconformists was the occasion of the formation of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," in 1698, by the members of the Church of England. The records of the beginnings of missionary effort are very imperfect, and difficult of access; but, so far as we can learn, the first Protestant missionary organization was the one above named among the Non-conformists. This is a matter, to say the least of it, gratifying to American Christians, that the *great modern missionary movement*, by which the world is to be instrumentally saved, had its beginning in connection with our own country, and found its first field of labor upon our own soil, and among our "red brethren."

The Rev. John Eliot had the honor of being the first minister of Christ who devoted himself *exclusively* to missionary work among the Indians. This he did as early as 1646. Having learned the language of the Mohegans, he preached Christ to them, and translated the word of God for them, and witnessed its saving power on many of these wretched sons of the desert.

And here we have another interesting historical fact. This translation of the Scriptures was the *first Bible printed in America.* The first American Bible, and for the American Indians! How exceedingly appropriate was this. And was it not, also, the very first translation of the Scriptures in connection with missionary work to the heathen, and the forerunner of the hundreds made under the patronage of modern Bible societies? This translation, by Eliot, was made only thirty-five years after that of King James into English. Dr. Cotton Mather says it was all written with *one pen.*

This work, so early and so nobly begun, was crowned with great success. In a short time, under the labors of Eliot, hundreds of Indians renounced their heathenism and embraced Christianity. As early as 1660 he had gathered *ten settlements* of Indians, who were comparatively civilized, and under religious influence. At the same time Thomas Mayhew was prosecuting a similar work, on the Islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, with even greater

success than that of Eliot. He was subsequently lost at sea, in a voyage undertaken for the purpose of enlisting the sympathies of the mother country in the cause of the Indians. After his death, his aged father, who was Governor of Martha's Vineyard, was so moved with concern for the perishing, that he applied himself to the acquisition of the language of the Indians, and preached Christ to them until he was ninety-three years of age. In 1674 there were upon these two islands one thousand five hundred *praying Indians.* In 1675 King Philip's war broke out. The missionary settlements of Eliot were in the center of the theater of this war. Many of the Christian Indians would have remained neutral; but Philip attacked them, and drove them into hostility; the commotions that followed not only prevented the progress of the Gospel, but destroyed much that had been done. War blasted all these opening religious prospects of the poor Indians; and war provoked, too, by the aggressions of the white man. This was the golden age of the Indian missions. It is doubtful whether there has ever been since a season of equal prosperity and promise.

From the commencement of King Philip's war, Indian missions languished. Indeed the colonies were in a state of political agitation and warfare, with the French, or the Indians, or the home government, for one hundred years; with scarcely ten years' peace at any one time, until the close of the American Revolution. With such a state of affairs, Christianity could not prosecute her missionary work among the heathen. She did not even maintain her influence among the colonists.

There is one bright but brief page in this bloody century of American history, in connection with the Indians. In 1743 David Brainerd, a noble youth, sanctified by grace, began his missionary career, with a purity and zeal that could not but command success, and revive the interest in the missionary cause. The Scottish Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge became interested for the American aborigines, and determined to support two missionaries among them. Brainerd was one of their missionaries. He entered upon this work with a full appreciation of its difficulties. In surveying it, he said: "To the eye of reason everything that respects the conversion of the heathen is as dark as midnight." But how soon did light break forth from darkness. In less than one year after commencing his labors, he had occasion to write of the things which his eyes had seen, thus: "Methought this had a near resemblance to the day of God's power." So great a work of grace had broken out among his Indians at the Forks of the Delaware, that scores of them turned away from idolatry, to serve the living and true God. His

career was short, only four years, when he was called to his reward on high. But his zeal and great success gave a new impetus to Indian missions.

We would not intimate that Brainerd's were the only missionary efforts during this period. They were prominent, because of their great success. There was John Sergeant, at Stockbridge, among the Mohegans, in 1734; and John Wesley, in Georgia, in 1735; Azariah Horton, on Long Island, in 1741; and Dr. Wheelock's seminary, at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1748; and many other laborers were toiling in the field at various points, with more or less success. But the continuing and increasing hostilities between the English and French, in 1744, and again in 1756, in which the Indians were always involved, and then the restlessness of the colonies under the British yoke, and the precursors of the Revolution of 1776, interfered with and broke up the missionary establishments, and scattered the Indians in the wilderness, literally as sheep without a shepherd.

And here we may end the first period of American missions. And upon reviewing it, though we cannot give the results in detail in this paper, we are fully pursuaded that no missions have been more successful than those among our own Indians. Whenever the missionaries, under circumstances at all favorable, addressed themselves to the work, they met with success; and success almost unparalleled among any other heathen people, utterly refuting the oft-repeated assertion, that nothing can be done for the Indian.

Look at the interesting and encouraging group of facts, already found, in connection with our American Indian missions, the oldest Protestant missions in the world: the first Bible for the heathen, translated by the first missionary to the Indians; the first Bible printed in America was this very translation; the first Protestant missionary society formed, if not *in* our country, yet was formed for its benefit; and mark the wonderful success of these missions. And surely, in view of all these things, American Indian missions address themselves powerfully to American Christians, and present strong claims for respect and support.

We now enter upon the nineteenth century, when denominational missionary societies began to be formed in our country. We will sketch the work of the principal of these societies among our Indians, down to the present time, which we will call the second historical period.

Previous to the extensive missionary organizations which we shall notice, there were societies formed in individual churches for the spread of the Gospel, which merit a notice we cannot give for want of space.

The "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" was formed in 1810. The great work of this Board is in foreign lands, but it has not been entirely inattentive to the wants of home. Its first Indian mission was commenced among the Cherokees, in 1817; and in 1818 a mission was established among the Choctaws. These missions were exceedingly prosperous for several years; but governmental interference, and the removal of the tribes west of the Mississippi, interrupted the labor and destroyed much good. These missions, however, still exist. With the above exception, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions made no attempts for the benefit of Indians for several years. There were some two or three missions transferred to their care, which had been commenced by other societies. This Board reported at its FORTY-SEVENTH anniversary, twenty-four stations, distributed among seven Indian tribes, comprising 1,691 members. Two of these stations, judging from the last report, have only a nominal existence; and no one of the others seems to be prosecuted vigorously and hopefully.

The Board has also, within the last few years, abandoned the following fields of Indian labor: the Osages, the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Pawnees, and the Oregon Indians. Why so little has been attempted, and that little so inefficiently prosecuted, and consequently so little accomplished, by this the oldest, the strongest, and the *American* Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, is not ours to answer. But we do think there has been a neglect of home that is not excusable. The history of Indian missions will not justify it. In 1823 their missionaries wrote: "We think it would be impossible to show any substantial reasons for thinking that the aborigines of America are in a more hopeless state than the inhabitants of Africa or Asia. That such a belief is erroneous, is incontrovertibly manifest from the labors of Eliot, the Mayhews, Brainerd, and the United Brethren." The Board responds to this sentiment, thus: "Beyond all reasonable doubt, Divine truth is as likely to be efficacious upon the heart of a Cherokee, who has arrived at mature age, as upon any other man who has grown up in ignorance and sin." But while hundreds of thousands have been expended upon the Asiatic, a small pittance only has been doled out to save the American.

The American Baptist Union is also one of the largest and most efficient missionary organizations in our country. In its general labors it has been blessed with great success. Its first Indian mission dates back to 1817, and was located on the banks of the Wabash, at Fort Wayne, in the midst of the Potawatomies, Kickapoos, Miamis, and Ottawas, Indian tribes speaking substantially the same language.

In the same year, also, missions were commenced among the Creeks and Cherokees of the South. The mission to the latter nation has been continued to the present, and has been a successful one.

But the Baptist, like its sister societies, has devoted only a very small portion of its efforts and funds to the aborigines of America. Its missionaries, with unwearied step, have pursued the Karen in the jungles of Burmah; but have halted on our Western borders, and turned back, faint and discouraged, in following the red men toward the setting sun.

From the last Annual Report we take the following statistics:

Indian Missions	3
Missionaries	6
Members	1570
Pupils	130

Such is the present condition of the Indian missions of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Alas for the poor Indian!

The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has been a prominent laborer in the Indian field. The origin of the work of this society in connection with John Steward, a free colored man, was certainly providential. He commenced his labors among the Wyandots in 1816. Steward was blessed in his efforts, and his work was recognized by the Ohio Annual Conference in 1819. In the year 1821 the Rev. J. B. Finley, who still lives,* was appointed to the special charge of this mission. It was remarkably blessed of God; many Indians were converted, and the death of many is recorded full of hope.

This society prosecuted its Indian missions with more vigor and success than any similar institution. In 1832 it had under its care *seventeen missions*, comprising six thousand eight hundred and three members, with eight hundred and twenty-four children in the Indian schools. Here was a success which ought to satisfy the most incredulous, that the American Indian was not beyond the reach of the power of the Gospel. And it ought to have been received by the Methodist Episcopal Church as a *special call to this field of labor.*

But this society also has permitted its attention and efforts to be turned away from the Indians, among whom it gathered its first-fruits and richest harvests of missionary toil; and now, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, its Indian missionary statistics show but little increase. In 1854, the last date we have of the combined statistics of

* Died since the above was written.

the Wesleyan Missions in Canada, which formerly belonged to this society, and those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the whole number of members was seven thousand three hundred and seventy-two, and scholars one thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight. Since 1854 there may have been a small increase, but we presume not enough to change the general impression sought from our Indian work. The Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1857, gives the number of Indian members and probationers under its care at one thousand three hundred and thirty-four.

In the Minutes of the meeting of the General Missionary Committee of this Church, in last November, we find this note in reference to the Indian work:

"The committee turned to our Indian Missions with fear, which ripened into deep regret upon a calm inquiry into their condition. The result was a conviction that we ought to adhere to the policy heretofore adopted, of reducing their number, and concentrating them at much fewer points, and thus increase their efficiency and lessen their expense. The Committee allow $10,350 for service in our Indian Missions for 1857."

In this minute we can find nothing hopeful for the poor Indian. No plans of enlargement. No purpose expressed of pursuing him into the dense forest.*

But we cannot sketch the history of all the societies which have done something for the American heathen. Those named furnish the brightest examples of interest and effort in their behalf, and these the brightest, are sufficiently shadowy, and are still deepening into darker shades.

We will give the "General Tabular View" of the Indian work, as found in the "Cyclopedia of Missions:"

SOCIETIES.	When commenced.	Stations.	Missionaries.	Assistant Missionaries.	Native Helpers.	Churches.	Members.	Schools.	Scholars.
Presbyterian Board	1835	11	8	55	3	...	96	...	517
American Baptist Union	1817	10	7	8	9	14	1,371	6	210
Methodist E. Church, North and South	1819	44	46	...	...	...	5,359	...	1,884
Wesleyan Missionary Society	1828	...	22	...	28	...	2,003	13	74
American Board	1818	24	21	73	15	19	1,669	26	708
American Missionary Association	1843	4	2	17	...	3	12	...	39
Church Missionary Society	1822	10	8	3	9	...	507	22	724
Moravians	.....	4	8	7	...	...	.....	...	....
American Indian Miss'ary Association	.....	6	28	...	...	21	1,300	...	165
Total	.....	113	150	163	64	57	12,317	67	4,331

* Since the above was written, the same committee, at their meeting in November, 1857, in making the estimate for 1858, appropriated $6,650.

Here we have before us the sum total of the remaining results (this side of heaven) of all that American Christians have done for American heathens for more than *two centuries.* Here is the result of the combined efforts of missionary societies, for a people nearest their own threshold; and who have in justice and grace the first claims upon their sympathies and help. Here is what is being done by more than three millions of Christians for their wronged red brother.

We will now turn our attention to the present extent of the Indian field, and contemplate the amount of work yet to done in this department of American missions, with the opportunities offered for doing it. The rapid decrease of the Indian population is a melancholy truth, but yet there remains a "remnant to be saved," if the Church will.

Within the limits of the government of the United States alone, there are still remaining about *four hundred thousand Indians.*

Honorable George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his Report for 1853, locates them as follows:

"About 18,000 yet linger in some of the states east of the Mississippi River, principally in New-York, Michigan, and Wisconsin; the remainder, consisting of Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles, being in North Carolina, Mississippi, and Florida. The number in Minnesota, and along the frontiers of the Western States to Texas, comprising mainly emigrated tribes, is estimated at 110,000; those of the plains and Rocky Mountains, and not within any of our organized territories, at 63,000; those in Texas at 29,000; those in New-Mexico at 45,000; those in California at 100,000; those in Utah at 12,000; and those in the territories of Oregon and Washington at 23,000."

We may divide the Indians into semi-civilized and savage tribes. Those in our states are principally of the former character, with many more in our organized territories. The semi-civilized amount, perhaps, to 150,000: the savage tribes amount to some 250,000. Many of the "tame Indians," as they are called in Western parlance, are located on their lands, and in communities of considerable size, engaged in agriculture; and consequently accessible for missionary work. And it is among these that our few feeble missions are found; but not among all of these, by a large majority. We judge that the American Churches have not missionaries in *one fourth* of the Indian settlements. We know of some large communities, permanently settled, and have been for years, which are entirely destitute of missionary labors. In the territory of New-Mexico there is a class of semi-civilized Indians (Pueblos) living in towns containing from a few hundreds to upward of one thousand inhabitants, easily accessible to missionaries, but neglected

by the Church. The villages of these Indians, including those recently acquired by the Gadsden Treaty, number about *forty;* comprising a population of at least 15,000 souls. Among all these villages there is, we believe, but one that has a Christian minister.

Governor Merriwether, of New-Mexico, and *ex-officio* superintendent of Indian affairs in the territory, in his Report for 1854, thus calls attention to these Indians:

"The Pueblo, or partially civilized Indians, are a very interesting portion of the Indian population of this territory, and richly deserve the fostering hand of government. They hold their lands under special grants from the governments of Spain and Mexico; many of which are of very ancient date, one that I examined being dated in 1661. . . . . These Indians cultivate the soil mostly with rude implements of their own construction, except the spade and hoe, which have recently been introduced among them by the traders; and enough grain, vegetables, and fruits are produced to sustain themselves in comfort and plenty. Indeed these people will compare favorably, in their agricultural labors and productions, with the citizens generally of this territory; and they have horses, mules, cattle, asses, sheep, and goats, sufficient for ordinary purposes. As a general rule they are a frugal, sober, and industrious people. A few individuals among them can read and write in the Castillian language, but the remainder are destitute of education, though most of them speak that language."

Again he says: "I would most earnestly recommend the establishment of schools by the government in each Pueblo." And we will add, that many of the leading men among these Indians are exceedingly anxious that schools should be established among them; and the government is criminally negligent in not providing schools for them.

Now here is a field of missionary labor made ready to the hand of the Church, and, from personal observation, we are convinced that it is a promising one. The Church is inexcusable for not entering it. We should add, perhaps, that these Pueblo Indians are all claimed by the Romanists as converts. A Roman Catholic authority says: "The natives of New-Mexico were converted, and being now Christians, are not considered a mission."

The Navajoes are another large tribe of Indians living in this territory. They number from 8,000 to 10,000 souls, and are also located; not in villages, but in a specified district of country. They cultivate the soil, and raise an abundance of corn and wheat to supply their wants, and have numerous herds of horses, and sheep, and mules, and horned cattle. They manufacture their own clothes, principally from the wool of their own sheep, and it is a rare thing to see a Navajoe meanly clad. Their blankets and basket work are superior articles. By their fellow-Indians they are considered a rich tribe.

These Navajoes are in constant intercourse with the Mexicans and Americans in the territory, and consequently accessible for missionary effort. Yet they are left destitute. The Baptist Home Missionary Society did make some attempt to establish a mission among them, but it was inefficiently planned and prosecuted, and soon abandoned.

These cases are but samples of many equally neglected, needy, and accessible to the missionary, in this widely extended Indian field. And those tribes and settlements where missionaries nominally exist, are not half provided for. We doubt whether the entire American Church can point to a single Indian mission fully manned and vigorously worked. Indeed, if there be the number we suppose, *one hundred and fifty thousand* of semi-civilized Indians, under the government of the United States, and only *twelve thousand Church members*, both the extent and the neglect of this part of the field is seen at a glance.

But this is a very small part of the American Indian field, and the Church must not be circumscribed in her missionary operations by the limits of the United States government. In Mexico it is supposed there are about *four millions* of Indians, many of whom are semi-civilized, perhaps half. There are also in Mexico two and a half millions of mixed races, two thirds of whom are half Indian; these are all at least semi-civilized, as well as Romanized. Here is an accessible Indian field containing not less than *three millions of souls.* What excuse has the American Church for not entering and cultivating it? We take it for granted that the obstacles thrown in the way by Romanism in any part of America, might be overcome by a united effort on the part of Protestantism.

In the Canadas, also, there are several thousand Indians of this same class.

South America has a large Indian population; and, according to their own estimates, there are not less than *three millions* of them semi-civilized. We consider all these accessible to American Protestants. The same energy, perseverance, and sacrifice made by our missionaries in other countries, would be sufficient to overcome the difficulties connected with these. But for these *six millions* of Indians, semi-civilized, in Mexico and South America, American Protestantism has done nothing! The entire American Indian field contains not less than *seven millions of semi-civilized Indians.* To which we must add at least as many more, who are found in a savage, or rather uncivilized state; but who are not, therefore, beyond the reach of the Gospel; making an aggregate of *fourteen millions* of immortal souls. Surely the Indian field is a

large one, and the American Churches need not go from home to find work.

But we wish to direct attention again to the Indians within the limits of the United States government, for the salvation of whom our Churches should feel more immediately responsible, and for whom they should make their first, strongest, and most persevering efforts. There are many reasons for this. They are the nearest heathen to us; this is *prima-facie* evidence that they should be helped first. But our special relations with them demand it; we are occupying their homes, we have reduced them to beggary, our influence is mysteriously, yet rapidly hurrying them into eternity; therefore we should help them first, and help them most earnestly.

Our attention has been arrested by the contrast between the Church and State on this subject; and, as a Christian minister, we confess, also, to mortification in connection therewith. On the part of the officers of government in this department, we find a hopeful tone, encouraging representations, and earnest pleadings for the Indian; while on the part of the Church there is discouragement, abandonment, despondency, and silence.

In evidence, we would ask the reader to turn back to the encouraging account given by Governor Merriwether, of the Pueblo Indians in New-Mexico. And for further proof we would direct attention to the last Report of the Indian Department, by Honorable G. W. Manypenny. Of the attempt to colonize the Indians of Texas, which was commenced in 1855, he says:

"In every point of view the enterprise, in its present state and future prospects, is more encouraging than its most sanguine friends had anticipated."

Of a similar attempt in California, he says:

"The Indians in every part of California have been made acquainted with the policy of the government with reference to them; and, except where prejudiced by the false representations of interested white persons, are pleased with it. The number upon and in communication with the reservations and farms, is now about ten thousand, and increasing as the means for their accommodation are extended."

Again:

"Notwithstanding the warlike charater of the Delaware Indians, and the wrong and injury they have suffered at the hands of the whites, they have maintained a steady neutrality in all the difficulties of Kansas. Their means have been applied to repairing their buildings and extending their farms. A commodious Methodist church has been erected by them, a large school building is in course of construction, and they express great anxiety about the education of their children. They have enjoyed good health the past season, and *slightly increased in numbers.*"

These are specimens of the particular notices given of tribes and communities. There are many others equally hopeful. The summing up is as follows:

"In reviewing the events of the past year with reference to the improvement of our Indian population, there appear within the reserves of several tribes such unmistakable manifestations of progress, as to excite and stimulate our lawgivers and the benevolent and philanthropic of the land, to a more lively and active interest in the present condition and future prospects of the race, and to invite an increased effort and energy in the cause of Indian civilization. That the red man can be transformed in his habits, domesticated, and civilized, and made a useful element in society, there is abundant evidence. With reference to his true character, erroneous opinions very generally prevail. He is indeed the victim of prejudice. He is only regarded as the irreclaimable, terrible savage, who in war spares neither age nor sex, but with heartless and cruel barbarity subjects the innocent and defenseless to inhuman tortures, committing with exultant delight the most horrible massacres. These are chronicled from year to year, and are, indeed, sad chapters in our annals. But the history of the sufferings of the Indian has never been written, the story of his wrongs never been told. Of these there is not, and never can be, an earthly record.

"As a man he has his joys and his sorrows. His love for his offspring is intense. In his friendships he is steadfast and true, and will never be the first to break faith. His courage is undoubted, his perception quick, and his memory of the highest order. His judgment is defective, but by proper training and discipline his intellectual powers are susceptible of culture, and can be elevated to a fair standard. He can be taught the arts of peace, and is by no means inapt in learning to handle agricultural and mechanical implements, and applying them to their appropriate uses. With these qualities, although the weaker, he is eminently entitled to the kind consideration of the stronger race."

We cannot refrain from making another extract from the Report of the same officer, for 1854. Speaking of the Indians in our Western territories, he says:

"It is, therefore, in my judgment, clear, beyond doubt or question, that the emigrated tribes in Kansas territory are permanently there; there to be thoroughly civilized, and to become a constituent portion of the population, or there to be destroyed or exterminated. What a spectacle for the view of the statesman, philanthropist, Christian; a subject for the most profound consideration and reflection! With reservations dotting the eastern portion of the territory, there they stand, the representatives and remnants of tribes once as powerful and dreaded as they are now weak and dispirited. By alternate persuasion and force, some of these tribes have been removed, step by step, from mountain to valley, and from river to plain, until they have been pushed half way across the continent. They can go no further; on the ground they now occupy the crisis must be met, and their future determined. Among them may be found the educated, civilized, and converted Indian, the benighted and inveterate heathen, and every intermediate grade. But there they are, and as they are, with outstanding obligations in their behalf of the most solemn and imperative character, voluntarily assumed by the government. Their condition is a critical one, such as to entitle them not only to the justice of the government, but to the most profound sympathy of the people. Extermination may be their fate, but not of necessity. By a union of good influences and proper effort, I believe they may and will be saved, and their complete civilization effected."

Where do we find such hopeful views, favorable representations, and earnest pleadings for the Indian on the part of the Church? They are not found in any of the current Annual Reports of Missionary Societies.

These pleadings of the Honorable "Commissioner of Indian Affairs," are creditable to his humanity, statesmanship, and Christianity. Would that his tones might arouse a hopeless, effortless Church to action in behalf of the wronged, wretched, perishing Indian, within sight of her very portals!

This sketch of the present condition of the Indians in America is sufficient, we hope, to enable the Church to take a practical view of this department of missionary labor. The field is extensive, its sufferings are extreme, its claims paramount.

And yet, from the present showing, it would seem that there is not a single Church in earnest to save the souls of the red men. And why not? We have seen, from the success attending missionary efforts among them, their susceptibility to receive Christianity and be saved by it; a success which, compared with that among any other heathen of whom we have read, has been unequaled, all things considered. Surely the gracious providence of God did not send us here to destroy, but to save them. Yet, while as a nation we have steadily prosecuted the former, as Christians we have utterly failed in the latter. Christian love for perishing heathens finds a field as legitimate in America as in Africa, Asia, or Europe. To Christian love, the soul of the Black Foot or Flat Head, the Apache, Camanche, or Pueblo Indian, the Esquimaux, or Patagonian, is as precious as that of the Caffre, or Hottentot, or the worshipers of Juggernaut. The Indians are undoubtedly a doomed race; they must fade away before the white man; and this is used as an argument to withhold missionary effort. On the contrary, it is the voice of God, speaking to us in his providence, "What thou doest do quickly!" We should make haste to snatch them from ruin, and requite them in a measure for our poisonous presence. This long-neglected, suffering department of American missions we would press upon the conscience of every American Christian. The lengthening shadow of the receding Indian toward the setting sun, as it falls upon the graves of his sires trodden under our feet, admonishes us that his day is near its close, and that we must make haste to save him.

Especially would we call upon the Methodist Episcopal Church to put on strength, and gird herself anew for this department of labor. Methodism, since its introduction into America, in its various branches, has done more for the native race than all other denominations besides. If success is an evidence of adaptation to a work,

then Methodism is pre-eminently adapted to this missionary field. If success in such a work is evidence of the Divine approbation, then Methodism has been honored with it above all others. From the tabular view given, it will be seen that considerably more than *half* of the whole number of Christian Indians at the present time, are connected with Methodism. While Methodism has seven thousand three hundred and sixty-two members, all the other denominations of Christians have only four thousand nine hundred and fifty-five. How much the present salvation and future hope of the Indian tribes seem to depend upon Methodism! And if she prove unfaithful to their interests, whither shall they turn for help? Will the Great Spirit, the red man's God, raise up another people to look after these lost sheep in the wilderness? Why should Methodism turn away from this home field, in which she has proved her adaptation, met with the Divine blessing, and gathered hundreds and thousands of pagan souls into the spiritual kingdom of Christ, and where there are yet thousands and *hundreds of thousands* to be saved, to experiment in untried and unblest fields far away? To save herself not only from the charge of indiscretion, but the guilt of neglect, we hope that she may have a sufficient reason to render for passing by the perishing at home, to give the bread of life to those in regions beyond.

Art. VI.—INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; its Nature and Proof. Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin, by William Lee, M.A. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857.

Attentive observers have, for some time past, seen indications of an awakening of the public mind, relative to the dogma of "Inspiration." A re-examination of the whole subject, and a re-statement of its evidences, seem to be demanded; and this, very possibly, may render necessary certain modifications of its positions. On the European Continent, our Teutonic kinsmen and fellow-Protestants have been discussing the subject for half a century, and it is well known that whatever subject occupies their patient attention and study, their discussions are at length reproduced among us; though usually in a modified and mitigated form. That the free discussion of this subject should awaken a lively public interest is certainly not strange; the matters in question are too great and the opinions

to be reviewed too venerable to allow the subject to be opened without arousing a lively interest in the Church. Still we see no cause for apprehending any such conflict of opinions as would seriously interrupt the peace of Evangelical Protestantism, or at all endanger the stability of the foundations of the faith.

The first signs of the indicated movement appeared in the form of disquisitions designed to strengthen the old positions and maintain the landmarks of a hyper-orthodoxy. In these we were served with treatises and discussions, varying in extent from fugitive essays to stately volumes, asserting in the boldest, and sometimes in the baldest style, a verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, at once mechanical and non-rational; and this theory has been eliminated and amplified to the last details of the subject. A little later, as to the commencement, but mostly cotemporaneously as to its progress, was seen a counter movement, resulting in the production of a mass of crude neological and rationalistic discussions, presenting certain specious though really antiquated objections to the whole doctrine of inspiration, maintained from both philosophical and theological stand-points. The third stage of this movement is now passing before us. The necessity of reviewing the whole subject is conceded, and men whose orthodoxy is beyond suspicion, and whose piety and learning give much authority to their opinions, are ready to declare, that while their confidence in the Bible as a record of the Divine counsels is undiminished, they find it impossible to defend their opinions by the arguments most relied on, or to adopt the theories of inspiration hitherto chiefly in vogue.

The volume whose title stands at the head of this paper, is among the early fruits of this new phase of the public thought, and it bears in itself clear indications of the influences which gave it being. It is evidently the production of a writer of respectable erudition, and of an eminently conservative turn of mind. By virtue of the former he finds himself compelled to abandon the old mechanical theory of a verbal inspiration, as quite untenable; but though thus cut loose from his traditional moorings, his constitutional conservatism effectually restrains him from falling to the other extreme, as is often the case with theological reformers. It might be difficult to give in detail his own theory, should we attempt it, since, if we do not mistake the matter, he has not fully developed a theory; and even in what he has written, the several parts seem to be but imperfectly adjusted. Probably these are only his first thoughts, vigorous, indeed, but crude, which time and further study will mature. At some future time, (for he will surely write again,) we shall see him more satisfactorily developing his system, and both fortifying and

illustrating his opinions. The present volume, meanwhile, will serve a good purpose *pro tempore;* but because it belongs to a transition period in the history of its subject, as well as on account of its intrinsic imperfections, it cannot continue long; nor will it hereafter serve any other valuable purpose than to mark the transitions of the prevailing opinion for the time being.

As we shall probably have but little occasion to notice the book particularly in our further remarks, we may as well at this point say whatever may be needful to give the reader a general notion of its character. The volume, an octavo of six hundred and seventy-eight pages, is made up of eight lectures, headed severally: 1. The Question Stated—2. The Immemorial Doctrine of the Church of God—3. The Old Testament and the New—the Logos the Revealer—4. Revelation and Inspiration—5. Revelation and Inspiration (continued)—6. Scriptural Proof—7. The Commission to write—Form of what was written—8. Recapitulation, Objections Considered: illustrated with numerous and rather extensive foot-notes, principally citations from ancient Christian authorities, and a long list of appendixes, of much the same character. The argumentation is learned and generally logical; but the style is heavy and the method somewhat confused, and the whole work is deficient in clearness and vivacity. The book is a perfectly safe one, soundly orthodox, and yet sufficiently progressive to save it from the charge of stubborn conservatism; but unless the reader brings to its perusal either a lively interest in the subject, or an unusually large share of patience, he will scarcely reach the last page. In our further remarks we shall refer to it, as may be convenient to illustrate the points of our own discussion, without assenting to its conclusions further than we explicitly indorse them, nor yet in any case pretending to hold the author responsible for the use we may make of his positions and arguments.

The connection of a confidence in the Scriptures, not very widely different from that commonly entertained, with all that is really valuable in religion, is more intimate than is often suspected. Though merely speculative theism is no part of religion, yet it is among its essential conditions; for in order to the worship of God, he must be known. It is also sufficiently proved, as matter of fact, that this necessary knowledge can be attained only by the aid of revelation; and further, that among all pretended revelations no other can be found at all deserving attention, except those recorded in the Bible. The whole question is thus narrowed down to the two alternatives; the recognition of the Divinity of the Scriptures, and the negation, or rather the ignoring of all religion. True, there are

those who hesitate to accept either of these alternatives, but we think unwisely, and the common convictions of mankind seem to be steadily and rapidly subsiding in this position. Advocates of religion are more and more generally agreeing to recognize the Bible as the record of certain Divine communications to our race, so attested as to entitle them to command their convictions and dictate their conduct. Here there is substantial unanimity. Beyond this there may be, among the same persons, very wide discrepances, both as to modes of interpretation, and the precise sense of the enunciations, as to which men may hold either part, consistently with the profession of the Christian name.

In conceding this authority to the Bible, two points are assumed: first, that God has in some way communicated to mankind certain truths and doctrines, which could have been gained by no other means; and, secondly, that he at first authenticated these revelations as given by himself, and afterward the record of them as correct and inspired. The first implies the Divine origin of the matter of the Bible, and the fact that certain persons have been made *media* of communication between the Divine and the human intelligences. The second recognizes a providential superintendence of the imparted revelations, so as to secure their faithful transmission with all requisite credentials to other persons and to future times. These two are the essential elements of a belief in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; where they are found, though they allow ample verge for differences as to specific points, we are compelled in all fairness to confess the fundamental soundness of their professors; where these are not found, though there may be large pretensions to a reverence for the Bible, yet there must be an entire want of reliance upon it as the word of God, and the sole and sufficient rule of life. Both of these points are also necessarily included in any adequate notion of the inspiration of the Scriptures; since in this Divine interference that inspiration consists.

The term "inspiration," which has been chosen by common consent to express the Divine agency in the Scriptures, is among the most unfortunately ambiguous in our language, and probably has contributed not a little to the prevalent misunderstanding of the subject. Any degree of mental elevation, occasioned only by natural causes, and induced upon the mind in its normal state, is styled an inspiration. This is the inspiration of poets and orators, the enthusiasm of genius, the lofty power of awakened thought. But all this has nothing to do with either receiving or recording a Divine revelation, and is therefore quite another thing than the inspiration of the Bible. That inspiration includes the gift of certain intellect-

ual convictions by means outside of the usual processes of intellection, and their embodiment in such forms of words as will effectually render them intelligible to all other minds. We may therefore, in considering the question of the inspiration of the Scriptures, entirely dismiss this first sense of the term; for though we would not deny that the sacred writers may have been largely the subjects of this merely human inspiration, yet this was not their inspiration, as writers of the sacred books.

Confining our attention to that species of inspiration which belongs exclusively to the Bible, we find occasion for a further discrimination. By one form of inspiration the prophets "*saw* the vision of the Almighty," and by quite another "holy men *wrote* as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." By the former the intellects of inspired men became possessed of certain truths derived directly from the Divine intelligence; by the latter the mind of the sacred penman was elevated to the requisite point, and such directions given to his will and purposes, as to secure from him a faithful transcript of the Divinely imparted truths. This distinction is very fully discussed in the volume before us, and it is made to solve many of the difficulties which have beset the subject. To that form of Divine influence by which truth is conveyed from the Divine to the human mind, the author gives the specific name of "Revelation," and attempts to confine the use of the general term to only the other species of inspiration. Could a distinct word be found for this species also, and the generic term "inspiration" be left in its generic sense exclusively, the nomenclature would be more complete and definite; though such a definite use of terms is perhaps too little sustained by usage to warrant its adoption.

The distinction of these two species of inspiration may be further elucidated by considering their relations to the persons of the adorable Trinity. To declare the will of God to mankind is the peculiar office of God the Son, who is for that reason called the *Logos*, "the Light of the world," and "the express *image* of the Father's person." It is he whom we recognize speaking to patriarchs and prophets. He was ever the angel of the Divine presence, with Abraham, with Israel, and with Moses. He shone in the light of the Shekinah visibly, and in the symbols of the ritual more darkly and yet more instructively, preparing the chosen people for the more full and glorious manifestation of the truth, which he gave at length, in his own incarnate person. To him, in his distinctive personality, has the Church steadily ascribed the office of imparting to men the glorious counsels of the Father. But as Christ's work is rather *for* us, than *in* us, so this revelation was in all cases, as to its recipients, abnormal,

objective, and supernatural; addressed rather to his perceptions than to his sensibilities, and increasing his knowledge, but not immediately modifying his character. It was also of definite extent, both as to its matter and its duration, and accordingly the mission of the Son, as the revealer, was long since fulfilled and terminated.

But when infinite Wisdom had given to our race a revelation of his purposes, it was further needful to provide for the faithful custody and diffusion of the revelation so given. It was no less important that it should be recorded with infallible correctness, and that the record should be certainly ascertained to be the truth of God, than that it should be at first properly certified to have come forth from God. This work pertains to the office of the Holy Ghost, the Divine Comforter, of whom the Saviour himself said, "He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine and shall show it unto you." It was by his inspiration that the mind of the sacred penman was raised to the holy elevation required for the work committed to him. By his illumination and direction the sacred scribe was enabled to separate the precious word from all earthly admixtures, and to embody the truth of God in symmetrical completeness; and as the indwelling Spirit of the Church, he has kept that word in its purity and Divine efficiency among all the mutations of human affairs. His office in this matter is, therefore, specific and unique; at once clearly distinguished from the act of imparting revelation, and yet in no less degree requiring the divine agency. And though the fact that the Word and Spirit co-operate in the production of the holy writings may cause an apparent blending of their offices, their distinctness must appear to every attentive observer. The Son is the exclusive giver of revelation; the Spirit prepares the heart of the prophet to receive the truth, and guides the hand appointed to record it; He also becomes its expounder, in order, through its instrumentality, to reprove the world and to sanctify the Church.

Before proceeding to consider the question of inspiration, in its specific sense, a fuller examination of the work of revealing, especially in its relation to the recipient, may be proper. If, as we have assumed, God converses directly with human intelligences, and originates convictions in men's understandings, it is certainly pertinent to a just determination of the subject, and altogether worthy of the pains, to examine the phenomena of that process. In this discussion, the first inquiry relates to what may be called "the prophetic state," the mental condition of the receiver of a revelation at the instant of its reception; whether this occurs while the mind is in its ordinary normal condition, or only in *ecstasy*, with the senses closed,

and an abnormal consciousness existing instead of a rational perception. The possibility of both of these will not be denied; indeed, the actual occurrence of both as matters of fact in the history of prophecy, will hardly admit of a question. The visions and dreams of the prophets, whether supervening after the senses were closed by natural sleep, or by the more violent interposition of the Divine hand in casting the prophet into a state of trance, are evidently of this character. The *ecstasy*, though it has been claimed by Hengstenberg and others, as the exclusive method of direct revelation, was probably the least frequently employed of all its various modes. A few remarkable cases are given; remarkable alike for their infrequency and their awful grandeur; but the whole of them constitute but a very small proportion of the sum of Divine revelation. "Visions of the night," which differed only in their accidents from the revelations made in *ecstasy*, the internal abnormal perception being induced, not by arresting and subjecting the natural mental processes, but by causing them to occupy the vacuity of thought occasioned by sleep, were evidently much more frequent; and yet even they were not the means chiefly used for communicating a knowledge of the Divine will.

The distinction of the two points embraced in every completed revelation is happily illustrated by several of the most remarkable cases of this method of communication. Pharaoh's dream contained a revelation; but he was unable to understand its import, till a further revelation, made to another person, disclosed it. The prophet Daniel saw the vision of the "ram and he-goat" with all needful distinctness, but wholly failed to understand the meaning of it, until a second and much plainer revelation was given. To the child Samuel was made a most manifest revelation from God, but he did not recognize it as such till further instructed in the matter. For the most part the evidence of their Divine origin accompanied the communication given; but not invariably. Many expressions found in the Old Testament, of whose prophetic character there is great reason to presume the writers of them were not aware, are, in the New Testament, shown to have been of that character. And, to cite but a single instance from the New Testament, that striking expression of Caiaphas respecting the necessity of the death of Christ, to his own mind appeared only as a maxim of governmental policy, though it was evidently a highly evangelical prophecy. A completed revelation must first impart to the consciousness the desired idea or conviction, and then this mental state must be attested and verified as the truth of God, divinely communicated; and both these are the gifts of the same great Revealer. We have

spoken of the two methods of Divine manifestation, the "ecstasy," and the "vision," as only slightly modified forms of the same mode. The identity of the higher forms of dreaming, attended as they often are with an abnormal consciousness and strange powers of perception, and the state of trance, (the "superior state" of the animal magnetists,) is satisfactorily demonstrated. Of this mysterious susceptibility of our nature the Divine power has made use, in imparting to mankind a knowledge of certain truths which lie beyond the range of sense and reason. By means of such extra-rational intuitions, the transcendent realities of revelation have been communicated, and also certified to be of Divine origin. Like all other supernatural phenomena, however, these seem to have been employed but unfrequently and with an apparent frugality; or, rather, that they might continue to be "signs and wonders," they were not permitted to become common. As manifest tokens of the Divine power, they served an important purpose, but they were evidently not intended to serve as the principal vehicle of revelation.

As to a very large class of the prophetic teachings, it is evident that they were developed in the form of intuitions, mingling with the prophet's rational processes and presenting themselves to the recognition of the normal consciousness. The process by which minds converse with each other is wholly unknown to us; we only know the fact. When such conversation is effected through the senses, the consciousness recognizes the newly induced mental state from its inception; but it is not at all difficult to suppose that spiritual intercourse may take place beyond the range of consciousness, and reveal their results only after they have assumed the form of convictions. By such process, undoubtedly, the Divine word was often infused into human minds, silently and rationally, and yet so given as to attest the Divine authority of the inwrought convictions, and to authorize their enunciation with the formula, "Thus saith the Lord."

There is evidently still another, and by no means an inconsiderable class of revelations. Many prophecies seem to have been delivered by persons from whose minds the chief purport of their own utterances was wholly concealed. Sometimes, though not usually, the enigmatical character of the enunciations was detected by the prophet himself; but most commonly, the prophetic image was twofold, while only the proximate and often less important one was recognized. To this characteristic of prophecy the name "double sense" has been given, though it is scarcely proper to indicate the sense as really twofold. The Old Testament dispensation was itself a system of symbols, and this peculiarity is seen not more in its ritual and ceremonies than in its prophetic teachings.

Almost every historical statement or biographical record has a deeper and fuller significance than appears to the careless beholder; and often the prophetic vision embraced, and the prophetic language delineated much more than the prophet intended or was properly aware of. "To the ancient Jew," writes our author, "the predictions concerning the liberation from exile were blended with those which related to the Messianic age, so as to present a mass of undistinguishable tracery." . . . . "Jeremiah connects in one picture the first conversion of the Jews in the days of Christ, with their general conversion in ages yet to come." David, by Divine inspiration, composes a prophetic Psalm for Solomon, but is carried beyond his proximate subject, and depicts a greater than Solomon, of whom that renowned prince was, in many respects, an illustrious type. In this method of symbolizing is found a large share of the prophetic utterances of the Scripture, and by its use, nearly everything contained in the Bible is made to bear upon its great cardinal truths and doctrines. Both methods of prophetic utterances, the direct and the symbolical, date from the beginning of the history of Redemption; for in the day of the first transgression, the prediction of the conflict and triumph of "the seed of the woman" stood over against the institution of sacrifices. These, indeed, have never been divided, but have stood together as two sure witnesses mutually attesting the truths of revelation, and by their united instructions the world was prepared to receive the coming Messiah.

It is important in this inquiry to clearly discriminate between the special inspiration exercised in the gift of the Holy Scriptures, and the spiritual influence which is promised as the perpetual legacy of Christ's disciples. The former was given by the manifestation of the eternal Word; the latter is of the ministrations of the Comforter As to their substance, that was external and objective, and so presented as to be recognized as something distinct from the recipient himself; this is subjective, "the word is nigh thee, in thy heart and in thy mouth," and hence may be confounded with the mind's own original processes. As to their forms, they are also dissimilar; for while the teachings of the Word are general, revealing the Divine purposes relative to our race, and to individuals only in view of general facts and characteristics, the ministrations of the Spirit are personal, and apply to their subjects individually. The one reveals God *to* the human understanding; the other manifests him *in* the essential reason; the former discloses the facts and provisions of the Gospel scheme of grace; the latter prepares the individual spirit of man to apprehend the things so revealed, and to realize his personal relations to them.

The offices of the Word and those of the Spirit being thus specifically distinct, it would be unreasonable to expect that they should supplement each other. The work of revealing is a definite and limited one, both as to its substance and the time of its execution, and accordingly it ceased with the apostolic age; the whole of the counsels of grace having at that time been committed to the Church, with all needful proofs and attestations. It is therefore quite absurd to speak of new revelations given by the ministration of the Spirit, who "shall not speak anything of himself." Fanaticism, which is always founded in doctrinal error, though often coexisting with honesty of purpose, is ever attempting to add something either to the matter or to the credibility of the sacred record; but the plain teachings of the things clearly revealed show the impossibility of all such attempts or pretensions. Under the dispensation of the Spirit there are no provisions for revelations, and evidently the prophetic office did not extend beyond the age of the apostles. The great glory of the Gospel dispensation is the cooperation of the Word and the Spirit in the Church, one through the divinely communicated records of the truth, and the other as a living and quickening Spirit of truth in the hearts of the willing and obedient.

But while we thus assign the whole work of revealing to God the Son, we would not, by any means, exclude the Spirit from a very important share in the production of the Holy Scriptures. To proclaim the words of revelation to fallen and depraved men, would have availed nothing, had not their minds been first prepared to receive and appreciate the things so revealed. It was therefore needful that the prophetic mind should be so elevated by a Divine inspiration as to become a proper receptacle and medium of the Divine messages—a work appropriate to the Holy Spirit. The whole custody of the matter of revelation belongs also to the Spirit, and not to the Word of God; and hence the form and outward fashion of the Scriptures are of his inspiration. His supervision extends beyond revelations, strictly so called, and covers also the historical and illustrative portions of the Bible; which were often written from the personal knowledge of the sacred penman, or copied from reliable public records, but to which also is imparted by the Spirit the character of inspiration which pertains to the whole Bible. This consideration may also apply, though in a modified and perhaps mitigated form, to the compilation of the canon, and the transcription of the sacred books. Surely it is not unreasonable to presume, that the inspiring Spirit which dwells with the Church, is ever mindful of that truth upon which, as a well

adapted instrument, he relies for the sanctification and final glorification of the faithful, and that he keeps it safe from any and all mutilations and corruptions by which its efficiency would be diminished.

In considering the character of the Scriptures, it is necessary to regard them as constituting an organized whole. Such a unity, actually existing, will be readily discovered by every ingenuous and intelligent reader of the Bible; and only after it has been discovered is he prepared to understand the things he reads. It is a fixed law of interpretation, without regarding which it would be impossible to rightly understand almost any written production, that the scope and design of the work should be perceived and regarded as a clew to its sense. This rule must be applied in interpreting the Scriptures, and by it the meaning of their language must be settled. Assuming, then, that the great design of the Bible is to reveal "God in Christ reconciling the world to himself," we may legitimately expect to find the traces of this great purpose in any and all parts of the sacred record. We should perhaps hesitate as to going the whole length with a certain class of commentators, formerly more in favor than at present, who found or simulated a direct or symbolical prophecy in nearly every passage in the Bible. On the other hand, we are quite as far from agreeing with those who seem determined to recognize no allusion to its great theme, whenever it is possible to escape it, by critical finesse. The Jewish theocracy was unquestionably constructed upon a Messianic basis, and of necessity in many cases a Messianic interpretation of its literature is the only rational one, even were another possible, within the range of verbal criticism. This all-pervading element is really the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, which resides not chiefly in a mechanical arrangement of certain sentences and words, letters and points, but is an indwelling and outspeaking divinity, animating and actuating the whole book. "They are they that testify of me."

As in nature, so also in his word, God has embodied his teachings in concrete forms much more generally than in abstract propositions. This method is best adapted to render certain and definite these all-important truths, which words are not adequate fully to convey. It is therefore not so much a matter of interest to know what a certain text of Scripture *may* mean as to ascertain the *drift* and *scope* of the whole volume. The words of Scripture often lose their whole pertinence and force by being removed from their connection, as a member of the body becomes useless and without beauty by being separated from its connection. Biblical interpreters have agreed, that no single text is sufficient to establish any point of doctrine;

and in doing this, whether aware of it or not, they have deferred the verbal infallibility of the Scriptures to their plenary and universal inspiration. Particular words and phrases, we are told, must be explained agreeably to the "analogy of faith;" and to this we most heartily consent, taking the general teachings of the Bible as the rule of that faith. But, then, what is to become of the "particular word and phrases?" Some will tell us that we must still believe that they meant originally what they are thus made to mean; but others esteem this an unnecessary demand upon their implicit faith, and without at all surrendering their confidence in the Bible as an inspired book and an infallible rule of faith, they nevertheless suspect the verbal accuracy of the parts which require such a violent mode of interpretation.

In a compilation, though the several portions unite harmoniously in forwarding the one design, we naturally expect accidental discrepances among the particular parts, in points not pertaining to the organic whole. No one would feel, in an ordinary case, that such discrepances would mar the integrity or diminish the credibility of the whole, but rather the opposite; nor can we see any sufficient reason why the same considerations do not apply to the interpretation of the Scriptures. If this is granted, the scope and purposed teachings of the inspired volume are still clearly evident, and the stamp of infallibility is made upon all that pertains to the integrity of the faith.

There seems, therefore, to be an antecedent probability that in the texture of the Holy Scriptures may be brief and incidentally introduced portions and certain statements of facts, used for illustration rather than historical confirmation, to which, in their own proper character, the peculiar inspiration of the Bible does not extend. As far as such portions are used, whether as facts or illustrations, they must be correct, and we have no right to expect anything further than this. All this is quite consistent with the fullest confidence in the sufficiency and infallibility of the Scriptures as a guide, both as to what we should believe, and what we ought to do. Whoever reads the Bible with the spirit of a learner, will most certainly detect its spirit, and apprehend its revealings, though he may often fail to reconcile apparent discrepances, or to understand some of its incidental statements and allusions. And if the Bible, thus considered, is found to be effective in imparting to ingenuous, though uncritical readers, a knowledge of the truths and doctrines of inspiration, it accomplishes its great end, and is found sufficient to meet all the requirements of the case.

We can hardly conceive of a greater injustice to the sacred volume

than to make it responsible for every historical, philosophical, or scientific fact or principle, named or alluded to in its pages. We never deal in this wise with any other work. A mistaken notion of the purposes of the Bible, united with a superstitious regard for its exterior, has led many good people to deprecate all rational criticism in its interpretation. Thus has arisen a réal and highly pernicious *Bibliolatry*, at once unfriendly to rational Christian faith, and to a right understanding of the inspired word. As the natural result of this false notion, the truths of the Bible have been brought into question at each stage in the progress of human science. The dispute relative to the Copernican system in the age of Galileo, and the questions respecting the physical history of the earth at the present time, are cases in point. But the ablest Biblical critics are now settling down in the conviction, that in the Scriptural use of language relative to matters of philosophy, the apparent rather than the real is contemplated, and in science, the theory in vogue at the time of writing, and not the certainly correct one, is adopted. The Bible is designed for all ages, and for people in all stages of knowledge and culture; it must therefore be unentangled with the ever-changing questions of science and philosophy. Had it embraced and authenticated them, as they stood at the times of its composition, its parts would have been discordant, and the whole obsolete and untrue in all after times. Had it embodied them in their essential truthfulness, it would have been either wholly unintelligible or else a source of hopeless confusion. Things are therefore spoken of according to the generally-received notions of them; but they were not by this indorsed by the hand and seal of Divine revelation. A thousand mutations in the forms of human philosophy can produce no effect upon the sacred verity of the word of God, though they do greatly modify its external aspects; and the Bible is as heartily believed by the most learned philosopher of the present times, as it was by the most unlettered pietist of the Dark Ages.

A like consideration will, we think, apply to the historical statements introduced in the Scriptures. Here, however, great caution is required, since, in not a few cases, matters of fact and of doctrine are so intimately blended, that the two must stand or fall together. Whenever this is the case, we have a right to require and expect the same infallible certainty for the former as for the latter; and we cannot consistently claim inspiration for the one and deny it to the other. But it is clearly the case that in many instances the infallible certainty of a revealed doctrine does not require the absolute correctness of the statement of facts with which it is enunciated.

Biblical scholars have long been divided as to many very considerable historical statements, as to which the Scriptural record is apparently either self-contradictory, or at variance with the best profane authorities. But the Christian world has very little practical interest in such questions. The gracious power of the Saviour is about equally tested, whether we conclude he met two or only one blind man, as he came out of Jericho; nor does it at all affect the real merits of the case, whether we conclude, according to one evangelist, that both the thieves on the cross reviled the Saviour, or with another, that while one reviled him, the other rebuked his fellow in guilt and suffering. A considerable number of such instances are found in the Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testaments; and as their infallibility is not essential to the authority of the Bible *as a system of religious instruction,* may we not presume that in these things human infirmity was permitted to err, while the substance of the truth was sacredly guarded by the inspiring Spirit?

Any adequate view of the Holy Scriptures must recognize their human element no less clearly than the Divine. Upon this subject, the work before us contains some exceedingly pertinent and felicitous suggestions, which our limits will not allow us to transcribe. Here, no less than in the persons of apostles or in the sacred functions of the Church, the treasure of eternal life is contained in earthen vessels. Had the inspiration of the sacred writers been absolutely complete, and their co-operation wholly passive and mechanical, then, indeed, we would have had a revelation unmixed with human elements, and without the marks of the personal peculiarities of the several writers. But such is not the case. Each sacred penman retains his own chirography, or gives to the record the signs of his idiosyncrasies. The princely Isaiah and the rustic Amos each impresses his own mental characteristics upon his pages. The harp of David betrays the royalty of the hand that waked its melodies, and sharply distinguished its sounds from the plaintive wailings of those who sat down by the rivers of Babylon. The earnest spirit of Paul, the fervid zeal of Peter, the rigid virtue of James, and the holy love of John, are all seen alike in their writings and in their personal histories. In this feature, indeed, we recognize one of the great excellences of the Bible. It is a kind of perpetual *incarnation* of the truth of God, as is Jesus an incarnation of his person. It was not enough that God should speak to mankind; it was also needful that his word should be made over to them, that in all beyond its essential spirituality it should become human. Such it is, in its mode of thought, its forms of expressions, and generally in all its external conditions. And as Jesus, though essential God made flesh, bore

in himself our human infirmities, and was doubtless capable of mistakes, but nevertheless was absolutely the "true and faithful witness;" so, is it at all unlikely that the human mold into which the truth of God is cast, should in like manner have the incidental defects that pertain to its humanity? And, as we feel the Saviour most sacredly near to us when we contemplate him as a man, of like passions with ourselves, so doubtless we will find a holy sympathy in the words of Scripture, in proportion as we recognize the human element intimately combined with the Divine. While, therefore, we claim and contend earnestly for the inspiration of the Bible, for a living and energizing spirit of truth diffused through and animating its pages, we delight also to recognize its human form, and to commune with its utterances as with the voice of a friend. Nor do we any the less reverence its lessons, because we suspect that it is not wholly raised above all human infirmities. In this we may be wrong; but if so, the error is one of the heart as well as of the understanding.

To dissent from this view of the case, would require more of the objector than may be at first apparent, and more, we presume, than many will be prepared to concede. If every word and sentence of the Bible must be held to be absolutely and infallibly correct, in order to entitle it to confidence as a rule of faith and morals, this demand applies not simply to the Bible as originally given to mankind, but rather to it as actually possessed by them. In that case all the *media* of communication must need have been wholly under the Divine direction, and the beast upon which the prophet rode could have served as well as the prophet himself for such a medium. So, too, the hand of the scribe must have been infallibly and mechanically directed, with no more active personal agency than has the automaton in its movements. So, also, must a mechanical Providence preserve and diffuse the sacred deposit, protecting manuscripts from all omissions and interpolations, and infallibly guiding the hands of translators to write in other languages the uncorrupted—that is, the verbally unmodified—truth. We do not object to all this as an impossibility, *a priori*, though we might do so; but as matter of fact, we know it is untrue, and we also see abundant reason why the Divine Providence should have chosen another method.

By the theory of inspiration we have indicated, and only by this, as we view the subject, are we able to maintain the position of evangelical Protestantism in its claims to a free and sufficient Bible, against the pretensions of Romanism on the one hand, and the cavils of rationalists and skeptics on the other. The Church of Rome

claims for itself an inspiration not unlike in character that sometimes claimed by Protestants for the Bible. Theirs, indeed, is less fixed and certain in its determinations, but it is more flexible and capable of adaptation, and is also replete with a more genial sympathy. But both alike pretend to a rigid and formal infallibility, a finished and consigned revelation, the one, as dwelling in the ecclesiastical organism, the other, as in the letter of the Scriptures. The present energy of the Spirit is constructively excluded by both, and an infallibility *per se* claimed in both cases. Accordingly, the papist submits his entire creed to the keeping of the Church, and from the lips of his spiritual instructor receives explicit directions in every emergency. Not so, however, the Protestant, who must draw his precepts from his Bible, in the exercise of his own private judgment. This, indeed, he may do, since the teachings of the Scriptures are, as to all things essential to life and godliness, exceedingly plain, provided he have confidence in the genuineness of the Bible as he possesses it. But if he concludes that absolute correctness in every point, great or small, is requisite to the credibility of the Bible, and at the same time learns that his is only an imperfectly rendered version of the Divinely dictated word, his faith will rest on an uncertain and unsatisfactory foundation.

Only a small portion of any people can become able Biblical scholars; and hence the great mass of Protestants can have only our imperfect vernacular versions of the Scriptures, which, on the ground assumed by the advocates of literal infallibility, are quite unreliable, as bases for religious opinions. On the contrary, we assume that the spirit and essence of Divine revelation does not reside in specific texts and sentences, but is diffused throughout the texture of the volume, and operates in the integrity of its power wherever a generally correct and comprehensive version of the Scriptures is used. "Jots" and "tittles" in the verbiage of the Bible are often changed, and yet the integrity of the sacred word is unimpaired. It is just now proclaimed to the Christian public of this country, that our good old English Bibles have become faulty and uncertain as copies of the authorized translation made and issued by royal authority; but we do not therefore conclude that hitherto we have been without any reliable rule of faith. Probably an absolutely correct copy of the Bible, considered literally, is not now in existence, and yet we glory, nevertheless, in Chillingworth's declaration, "THE BIBLE, THE BIBLE, is the religion of Protestants."

In conclusion, we rejoice in the new interest which this question is eliciting. We anticipate much good from its examination. Christianity commends itself to man's intelligence in proportion to

the severity of the scrutiny to which its claims are subjected; and the Holy Scriptures "in which are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," rise in commanding dignity and authority, in proportion as they are submitted to fearless, but intelligent criticism. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but the word of the Lord endureth forever.

Art. VII.—WESLEY AS A MAN OF LITERATURE.

Between the advent of Methodism in Oxford in 1729, and the death of its founder in 1791, intervened sixty-two years. Mr. Wesley took his degree of Master of Arts in 1727, four months before the accession of George II. to the throne of England, who died in 1760, and was succeeded by George III. Neither of these princes ever opposed Mr. Wesley or his preachers, but rather rebuked those who opposed. While war was going on during the rise and progress of Methodism, and through the most of Mr. Wesley's public life, literature and the arts and sciences were, notwithstanding, cultivated in Great Britain. In this time the best English historians wrote, namely, Hume, Smollett, Robertson, and Gibbon. Mr. Wesley has some strictures on each, excepting the last. Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" was not all published until 1788, only three years before Mr. Wesley's death. We do not think he read it, or he would hardly have failed condemning the dignified and irreligious historian. Mr. Hutcheson was the principal writer on moral philosophy in the first half of the century, and Mr. Wesley contends again and again against his theories. Mr. Reid was the chief writer in the other half. English poetry was prospering in these times, which did not, however, bring forth either of our great poets. Still the poets, as Pope, Thomson, Young, Akenside, Gray, Goldsmith, were, if not of the highest, of a high and respectable class. Nor should Dr. Watts or Charles Wesley be omitted, being the only two notable religious poets of the age. The principal fictitious writers were Fielding, Richardson, and Smollett. The author of the great English Dictionary, as well as other works, Dr. Johnson, the English literary colossus, flourished in this period. When on his death-bed, Mr. Wesley visited this great man, and conversed with him on the

things of God. The English theater was prospering, while the work of God was reviving. The great actors, Booth, Mrs. Cibber, Quin, Garrick, and Mrs. Bellamy, were in vogue. It seems that Mr. Garrick and Charles Wesley were well known to each other. When the Life of Mrs. Bellamy appeared, Mr. Wesley read it, and found the following anecdote, which the actress had been pleased to insert. Garrick was in Ireland, and when taking ship for England a lady presented him with a parcel, which he was not to open till he was at sea. When he did, he found Wesley's Hymns, which he immediately threw overboard. Mr. Wesley says: "I cannot believe it. I think Mr. Garrick had more sense. He knew my brother well; and he knew him to be not only far superior in learning, but in poetry, to Mr. Thomson and all his theatrical writers put together; none of them can equal him either in strong, nervous sense, or purity and elegance of language." Music in this period was greatly in favor. In it the great composers, Handel, Arne, Boyce, and the Earl of Mornington, flourished. In the spring of 1764 Mr. Wesley went to the performance of Mr. Arne's oratorio of *Judith*, which he pronounced very fine; but he strongly condemned singing the same words so often, and singing different words at the same time. In 1765 he heard the oratorio of *Ruth*, pronounced it exquisite music, and thought it "might possibly make an impression even upon rich and honorable sinners." When in Bristol, in 1750, he went to the cathedral to hear Mr. Handel's celebrated oratorio of the *Messiah*, and declares it exceeded his expectation, especially in several of the choruses. "I doubt," says he, "if that congregation was ever so serious at a sermon, as during this performance." Painting, too, was reviving in the English nation. Mr. Wesley himself sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. Romney. He also visited different private and public galleries, and passed his opinion very freely on the artists. The period of the public life of Mr. Burke was a stirring time, internally and externally, for the English nation. A Dr. Price reckoned (for there was no government census) that the people of England numbered between four and five millions. Mr. Wesley denied the computation, and believed the number was seven millions, at least. In this period the nation lost her American Colonies; but, on the other hand, she gained Canada, several of the West India islands, and the vast territory of India. Mr. Wesley was not an isolated man, confining himself to one calling, but he felt an interest in all public affairs, ever siding with the laws and the government. Still his main employment was to preach and call sinners to repentance. When not so engaged, directly or indirectly, his leisure was spent, according to the taste of a literary man, in reading and

writing books. We shall in this article show, first, a specimen of what books he read, adding some reflections; and secondly, lay down the thread of his own writings, interspersed with suitable observations. These two parts will show what kind of ideas he furnished his own mind with, and with what kind of ideas he supplied the minds of others.

BOOKS READ BY MR. WESLEY.

The books read by Mr. Wesley in his youth, and before the era of Methodism, there is no account of. The books which first assisted him to the knowledge and love of God were, in 1725, Bishop Taylor's "Rules of Holy Living and Dying," and "The Christian's Pattern; or, A Treatise on the Imitation of Christ," by the German monk, Thomas à Kempis.* In 1727 he was further assisted by Mr. Law's "Christian Perfection," and his "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life." From 1733 to 1778 he thought he had read five or six hundred books. And before his conversion, in the years of his youth and education, doubtless his reading was very extensive and thorough, or he would not have been qualified for Fellow in Lincoln College, Oxford. However, our curiosity is not concerning his reading while a private person, but the books he read while in public life and engaged in the work, under God, of reforming the nation. We find that he read and noticed the following works from the year 1737 to 1751, the year of his marriage, namely:

The Mystic Divinity of Dionysius; Deficiency of Human Knowledge and Learning, by Dr. Edwards; Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians; Bishop Beveridge's Account of the Canons of the Councils; Works of Nicholas Machiavel; Mr. Law's Book on the New Birth; Bishop Bull's Harmonia Apostolica; The Account of the Synod of Dort, by Episcopius; Case of Michael Servetus, by John Calvin; Whitefield's Account of God's Dealings with his Soul; History of the Church, by Turretine; Lives of Philip and Mathew Henry; The Theologia Germanica; The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius; Laval's History of the Reformed Churches in France; Dr. Cheyne's Natural Method of Curing Diseases; Xenophon's Memorable Things of Socrates; Dr. Pitcairne on Medicine and the Mathematics; Jacob Behmen's Exposition of Genesis; Madame Guyon's Method of Prayer and the Spiritual Torrents; Life of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits; Middle-

* He wrote as a motto upon his books: "I have sought for rest in all things, but could find it nowhere but in corners (that is praying) and in books."

ton's Essays on Church Government; The Life of Gregory Lopez; The Grounds of the Old Religion; Account of Governor Endicott, of New-England; Purver's Essay on a New Translation of the Bible; Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus; Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church; Bishop Butler's Discourse of Analogy; Lectures on the first Chapters of St. Matthew; Tracts concerning Count Zinzendorf and his People; The Exhortations of Ephrem Syrus; A System of Ethics; The History of the Puritans; Account of the great Irish Massacre of 1641; Quintus Curtius's History of Alexander the Great; Dr. Doddridge's Life of Colonel Gardiner; Sir James Ware's Antiquities of Ireland; The History of St. Patrick; Dr. Hodge's Account of the Plague in London; On the Right Use of the Fathers, by Daillé; Bishop Pearson on the Apostles' Creed; Mr. Law's Spirit of Prayer; The Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd; Miracles at the Tomb of the Abbé Paris; Gerard's Sacred Meditations; Narrative of Count Zinzendorf's Life, by himself; The Antiquities of Rome, by B. Kennett; Archbishop Potter's Antiquities of Greece; Mr. Lewis's Hebrew Antiquities; A Creed founded on Common Sense; Journal of Mr. S———, President of Council of Georgia; Mr. Glanville's Relations concerning Witchcraft; The Works of William Dell; Sermons by Rev. Mr. Erskine.

For ten years Mr. Wesley's labors in England and Ireland were abundant. The foundation of Methodism, so called, was then laid. Persecutions also raged against the preachers and members of the new sect. The nation was at war with Spain; but "the war against the Methodists, so called, was everywhere carried on with far more vigor than that against the Spaniards." (Journal, 1744.) Excessive labors and bitter persecutions made unfit times for literary pursuits. Yet our founder, as the preceding catalogue shows, did not give up his reading. The following books he read and noticed during the life of his wife, who died in 1781:

V.'s* Essay on the Happiness of the Life to Come; Blaise Pascal's Thoughts on Religion; Dr. Franklin's Letters on Electricity; Mr. Prince's Christian History; Mr. Rimius's Candid Narrative, that is, concerning Moravians; Stinstra's Tract upon Fanaticism; Ramsay's Philosophical Principles of Religion; Andrew Fry's Reasons for leaving Moravian Brethren; The Lectures of Dr. Heylyn; Dr. Calamy's Life of Richard Baxter; History of the Wars of the Belgians; Hay's Treatise on Deformity; Richard Baxter's History of the Councils; A Gentleman's Reasons for Dissent from the Church of England; Dr. Sharp on the Rubrics

* Voltaire, probably.

and Canons of the Church; Rev. John Gillies's Historical Collections; Lord Anson's Voyage round the World, 1744; Pike's Philosophia Sacra; The Life of Czar Peter the Great; Dr. Mandeville's Fable of the Bees; Barton's Lectures on Lough-neagh; Voltaire's Epic Poem of Henriade; Leusden's Dissertation for the Hebrew Points; Bishop of Cork's Treatise on Human Understanding; Hanway's History of Shah Nadir, the Scourge of God; Book on the Law of Nature; Whitefield's Defense of the Hebrew Points; Dr. Rogers on the Learning of the Ancients; Rev. John Home's Tragedy of Douglas; Richard Baxter's own Life and Times; Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall; Memoirs of the House of Brandenburgh; Life of Theodore, King of Corsica; Rev. Mr. Walker's Siege of Londonderry; Dr. Bernard's Relation of the Siege of Drogheda; Dr. Curry's Account of the Irish Rebellion; Mr. Spearman's Inquiry, that is concerning Hutchinson's Philosophy; Monsieur Rollin's Ancient History; Analysis of Lord Bolingbroke's Works; Needham's Treatise on Microscopic Animals; Abridgement of Mr. Hutchinson's Works; Oetinger's De Sensu Communi et Ratione; Huygens's Conjectures on the Planetary World; Fenelon's Romance of Telemachus; Davis's Historical Relations concerning Ireland; Smith's State of the County and City of Waterford.

At this period of Mr. Wesley's reading King George II. died, 1760. The labors of the great evangelist are now so abundant, that in eight years, namely 1759 to 1766, he notices, and seems to have read only twenty-one books:

Bishop Pontspidan's Natural History of Norway; Life of St. Catherine of Genoa; Gesner's Poem of the Death of Abel; Lives of Magdalen de Pazzi and other Romish Saints; Life of Mr. William Lilly; Hartley's Defense of the Mystic Writers; Richard Baxter's book upon Apparitions; Rev. Mr. Romaine's Life of Faith; Dr. Watts on the Improvement of the Mind; Mr. Seed's Sermons; Sir Richard Cox's History of Ireland; Journal of William Edmundson, a Quaker preacher; Jones on the Principles of Natural Philosophy; Bishop Lowth's Answer to Bishop W.; Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry; Knox's History of the Church of Scotland; The Epic Poem of Fingal, by Ossian; Sellar's History of Palmyra; Norden's Travels into Egypt and Abyssinia; Crantz's Account of the Mission into Greenland; Thoughts on God and Nature; Life of Mohammed, by Count de Boulanvilliers; Dr Priestley on Electricity; Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland; The Pleadings of the famous Douglas Case; A Poem, Choheleth, or the Preacher (Ecclesiastes); Poems by Miss

Whately, a Farmer's Daughter; Inquiry into the Proofs of Charges against Mary, Queen of Scots; The Travels of Dr. Shaw; An Essay on Music; Boswell's Account of Corsica; Blackburne's Considerations on the Penal Laws against Papists; Dr. Campbell's answer to Hume against Miracles; Dr. Brown on the Characteristics of Lord Shaftesbury; An Account of Commodore Byron; Glanvill's Sadducees Triumphant; Turner's Remarkable Providences; Mrs. Rowe's Devout Exercises of the Heart; Dr. Warner's History of the Irish Rebellion; Mr. Newton's Account of his own Experience; The Odyssey of Homer; Guthrie's History of Scotland; Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth; Rousseau upon Education; The Life of Mr. Hutchinson; The Writings of Baron Swedenborg; Sellon's Answer to Cole on God's Sovereignty; A Dialogue between Moses and Lord Bolingbroke; Works of the Rev. Philip Skelton; The Translation of Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History; Dr. Hodge's Elihu; Hoole's Translation of Tasso's Poem of Jerusalem Delivered; The Celestial Theology of Baron Swedenborg; Jones's Tract upon Clean and Unclean Beasts; Sterne's Sentimental Journey through France and Italy; A Description of the Slave-Trade; Robertson's History of the Emperor Charles the Fifth; Beattie's Inquiry after Truth; Else's Medical Treatise on the Hydrocele; Essays on various Medical Subjects; Adam's Comment on part of Epistle to Romans; The Poetical Works of James Thomson; The Life of Belisarius, the Roman General; Sir John Dalrymple's History of the Revolution of 1688; Mr. Hutcheson's Essay on the Passions; Account of the European Settlements in America; Bonavici's History of the late War in Italy; Tract on the Inmost Recesses of Freemasonry; Dr. Leland's History of Ireland; The Poems of Dr. Byrom; The Life of Sextus Quintus; Sir Richard Blackmore's Poem of Prince Arthur; Dr. Lee's Sophron; The Life of Lord Herbert; The Voyages and Discoveries of Captain Cook; The Life of Anna Maria Schurman; Dr. Gregory's Advice to his Daughters; Account of the Gowrie Conspiracy of 1600; Lord Kames's Essays on Morality and Natural Religion; Sketches of the History of Man; Dr. Reid's Essay on the Mind; Controversy of Dr. Clarke and Leibnitz; Mrs. Sheridan's Lectures on Elocution; The Life of Count Marsay; The Letters of Lord Chesterfield; The Letters of Dr. Swift; History of the City of Norwich; The Poems of Dr. Beattie; Correspondence between Theodosius and Constantia; Bolt's Considerations on the Affairs of India; The Works of Lord Lyttleton; The Essays of Miss Talbot; Sermons of Mr. Boem, Chaplain to Queen Anne's Husband; Dr. Johnson's Tour to the Western Isles of Scotland; The Dialogues of Lucian, a late

Greek author; Jenyn's Internal Evidence of Christian Religion; A Tract on Political Economy; Life of Thomas Gray, and his Poems; Dr. Gell's Essay toward an Amendment of Translation of Bible; Dr. M'Bride on the Practice of Physic; Raynals on the Settlement and Trade of Europeans in India; Xenophon's Κυρου Παιδεια; The Life of Mr. Marsay; An Essay on Taste; Dr. Smollett's History of England; Baron Swedenborg's account of Heaven and Hell; Bryant's new System of Ancient Mythology; Dr. Blair's Sermons; The History of the Town of Whitby; History of Ireland, by Dr. Warner; Dr. Watt's Essay on Liberty; Sir Richard Hill against Polygamy; Pennant's Tour through Scotland; Dr. Robertsons's History of America; Dr. Parson's Remains of Japheth; Memoirs of Mr. Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary of State.

The catalogue of our founder's reading reaches now to the year 1781, the year in which his wife died. The disastrous war of England with the American colonies was going on, and the prevalent trouble in the nation was, says Mr. Wesley, "as though England were on the brink of destruction." Yet he pursued his onward course of traveling, preaching, writing, and reading. He was now an aged man, in his seventy-ninth year, yet strangely declares, "I feel no more of the infirmities of old age than I did at twenty-nine." Another characteristic was, that in his old age his relish for books continued, and without abatement. It will be gratifying a reasonable curiosity to learn what books the great and venerable man read from the eightieth to the eighty-eighth year of his life. They are as follows:

Dr. Horne's Commentary on the Psalms; Ariosto's romantic Poem of Orlando Furioso; The Epic Poem of Fingal; Voltaire's Memoirs of Himself; Major Vallance's Grammar of the Irish Language; Le Vrayer's Animadversions on the Ancient Historians; Peru's Treatise on the Gravel and Stone; Fry's Tract on Marriage; Life of Sir William Penn, the Quaker; The History of Scotland, by Dr. Stuart; Lord Bacon's Ten Centuries of Experiment; Dr. Anderson's Account of the Hebrides Islands; second reading of Fingal, in heroic verse; Dr. Hunter's Lectures on Anatomy; A Fragment from the Chinese; Blackwell's Illustration and Defense of the Sacred Classics; Dobb's Universal History; The Letters of Archbishop Usher; An Essay on Taste, by Dr. Gerard; also, his Plan of Education; Duff's Essay on Genius; Weston's Dissertation on the Wonders of Antiquity; Captain Wilson's Account of the Pelew Islands; Life of the famous Baron Trenck; Life of the noted Mr. George F., the Murderer; Foster's Voyage round

the World; Life of Mrs. Bellamy, a noted actress; King of Sweden's Tract on the Balance of Power in Europe; Captain Carrol's Travels in North America.

The Travels of Captain Carrol is the last book which Mr. Wesley notices; very likely, the last he read. For three or four years his eyes were growing dim, and he could scarcely read at all by candle-light. During this time, however, he had read half of the preceding list, showing that though his bodily powers were decaying, his taste and relish for books were fresh and keen as ever. In five months after the last notice the venerable man of literature, as well of wonderful labors and exemplary piety, was dead. As the list of books which our founder read is now produced, and in the order of time in which they were read, some observations are necessary.

1. As to the total *number* of books read, there is and can be no precision. Doubtless his reading was very extensive and thorough before he became a preacher of the Gospel. In forty-five years, until 1778, he thought he had read five or six hundred books. He seems, however, to have been so well furnished in his youth, that all the reading of forty-five years added to his stock only "a little more history or natural philosophy." What, then, did he read for, if not for instruction? He might read for instruction, and know more than his author. Another end of reading, as of conversation, is recreation. The library is not only the school, but the play-ground of the literary man. Reading was Mr. Wesley's amusement and recreation. Besides, he would now and then indulge himself in hearing fine music, in looking over beautiful gardens, in viewing the rich and antique furniture in the houses of the nobility and gentry, in gazing at the painting and cartoons of celebrated painters, in visiting noted scenes of facts or legends, in inspecting the museums of corporations or private persons, or in admiring the glorious old Gothic in the architecture of the churches and cathedrals of England and Ireland. But when nothing else presented itself in his leisure hour, he would fall back upon reading as his standing pleasure. We have no doubt but in his life-time he must have read from a thousand to fifteen hundred books. If he were not the great English colossus of literature, as Dr. Johnson, he was certainly a little colossus; and compared to whom most other preachers in his day were but ordinary men, children, or dwarfs.

2. As the preceding list of books contains, probably, not a fourth of the reading of our founder, it must be viewed merely as a *specimen* of the larger and lost catalogue. In this respect it is curious and interesting. It shows the kind of books he studied or indulged in, and the taste and judgment he exercised. We have

the works of Moses, Solomon, and Paul, but we know nothing of their reading. We have old Homer, Herodotus, and Aristotle, but we are completely in the dark as to the works by which their minds were enlightened. To those who admire the reformer of the eighteenth century, as well as the reformer of the sixteenth, the specimen catalogue will be viewed as a literary curiosity.

3. In looking over the catalogue one reflection immediately is created, namely, how small the space which *Divinity* holds in it. Considering the holy calling of the reader, the pious character he bore, the Christian experience he professed, and the extraordinary religious revival in which he was continually engaged, strange that his reading so little corresponded with his calling, his experience, and his work! One would suppose that religious and devout authors would be the rule in his reading, and others the exception; whereas, other authors are the rule, and religious authors the exception. Our opinion is, that his reading in divinity was not to be compared with such a man as Archbishop Usher, or even Richard Baxter. We do not find that Mr. Wesley ever read the Fathers of the early Church, the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages, the works of the great foreign divines, not even Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, or Arminius; nor many of the great theologians of the English school of divines, Episcopalians, Puritans, or Non-conformists. We do not mean that he never read pieces of these classes of authors, (even as we dwarfish readers of the present times, we read our scraps,) but an extensive and thorough study of the quartos and folios coming from the great lights of the Church is what he never accomplished or undertook. The chief books in the list are Luther's Comment on the Galatians, Bishop Bull's Reconcilement of St. Paul and St. James, on Faith and Works, and Bishop Pearson on the Apostle's Creed. The fact is, Mr. Wesley made no pretensions to systematic theology, or to increase of knowledge in practical divinity. Says he:

"I went to Tiverton; I was musing here on what I heard a good man say long since: 'Once in seven years I burn all my sermons; for it is a shame if I cannot write better sermons now than I could seven years ago.' Whatever others can do, I really cannot. . . . . Perhaps, indeed, I may have read five or six hundred books more than I had then, (forty-five years ago,) and may know a little more history, or natural philosophy than I did; but I am not sensible that this has made any essential addition to my knowledge of divinity. Forty years ago I preached and knew every Christian doctrine which I preach now."

He was right in the beginning; consequently, there was no room for after-corrections. So the reading of forty-five years made no sensible addition to his stock of divinity. The reason is apparent; he did not read much divinity. Yet, who can dare affirm

that our founder was not a divine, a correct divine, even a great divine.

4. Although the Bible was his chief "Institutes," yet he was willing to learn the *history of the Church* from human authors. He was well acquainted with the principal ecclesiastical historians. The list gives the names of Eusebius, Episcopius, Beveridge, Turretine, Laval, Prince, Baxter, Knox, Crantz, Wodrow, Mosheim, writers who deal with the entire history of the Church, or with particular sections, and also the history of the Puritans. It also gives Middleton on Church Government, and Lord King on the Constitution of the Primitive Church. These authors must have furnished large and thorough knowledge on the history and government of the Church. When we put confidence in the fabric called Methodism, we do so reasonably, knowing the contriver and founder, under Providence, was a wise master builder.

5. And our founder was well read in some branches of *controversial divinity*, which his own times impelled him to investigate, and to controvert. Although he hated controversy, and shrunk from it, yet much of his life was spent in the study and practice of it. He was early read in, and almost seduced by writers of the Mystic or Quietist school. And so was Charles Wesley, whose mind, all through life, cried, "To the desert, to the desert!" says his brother. Archbishop Fenelon, Madame Guyon, Anna Schurman, Antoinette Bourignon, were eminent members of the sect. He also read, in order to controvert various errors in, the works of the Moravians, the Swedenborgians, the Behmenites, the Quakers, the Calvinists, the English Deists, the Papists, the Socinians. The list exhibits some books belonging to each of these classes, which he read and noticed. By much reading of controversy and practice, with the aid of his well-learned logic, he became an expert disputant. His mark was so sure, and his arrow so sharp, that he failed not in piercing and defeating the adversary.

6. One class of books in the list will rather surprise those who know little or nothing of the life of Mr. Wesley; I mean the books on the theory and practice of *medicine*. Rather strange that he could patiently read about deformity, by Hay; the hydrocele, by Else; the gravel and stone, by Peru; anatomy, by Hunter, or the practice of physic, by M'Bride. The truth is, that the members of the clerical profession had very little faith in the ability or honesty of the members of the curative profession. He therefore sought how to cure himself, and after a time learned to cure others also. When he took cold, with cough and hoarseness, a garlic plaster to his feet drew it away; and when a pleurisy laid hold of him, he sent

it off by a brimstone plaster to his side. In the year 1748 he said, "For six or seven and twenty years I have made anatomy and physic the diversion of my leisure hours."—*Plain Account of the Methodists.* Want of confidence in the medical profession was the reason, for he says in 1747, "For more than twenty years I have had numberless proofs that regular physicians do exceeding little good."—*Letter to Mr. John Smith.* A poor character for the doctors of the first half of the eighteenth century!

7. Another class of books in the catalogue may excite much greater surprise. Religious persons of small reading and narrow views would never expect Mr. Wesley to have read Mr. Home's Tragedy of Douglas, or Sterne's Sentimental Journey. Still less would they suspect that a clergyman of his character would, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and with eyes dim and dimmer growing, spend his time in reading such a book as Captain Wilson's Account of the Pelew Islands, The Exploits of the famous Baron Trenck, or the Life of the Actress Mrs. Bellamy. As one end of his reading was entertainment, these books were suitable for the purpose. When he read, the books were new, or not long published. Each was much talked of; and curiosity was another motive. He read, too, as a critic or reviewer, to pass an opinion. While such authors are not of the best description, neither are they of the worst. It is not to be supposed that a mind like his, so upright and well-balanced, could be hurt. His eye was single: and to the pure all things are pure.

8. In portraying Mr. Wesley as a literary man, there must be no concealment of what he really was. He certainly was pleased with books of *entertainment.* He was fond of the works of *imagination.* A finely wrought fiction, in prose or poetry, to him was very attractive. Ignorant persons condemn all fiction, forgetting (if they ever knew) that the most glorious literature in the world is fiction, and that some of the most sublime and pathetic parts of the Bible are imaginative. Homer he was delighted with, and exclaims: "What an amazing genius had this man!" and praises the old Greek's thought, expression, and piety, "in spite of his pagan prejudices." After he had read Voltaire's epic of Henriade, he praises the liveliness and imagination of the author; but condemns the French tongue as the "poorest, meanest language in Europe," and declares "it is as impossible to write a fine poem in French as to make fine music on a Jew's harp." In one of his journeys he read another French work, namely, the prose-poetic romance of Telemachus, by Fenelon. He condemned the form, but praised the sense of the book. The beautiful and pathetic fiction of the Death of Abel, by the Swiss

poet and painter, Solomon Gesner, attracted his attention. He called this style of prose-poetry "prose run mad." In 1763 Macpherson published his translation of Ossian from the Erse language. Three years after Mr. Wesley read Ossian when in Ireland, and thought Fingal "a wonderful poem." He rather doubted whether it is orally in the Erse, but, says he, "many assure me it is." In 1784, he read Fingal again. The authenticity he now considered "beyond all reasonable contradiction." Ossian, he thought, in some respects, superior to Homer or Virgil: "What a hero was Fingal!" In 1786, he once more read Fingal, and his admiration increased still more. Probably no epic poet but Ossian did Mr Wesley ever read three times. As Alexander the Great kept the Iliad as his companion, so the great Napoleon appreciated Ossian. "Admiration of the sublime Ossian," said Talleyrand, "seemed to detach him from the world."—*Alison*, xxv. Other great works of imagination, as Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, and Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, appear in the list, with Sir Richard Blackmore's Prince Arthur. Passing by all other reading, when we say that our founder was well acquainted with the great poems of Homer, Virgil, Milton, Voltaire, Tasso, Ariosto, and Ossian, we say enough to prove his fine literary taste and rich literary acquisitions. To them we may safely add nearly all remaining of the Greek and Latin poets, with our English poets Shakspeare, Thomson, Byrom, Beattie, Gray, and others. A man whose taste led him to study the principal poets of ancient and modern times, in the Greek, Latin, French, and English tongues, is surely deserving of something of a literary name. We find that he never read the "Odyssey" of Homer, until he was sixty-five years of age. Like many others, he understood the second work was inferior to his first, and

"The last effort of an expiring muse."

"But," says he, "how was I mistaken!" and considered the Odyssey even superior to the Iliad.

9. Mr. Wesley, in his life-time and since, has often been judged and called a *fanatic*. If any think so still, let them read the catalogue of his books. Is there any divine, philosopher, or literary person of the day, whose reading has been more sober, rational, philosophic, scientific, or in accordance with correct taste and the discriminative judgment of a scholar? Look at the founders of some religious bodies, as George Fox, Swedenborg, Joanna Southcote, and some of the new and now rising visionaries, and the great difference will be instantly seen. In his works are some strange and wonderful relations of what he saw or heard of. A

weak-headed man he has been considered, to believe in the marvellous and supernatural. In the list of books is one on witchcraft, and another on apparitions, by Baxter. In these two subjects he believed, as also in demoniacs, yet his belief was very sober, and altogether founded on the Bible, which abounds in instances of these three supernaturals. Says Dr. Johnson: "That the dead are seen no more, I will not undertake to maintain against the concurrent and unvaried testimony of all ages and of all nations. . . . . That it is doubted by single cavillers, can very little weaken the general evidence; and some who deny it with their tongues, confess it by their fears."—*Rasselas*, xxxi.

10. While Mr. Wesley read some sermons, as Seed's, Blair's, and Erskine's, and read works on taste and genius, education and political economy, the sciences and natural and moral philosophy, music and poetry, rhetoric and logic, yet he was fonder of books of *voyages* and *travels*, with the memoirs or *biographies* of eminent persons. In the former department we find the list containing travels and voyages by Norden, Lord Anson, Byron, Dr. Shaw, Forster, Captain Cook, and Captain Wilson. In the latter department we find in the list memoirs or lives of the Henrys, Loyola, Lopez, Colonel Gardiner, St. Patrick, Baxter, Peter the Great, Shah Nadir, Theodore of Corsica, St. Catherine, William Lilly, Mohammed, William Edmundson, Belisarius, Lord Herbert, Anna Schurman, and Count Marsay. A person who reads for diversion will never choose dry, hard, and abstract subjects, but what is attractive and entertaining, at the same time instructive, as is the case with this sort of reading, which, therefore, answered the object of the reader.

11. But the class of books our founder was the fondest of was *antiquities* and *history*. Doubtless before he went to, or while a scholar and fellow of Oxford University, he had read most or all of the Greek and Latin historians. After he became a field preacher he still read history, the delight of all great men. In antiquities the list shows works read of Roman, Greek, and Hebrew remains, with Rogers's Essay on the Learning of the Ancients, and Weston's Wonders of Antiquity. In 1757, when in the West of England, he read Mr. Borlase's Account of the Antiquities of Cornwall, describing the ancient monuments remaining of the Druids, the Romans, and the Saxons. General histories he read, as Rollin's Ancient History, and Dobb's Universal History, and gave some regard to foreign places, as Belgium, Italy, and Palmyra. He read Dr. Robertson's History of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and of America, and complains severely of the extraneous matter inserted.

On the History of England, the list has no authors but Dalrymple and Smollett, with the histories of two English towns, Whitby and Norwich. The motive for reading the history of Norwich was, perhaps, to find the character of former generations. In 1785 he told the present generation, especially the members of the Methodist society, that they were the most troublesome people he had to deal with. "Of all the people I have seen in the kingdom, for between forty and fifty years, you have been the most fickle, and yet the most stubborn." He complained, too, of Dr. Smollett, for slandering the Methodists in his history of the reign of George the Second, charging the Wesleys and Whitefield with "imposture and fanaticism," and with laying the "whole kingdom under contribution." Says Mr. Wesley: "Poor Dr. Smollett! Thus to transmit to all succeeding generations a whole heap of notorious falschoods!" Mr. Wesley seems to have felt more interest in Scotch history than English. He read Guthrie's History of Scotland; some years after he read another by Stuart, and also an Inquiry into the Charges against Mary, Queen of Scotland. He sides with the Scotch authors, completely clears Mary, and pronounces her, not only beautiful, but one of the wisest and best of princes. He has no mercy on Queen Elizabeth, who was "as just and merciful as Nero, and as good a Christian as Mohammed." Nor is he more lenient to her successor James the First. On his way to Dundee, in 1774, he read an Account of the famous Gowry Conspiracy in 1600. "The whole was a piece of king-craft," says he, "the clumsy invention of a covetous and bloodthirsty tyrant!" He delivers his mind very freely, as freely as any republican could desire, concerning rulers. Thus, when reading the Life of the Pope Sextus Quintus, he says, the pope had some excellent qualities, but then he was "as far from being a Christian as Henry the Eighth or Oliver Cromwell." And after he had read Wodrow's Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, he passes summary sentence on the character of Charles the Second: "O what a blessed governor was that good-natured man, so called, King Charles the Second! Bloody Queen Mary was a lamb, a mere dove, in comparison of him." No Puritan could scarcely speak worse of the House of Tudor; or Presbyterian of the House of Stuart. Still, our founder was a great monarchist in theory and sentiment: but he wanted all princes to be, not only good, but the best of men.

12. While considering Mr. Wesley as a lover and reader of history, any one looking over the list must be struck with his fondness for *Irish history*. English history, doubtless, he had read in his youth. Going into Scotland on different tours, he acquired an interest in, and books of, Scotish story. But North Britain never

received our founder, or his preachers, as Ireland. He calls the Irish "an immeasurably-loving people." "What a nation is this!" cries he; "every man, woman, and child, not only patiently, but gladly, suffer the word of exhortation." Yet he found a drawback. "But still they who are ready to eat up every word, do not appear to digest any part of it." When in Ireland in 1747, he procured a genuine account of the great Irish Massacre of 1641, when Charles the First sat on the throne of England. "More than two hundred thousand* of Protestant men, women, and children, butchered in a few months, in cool blood, and with such circumstances of cruelty as make one's blood run cold." The next year he visited Ireland, and read Sir James Ware's Antiquities of Ireland. He learned that the country was tenfold more populous formerly, and that many great cities were now ruinous heaps. Then he read the Life of St. Patrick, and concluded that either the saint did not preach the Gospel, or that "there was then no devil in the world" to hinder. In 1758, he read Mr. Walker's account of the Siege of Londonderry, and Dr. Bernard's account of the Siege of Drogheda; also Dr. Curry's (a papist) History of the Irish Rebellion, and the answer to it, by Mr. Harris. In 1760 Mr. Wesley was in Ireland, and then read Sir John Davis's Historical relations concerning Ireland. He learned that before the English came the Irish waged incessant war with each other; and that after the English came they waged continual war with the English. From 1641 to 1644 a million of people was cut off by massacre and civil war. He also read Smith's State of the County and City of Waterford. "Twelve hundred years ago Ireland was a flourishing kingdom. It seems to have been declining almost ever since." In 1765, when at Athlone, he read Sir Richard Cox's History of Ireland. Says he: "I do not now wonder Ireland is thinly inhabited, but that it has any inhabitants at all. Probably it had been wholly desolate before now, had not the English come and prevented the implacable wretches from going on till they had swept each other from the earth." In 1769 he finished Dr. Warner's History of the Irish Rebellion. "I never saw before so impartial an account." In 1773, on his passage to Dublin, he read a new author on the History of Ireland, namely, Dr. Leland, who was "a fine writer, but unreasonably partial." In 1779 he took in hand Dr. Warner's History of Ireland to the English Conquest, and calls the book "a mere senseless romance." Says he, "I totally reject the authorities." Mr. Wesley loved the people of Ireland. He read so much about them, in order to understand them. A number of times he went all over the kingdom, preaching

* Three hundred thousand, he says in another place.—*Journal*, 1760.

the Gospel, and left more happy results of his labor and love than did St. Patrick.

13. Among his historical reading are two books concerning *India*, a country which for six months past has attracted the eye of the world. One was the Abbé Raynal's History of the Settlements and Trades of the Europeans in the Indies. Mr. Wesley criticises the book very sharply; and others have objected to the sentiments and the facts (so called.) The other he read in 1776, and is called an Account of the Affairs in the East Indies, by Mr. Bolt. Europeans began to trade with India in the sixteenth century. They began to form settlements on the coasts in the seventeenth. The English power in India was weak and declining during the first half of the eighteenth. Mr. Clive went out in the service of the East India Company, a man of great ability and courage, and English affairs began to revive. He returned to England, and was sent out again in 1755, as Governor of Fort St. David. The victory of Plassey, in 1757, over a native prince, secured the province of Bengal, and laid the foundation of the present British power in India. Clive again returned, and received the title of Lord Clive from the king. Indian affairs went into confusion, and in 1764 Lord Clive again sailed to India. He returned again. In 1773 a committee of the House of Commons examined into the charges against him. He was exculpated, but his proud spirit could not brook the mortification, and he committed suicide the next year. Indian affairs, then, had occupied the public attention for some years. Mr. Bolt's account came out, and Mr. Wesley read it, as "much the best that is extant." Then come the reader's reflections:

"But what a scene is here opened! What consummate villains, what devils incarnate, were the managers there! What utter strangers to justice, mercy, and truth; to every sentiment of humanity! I believe no heathen history contains a parallel. I remember none in all the annals of antiquity; not even the divine Cato or the virtuous Brutus plundered the provinces committed to their charge with such merciless cruelty, as the English have plundered the desolated provinces of Hindoostan."

The condemnation is very severe. Yet desolation is always the result of war, and the conquerors have ever plundered the conquered, with more or less severity. The Bible and history are full of examples. And the "publican," or collector of tribute, was never an object of love, but of fear and hatred intense.

14. The preceding catalogue of books affords a good idea of the extent and variety of the reading of our founder. Additional diligence and leisure would allow a researcher to add, probably, a hundred other works to the catalogue; some he would find mentioned, and some he

would learn by implication. In the latter class, the quotations elegantly but not profusely sprinkled over the works of Mr. Wesley, show a number of authors more or less known and read. The taste and skill shown in the introduction of fine sentiments or reflections from the Greek and Latin poets is especially worthy of remark. I never noticed any quotations from the ancient Greek dramatists, Aristophanes, Æschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides, nor from the celebrated ode writers, Pindar and Anacreon; but there is a quotation from Hesiod, one from Sappho, and a few from Homer. The first is quoted in the sermon of Good Angels, and the second in the paper entitled, A Thought upon Marriage. The Latin poets he more frequently quotes than the Greek. While he honors Persius, Martial, Ovid, and Juvenal, he mostly delights in Horace and Virgil. He had a high esteem for the ancient authors. Says he to Mr. Joseph Benson, when a young man:

"You would gain more clearness and strength of judgment by reading those Latin and Greek books (compared with which most of the English are whipped syllabub) than by fourscore modern books."

15. Further to show Mr. Wesley as a literary man, that is a man knowing, appreciating, and loving books, we may look over the list of authors he selected for the use of the Kingswood School, which he "designed for the children of the Methodists, and for the sons of the itinerant preachers." However, as the list is too long for this place, we will refer the reader to Myles's Chronological History of the Methodists, ch. xvii. No one but a highly educated man, and a man well acquainted with human literature, to say nothing of his piety, could make such a selection, and ordain such rules for the cultivation of the understanding and the heart.

In concluding this part of the article on Mr. Wesley as a literary man, it will be proper to ask the ancient question, What good? The humble pen now writing thinks ONE use of the present article will be, to shed some light on a resolution of our founder, which has been often misunderstood. He resolved, in the fervor of his piety, to be a *man of one book.* Says he, in an incomparably artless and childlike manner:

"I want to know one thing: the way to heaven; how to land safe on that happy shore. God himself has condescended to teach the way; for this very end he came from heaven. He hath written it down in a book. O give me that book! At any price give me the book of God. I have it; here is knowledge enough for me. Let me be *homo unius libri*," (that is, a man of one book.)—*Preface to Sermons*, 1747.

The misunderstanding has been, that he meant to read "one book" *only;* a meaning strengthened by the expression, "Here is knowledge

enough for me." Against this view of the resolution may be set the multitude of books Mr. Wesley read before and after he made it. Also the large number of books he wrote and recommended. Further, his argument against the preachers who urge, "But I read only the Bible." Says he: "This is rank enthusiasm. If you need no book but the Bible, you are got above St. Paul. He wanted others too. 'Bring the books,' says he, 'but especially the parchments,' those wrote on parchment."—*Minutes of Conference, 32d question.* Then, by "a man of one book," Mr. Wesley meant, not *only*, but *chiefly* the Bible; and by "here is knowledge enough," he meant "of the way to heaven,"

A SECOND use of the article may be, to show how we are to understand one of the General Rules of the Methodist Societies, namely, to avoid "*singing those songs, and reading those books, which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God.*" The legislator's own practice is no incongruous commentary on his own law. Did our founder, in regard to reading, observe the rule? was he himself a faithful member of the Methodist society? Doubtless, in his own judgment, in the opinion of his preachers, and in the view of his own members and of the religious world generally, he practiced what he required. To understand the rule, the inquiry must be, not What did Mr. Wesley read? but, What did he pass by? There is a class of authors which may be named *nonsensical;* another class whose works are decidedly *immoral;* and a third issues books directly or indirectly *infidel*, and opposed to natural and revealed religion. The catalogue shows an exclusion of all works belonging to these classes; containing, on the contrary, books of a generally useful, solid, truthful, moral, and religious character. As preachers and members of the Methodist society, we need not study the art of casuistry, to understand the rule and the application thereof. A safer and easier guidance is the practice of the venerated law maker. What our founder read, surely we, preachers, his sons in the Gospel, may read; and what he allowed himself, surely we may allow the members under our care. The catalogue is the commentary on the rule.

A THIRD use is in the way of example, especially to preachers. Is it not wonderful how a man who was almost ever traveling, and preaching, and writing, could contrive to read so much? The fact is, that his reading was mostly when traveling. A number of books he read on the Irish Channel, in his many crossings to and from Ireland. He read a great many books on horseback; with a book in one hand, and a slack rein in the other, he traveled many thousands of miles, and over and over the principal roads of England,

Wales, and Ireland. In his old age his friends provided a chaise drawn by two horses; and then the chaise became his reading-room. Unexpected interruptions in his travels, times of sickness, and winter seasons, would afford some respite to his unwearied activity and some additional and in-door opportunities of reading. Surely Mr. Wesley may be held up, even in this reading day, as an example. And with all our leisure and opportunity, what "son in the Gospel" has excelled him? rather, who has approached him, in the extent and variety of his reading?

To understand more completely our founder as a literary man, we must look not only at what he *read*, but at what he *wrote* and the *style* of his writings. Enough, however, for the present.

Art. VIII.—THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST.

The subject of this article is one of grave importance, and demands serious consideration. It forms a query in the minds of thousands. Some, full of fear and despondency, conclude they have committed the sin; they give up hope and live in utter despair of obtaining salvation. Others oscillate between doubt and despair. Not knowing the real nature of the sin, they dare not decide whether they are guilty of its commission. The food of happiness is taken from their hungry souls, or if they partake of it the nutritive element is wanting. These states of mind are not unfrequent in the religious world. They affect the young and old, the intelligent and uninstructed, the penitent seeker of salvation, and the acknowledged believer in Christ Jesus.

There are three questions which I wish to consider. I. What was the sin against the Holy Ghost in the Saviour's time, as spoken of by him? II. Can the sin against the Holy Ghost in that sense be committed in the present day? III. If not, is there now any sin against the Holy Ghost? If so, what is that sin?

I. What was the sin against the Holy Ghost in the Saviour's time as spoken of by him? Reference must be made to the passages in which the sin is mentioned. Three of the evangelists, out of the four, make mention of it. Matthew and Mark mention the particular circumstance which gave rise to the solemn language of Christ.

Luke simply throws in the statement without the circumstance. Matthew informs us that there "was brought unto him [Christ] one possessed with a devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw." The Pharisees, when they heard of it, said, "This fellow doth not cast out devils but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils." Jesus Christ, upon hearing this, vindicated his miracle from such foul imputations, and declared that the miracle was wrought by the Spirit of God. Then, after a few more words of comment, he repeated the words: "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." Matt. xii, 22–32. The language of Mark is: "Verily I say unto you, All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewithsoever they shall blaspheme: but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation: because they said, He hath an unclean spirit." Mark iii, 28–30. Luke gives the mind of Christ in these words: "And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven." Luke xii, 10.

It will be seen from the above quotations that there is no difference expressed as to the *unpardonableness* of the sin against the Holy Ghost. Mark alone tells us the reason why he spoke of the sin against the Holy Ghost: "because they said, He hath an unclean spirit." Matthew does not use the same language, but it is obvious that the words of Christ concerning this sin arose out of the accusation of the Jews: "This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub the prince of devils." The evident meaning of the Saviour is, that the Jews were guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost, which sin consisted in accusing him of possessing an unclean spirit, and imputing to that spirit the performance of the miracle which he had just wrought. This was dishonor, insult, blasphemy, to the Holy Ghost. It was a dethronement of the Holy Ghost, and an exaltation of the prince of the devils. It was an expulsion of the Holy Ghost from his own dominion, and a recognition of the monarch of hell as his substitute. It was taking the work of mercy and grace, which could only be accomplished by the Holy Ghost, and attributing it to the enemy of all righteousness, full of subtlety, malice, hatred, revenge, covetousness, and all abominations. In this, I conceive the sin against the Holy Ghost to have consisted

in the time of Christ, as spoken of by him in the language quoted above.

There is another question in immediate connection with this, which deserves a passing notice. Is the sin against the Holy Ghost, spoken of by Christ, mentioned or alluded to in any other parts of the New Testament? I have not found that it is. There are three passages which, by some, may be considered as alluding to the sin. Heb. vi, 4–6: "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." There is here no reference at all to the sin against the Holy Ghost. The impossibility of renewing again to repentance such as fall away from grace, is not said to rest upon the sin against the Holy Ghost, but upon the renunciation of Christ, "seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." Here is the heinous sin of the persons here referred to. In the practice of this sin consists the impossibility of their salvation. They denounce and trample upon the only Saviour that can save them; their salvation while in this course of life is "impossible."

Heb. x, 26, 27: "For if we sin willfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries." This is a parallel passage to the one just considered, and may in part admit of the same exegesis. It does not, however, make mention of or refer to the sin against the Holy Ghost. Its denotation appears to be, that an apostasy from the Christian religion leaves the subject of that apostasy without any hope of salvation, because there is left to him no more sacrifice for his sins than the one which by his apostasy he actually disavows and rejects.

1 John v, 16: "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it." There is no allusion here to the sin against the Holy Ghost. I see nothing in the passage which would lead the mind to infer that St. John referred to the sin. He says, "There is a sin unto death," but does not state what it is. He does not explain in any other part of the chapter or epistle. There is, therefore, no ground for the supposition that he alludes to this particular sin.

My object in quoting these texts was not to give a legitimate ex-

planation of them, but simply to show that they do not signify the sin against the Holy Ghost, in the sense declared by our Lord in the Gospels.

II. Can the sin against the Holy Ghost, as expressed by the Saviour, be committed in the present day? This is the second question for consideration.

1. In the exact sense in which the Jews committed it, no person can be guilty of this sin in the present age of the world. The Saviour is not now upon the earth in his incarnation. He does not go about doing good among men. His goodness and power are not manifest in the manner they were in the land of the Jews. The deaf and dumb, possessed of a devil, are not brought to him that he might, in the sight of the people, cast out the evil spirit. There is, therefore, no opportunity for any man to say of him, upon seeing or hearing of him casting out a devil, "This fellow doth not cast out devils but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils." The possibility of this is not in the power of any existing being.

2. But could not a person, upon the authority of the evangelists, as mere historians, believe that Jesus Christ actually lived as they relate, and wrought miracles, but that they were accomplished through Satanic agency? and would not this be the sin against the Holy Ghost of which the Jews were guilty? It would not be the *same* sin, because the persons, the time, and place differ; also for the reasons above stated. Whether it would be a sin against the Holy Ghost at all, I will not attempt to divine. But granting that it would, I imagine it exceeding difficult, if not impossible in the nature of things, for such a sin to be committed. The faith which would receive the Gospels only as historical narratives, as it would receive any ancient record of facts, would preclude the commission of such a sin. There is no evidence whatsoever in the Gospels, that the basest of men could take, on which to accuse Christ of working his miracles by an evil spirit. The very opposite is the case. No man, in the use of his proper senses, could believe from the evangelic history, that Jesus was a Satanic agent for the accomplishment of his diabolical purposes. The nature of the things he said and did, as well as the life he led, as recorded by the evangelists, show him to have been a being of whom Satan, according to his very nature, kingdom, and operations, could not approve, not to say employ as his agent. But if a man should reject the Gospels and Christianity, what then? He could not be guilty of the sin, inasmuch as by this rejection he would deny the miracle and the person *in toto*, consequently the commission of the sin would be impracticable. The Jews admitted the miracle, but attributed it to Satanic power within

him; he neither believes that the person existed as the history states, nor that the miracles were wrought, therefore he is not guilty of the sin as the Jews were.

III. If the sin against the Holy Ghost, in the sense spoken of by the Saviour, cannot be committed in the present day, is there any sin at all against the Holy Ghost now? and if so, what is that sin? This question shall now have attention.

1. That there is a sin against the Holy Ghost will, I think, appear evident from his character as a person and as Divine. He possesses personal properties and affections. He possesses attributes and performs works which constitute him Divine, and associate him with the Father and Son as co-equal; constituting the mysterious truth of the eternal Trinity. This fact implies that he is as capable of being the object of sin as either the Father or the Son.

2. But what is the nature of the sin against the Holy Ghost, which a man may commit in the present age of the world? The answer to this question must arise out of the character of the Holy Ghost, his work with men, and relationship to them. In regard to his character, that does not differ from the Father or the Son; that is, he is, like them, Divine in all the attributes of his nature. In this respect a sin committed against the Holy Ghost does not differ from a sin committed against the Father or Son, seeing he is one with them, undivided and equal.

It is the work of the Holy Ghost with man, and his relationship to him, that gives to sin committed against him its solemn peculiarity, and distinguishes it from sin committed against either God the Father or God the Son. In the salvation of man, each person in the Godhead has his respective relation to man, and work with him. God the Father is represented as the sovereign of man, dispensing to him pardon, and all the blessings of the Gospel redemption. God the Son is represented as the Saviour of man, through whom all these blessings have been purchased, and are communicated unto him. God the Holy Ghost is represented as the agent with man, by whom he is brought to seek these blessings bestowed by the Father through the Son. I say, in the salvation of man there is this distinction made in the work which each person in the Godhead sustains in that salvation, while, in the eternal and unchangeable essence of their Divinity, they are one undivided God.

A mere cursory view of the New Testament will establish these statements beyond a doubt. "For through him [Christ] we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father." Eph. ii, 18. "Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh

unto the Father, but by me." John xiv, 6. "But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ." Eph. ii, 4, 5. Numerous other texts may be quoted upon this subject; but it is not relevant.

It was stated above, that the Holy Ghost is represented in Scripture as the agent with man to bring him to seek the blessings of redemption bestowed by God the Father through God the Son. One passage was adduced in proof of this, Eph. ii, 18. Another is recorded in John xvi, 8: "And when he [the Spirit] is come, he will reprove [the marginal reading is convince, which corresponds most with the original] the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." The history of conversions, from the day of Pentecost downward, and the experience of all who now enjoy the blessing of salvation, are corroborative evidence of the truth, that the Holy Ghost is the agent by whom sinners are led to God through Christ. Besides, there are other thoughts in relation to man's first state of grace with which the Spirit is the Divine agent. His liberty from the errors of false systems of religion, from the thralldom and slavery of the flesh and the devil, takes place only by the indwelling of the Spirit. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." 2 Cor. iii, 17. We cannot become the property of Christ as his purchased possession, and have an inward assurance of it, but by the Spirit. "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Rom. viii, 9. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Rom. viii, 16. His regeneration from a state of darkness into light, from nature to grace, etc., is effected by the Holy Ghost. "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. . . . That which is born of the Spirit, is spirit." John iii, 5, 6. We cannot even call Christ "Lord," as St. Paul tells us, but by the Holy Ghost. In one word, man is utterly, absolutely, everlastingly lost to all saving religious light, influence, and blessings, without the Spirit. This is the unequivocal teaching of Scripture, and the undeniable experience of all mankind.

Here, then, we see what is the relation of the Holy Spirit to man, and his work with him, in his natural state. This brings us in our inquiries to the main point in hand, the sin against the Holy Ghost which men may commit in the present age of the world. Any transgression of the laws to be observed by man, in seeking, by the agency of the Spirit, the salvation of his soul, must be sin against the Spirit, those laws being of his imposition and authority. Any opposition offered, or violence done to the Holy Ghost, in his

gracious and benign influences to convince man of sin and guide him to a pardoning God, through an atoning Saviour, is sin against him. The Spirit labors with man for his salvation by direct interference and through mediums. He has immediate access to the mind and heart, as an omniscient Being searching the inmost recesses, and disclosing the hidden and secret contents to the conscience and understanding; to rebel against this procedure of the Spirit is sin against him. He insinuates and draws men, by the charms of his love and grace, from the rugged ways of sin into the luxurious paths of virtue and holiness; to repel these influences and steel the heart against them, is sin offered to the Holy Ghost. In the hour of moral danger, in the season of temptation, he cautions and admonishes the sinner not to involve his soul in deeper guilt; to close the ear and go on heedlessly, is sin against the Spirit. He unfolds the justice, goodness, and holiness of the Divine law, and creates a sense of obligation to observe that law; to close the eye against the discovery, and wipe away that sense of obligation, is sin against the Holy Ghost. He sets forth the perfect excellence of Christ, his adaptation as a Saviour, the necessity of faith in him for salvation, wooing, beseeching, laboring to persuade the soul to come and receive, by the faith he shall inspire, "the Lamb of God;" to withstand, resist, and command the Spirit to "Go thy way for this time," is a sin against him. The Spirit labors with sinners by a combination of agencies, such as the ministry, the word, providence, Christians, and all the means of grace included in the Church of Christ; to resist or throw off all the convictions, desires, purposes, or resolutions which these may excite in the heart, is to sin against the Holy Ghost. Observe, that in rejecting any one or all of the agencies employed by the Spirit, is not to sin against *them*, but against the Spirit, seeing they are not their own, but his; as a criminal, who should refuse the pardon of a sovereign presented to him by the embassador of the sovereign, would refuse not the grace of the embassador, but of the sovereign; or, as the rebel, who violates the laws of the monarch made known to him by the magistrate, does no violence to the magistrate, but to the monarch who made the laws and commanded them to be obeyed.

Here it may be said, Does not this view exonerate the sinner from sin against the Holy Ghost, seeing he is an agent of the Father; and constitute the sin into one against God, and not against the Spirit? It must be remembered that the Spirit is God. He is so essentially and perfectly, as much so as the Son or the Father. In the part he takes in man's salvation, he is equal in his Divinity to either the first or second Person in the Trinity. He is God, as

the great agent of man's salvation; therefore, to be guilty of any conduct such as is instanced above, is to sin against him; as much as trampling upon the blood of the covenant is a sin against Christ, or to blaspheme the name of the Lord is a sin against God.

Is the sin against the Holy Ghost, in the sense just described, *unpardonable?* Is there no forgiveness for it, neither in this world nor in that which is to come? There is a negative and a positive answer to these questions. There is a sense in which the sin is pardonable, and in which it is not pardonable. Whatever sins may be committed against the Holy Ghost are pardonable, so long as he continues to act with the sinner as the agent of his salvation. The continuance of the Spirit is a satisfactory evidence upon this particular. But a protracted, determined, unwavering course of hostility to the Spirit, until the Spirit is driven from all direct or indirect agency with him, is a sin which hath not forgiveness. If his light be lost in darkness, how great is that darkness! There is none left to shed the feeblest gleam athwart the blackness of darkness which, as a deathly pall, hangs over his self-murdered soul. If his heat be *quenched* by the frigid influences of sin, no more to be revived and re-strengthened, there is no power which can melt or subdue the frozen heart into sensibility; nothing that can circulate through the moral system a life-blood and action which shall lead to God. If, as a guide to the Saviour, he be rejected, despised, bound in bondage, or forced to depart, there is no angel spirit, no glorified immortal, no sanctified Christian, no concentration of wisdom, love, and power, sufficient to open the way and direct the abject soul to the bleeding cross. He must wander everlastingly amid the wilds and horrors, the wants and woes of a lost, lost, lost soul.

It is in this sense that I regard the sin against the Holy Ghost unpardonable. It is impossible to bring one thus abandoned of the Spirit to repentance. He is utterly incapable of faith in Christ. Regeneration is no more possible than the change of the Ethiopean's skin by his own hands, or the change of the leopard's spots by its own paws.

When may a man be said to have committed this unpardonable sin? In the absence of all those convictions, desires, purposes, feelings, etc., included in the work of the Spirit with man, as previously described, without any return of them, it is to be feared that this sin has been committed. When the broad, glorious light of the Gospel shines upon the sinner, and he has no eye to see the faintest ray, because he has suffered the god of this world to blind him; when the voice of the charmer can charm never so sweetly in his

ears, to lure and attract to the pleasant ways of grace, and he hears not, because he has been deafened by the lulling sounds of the syren of hell; when every avenue to his soul is closed, and the soul itself twice dead by original and actual iniquities; when he stands in the dispensation of mercy, insensible, unsusceptible, boasting in his self-security, declaring his independence of every moral obligation, feeling he has nothing to fear from his sins, nothing to dread from God, saying, "What have I done? my conscience is at ease; I need not your Gospel repentance and faith; I am prepared to meet my Judge:" in such a case, there is evidence sufficient to show that the fatal sin has been committed. The Spirit has taken his flight, and left the wretched soul to live out the residue of his days without feeling after God; without any hope or desire after salvation, hardened through the deceitfulness of sin, having nothing before him but a fearful looking for of fiery indignation which shall devour the adversary.

How many such cases there are, I would not presume to say. I would hesitate to declare of any *particular* man, whom I might be asked to judge upon, that he had committed the unpardonable sin. That there are such in the world, where Christianity has been promulged, cannot be denied, but who they are by name or person, I would leave their conscience and God to decide.

Art. IX.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—The protracted sufferings of the Christian missions in India have been a spur to the various missionary societies to mature a combined system of evangelization, which, it is confidently hoped, will prove much more effectual than the hitherto too little connected operations of so many different religious bodies. Thus the Indian mutiny is already becoming a source of much good, for the missionary zeal of the Christian denominations is aroused to an unprecedented degree. At home, the Church of England is reflecting on the most suitable means of drawing the masses of the people into its churches and meetings, and of warning them against the doctrines of infidelity or indifference, which a rapidly increasing number of talented and popular papers spread among them. The regular services commenced by the evangelical party in the unconsecrated Exeter Hall, have been forbidden by the High Church rector of the parish; and the High Church party indulges the hope, that perhaps the same object may be reached by special services in the churches, at which all the seats are free. The splendor displayed by the Church at the marriage of the Princess Royal has filled many Churchmen with satisfaction, but at the same time, the connection between Church and State is as productive of strife and discord as ever. The Divorce Act has now gone into operation, but a large portion of the clergy refuse to submit to it, and the Bishop of Oxford has enjoined to all his surrogates never to grant a license for marriage to any person whose divorced husband or wife is still living. The Society for the Revival of the Convocation thinks that all the pressing requirements of religion

may be summed up in one word—convocation; and the anti-Church-rate party, whose leaders, according to High-Church papers, are all Dissenters, Radicals, and Freethinkers, endeavor again to effect the total and uncompensated abolition of Church rates.

The Roman Church.—Another large batch of Tractarians has gone over to Rome, under the training of the Rev. Dr. Manning. Great efforts are made by the members of the Roman Church in England and Ireland, to organize, under the management of monastic orders, reformatories for juvenile delinquents, some of which are already, it seems, in a successful operation.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches. — The High-Church Lutherans of Prussia, though no longer basking in the royal protection, have still a great influence on the Church government. The Provincial Consistories are actively working in its favor, and the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council has again made to them some far-reaching concessions. In order to oppose their tendencies more effectually, the orthodox friends of the Union have organized themselves anew in the provinces of Pomerania and Saxony, in the latter under the leadership of Dr. Stier, the well-known theological author. The Rationalistic Dissenters have been treated with greater clemency since the regency of the Prince of Prussia. In Bavaria the Lutheran Church of the seven old provinces, and the United Church of the Palatinate have held general synods. The former, which was ordered this year by the government, from fear of exciting debates, to hold two separate General Synods at Bayreuth and Ansfach, has indorsed the High Lutheran views of the Supreme Consistory of Munich, while the United Church of the Palatinate, through its General Synod at Spires, has abrogated the rationalistic hymn book, and nearly completed the reorganization of the Church, on an entirely evangelical basis. In Wirtemberg several synods have petitioned the king for a greater independence of the Church, as the Concordat grants to the Roman Church much more of self-government than the Protestant Church enjoys. Preparations are made, in accordance with this report, to transfer the whole jurisdiction over ecclesiastical matters from the state to ecclesiastical boards. In Austria numerous conversions are still taking place to the Protestant Church, and Dr. Nowotny, formerly an Austrian priest, and now pastor of an evangelical congregation in Silesia, has published a list of thirty-five priests and members of religious orders, who within the last few years have renounced the Roman and adopted the evangelical creed. The Methodist and Baptist missions are uninterruptedly progressing, and, though consistories and Church Gazettes not rarely thunder against them, are on the whole no longer so much annoyed as in years past by the interference of the police.

The Roman Church. — The ultramontane party in Austria is making a powerful assault upon the plan of studies introduced in 1854 into the Austrian colleges. It is demanded to give to the Latin a greater preponderance than it has at present, by reducing the time devoted to the native tongue and to the natural sciences. A committee of eminent philologists, appointed by the Minister of Instruction to report on these demands, unanimously and strongly opposes them; but it is feared that the ultramontane party will know how to dispose the emperor in favor of it. The restoration of the old monastic discipline in all Austrian convents will considerably increase the number of zealous combatants for the Roman Church, both in Austria and in Germany at large.

SWITZERLAND.

The Protestant Churches. — In many places the tie which binds Church and State together begins to loosen. After the precedence of the cantons of Glaris, Berne, and Neufchatel, the evangelical portion of the canton of St. Gall is at present occupied with securing to the cantonal Church a greater independence of the state. A committee of the evangelical Grand Council has drafted a new constitution, which transfers nearly the whole jurisdiction over all matters of a merely ecclesiastical character, from the Grand Council to the Annual Synod, which is to consist of all the clergymen of the canton, and lay representatives of every congregation. As a similar progress, we hail a recent decree of the Grand Council of Vaud, by which a law of 1849, forbidding all religious assemblies outside of the national Church, is

repealed. Together with this desire for a greater independence of the state, many wishes are heard for a closer union of the various Church governments. To this end a General Conference has been proposed by Zurich. Among the subjects of deliberation selected for the first conference, we find the appointment of chaplains for the army, a uniform celebration of Good Friday, and others. The Church government of Berne has invited the other cantons, though without the hoped-for result, to address a joint memorial to the Federal Council against the marching of federal troops on Sundays. The religous press seems to prosper. Although already very numerous, it has received a new re-enforcement at the beginning of the present year. The most important among the new papers seems to be a bi-monthly, published at Lausanne, which promises to advocate the principles of a free evangelical Church.

The Roman Catholic Church.—At the late election of a new National Council, the ultramontane party has not been so successful as, after a few partial victories during the last years, it anticipated. It has elected all its candidates in five cantons (Ure, Zug, Schwytz, Fribourg, and Valais) and two half cantons, (Unterwalden ob. dem Wald, and Appenzell inner Rhoden,) and some of them in the cantons of Lucerne and St. Gall, but counts no more than about twenty representatives among the one hundred and twenty members of the National Council. No ultramontane member has been elected to the executive of Switzerland, the Federal Council, which consists of seven members, and is elected for three years. Three entirely Catholic cantons, Lucerne, Soleure, and Tessin, which are in the hands of the Liberals and Radicals, continue to suppress the last convents still existing within their territories. Argovie and Grisons are quarreling with their bishops on account of the mixed marriages. Instances have again occurred where agreements, concluded to the satisfaction of both parties between Swiss bishops and the cantonal governments of the respective dioceses, have been rejected by the pope. Ultramontanism is growing very strong and bold in Fribourg and Valais; but it has been unexpectedly defeated in one of three old Swiss cantons, (Unterwalden nid. dem Wald,) which were considered as the firmest strongholds of ultramontanism in all Europe.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Lutheran Church.—The defeat of the noble proposition of the Swedish king for establishing greater religious liberty in the Swedish Diet, is a sad proof how far even Protestant nations may go on the way of fanaticism and intolerance. The sentiments expressed by the opponents of the bill, especially by the leading speakers of the clergy, find a parallel only among the most violent ultramontanes of Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Even the punishment of exile for secession from the State Church, has not been repealed. Though it has been generally admitted that the execution of such a penalty has become inexpedient on account of the international law, the leading speakers of the clergy have declared their belief that, considered in itself, it is a good and recommendable measure. No member of the House of Priests has spoken in favor of the royal proposition, and in one province two hundred and eighty out of four hundred and fifty-seven clergymen have petitioned the Diet for maintaing the penalty of exile, some of them even wishing to render it more severe. More creditable to Sweden is a proposition, made by the Law Committee of the Diet, for a reorganization of the Swedish Church, which hitherto has been without a constitutional organ. It authorizes the king, as often as it pleases him, to convoke a "General Church Assembly," consisting of all the bishops, the *pastor primarius* of Stockholm, four professors of the theological faculties, thirteen representatives chosen by the clergy, and thirty representatives of the laity, all with equal rights. This assembly, however, is not to have any legislative power, but only to express to the king the wishes of the Church.

Roman Catholic Church.—A Danish correspondence of a Belgian paper, republished in the *Univers*, says that several members of the Danish aristocracy have recently joined the Church of Rome. It mentions the chief of one of the first families of the nobility of Holstein, Count Hahn, a brother of the authoress Countess Ida Hahn Hahn, who took the same step some years ago, and a son of Count Blome, of Salzau.

BELGIUM.

The Roman Church.—Never since the independence of Belgium has the ultramontane party suffered so signal a

defeat as at the two elections toward the close of last year. At the former, in October, when one half of the Belgian towns had to renew their councils, hardly one case was heard of in which the Catholic party elected its candidates; at the second, on December 10, when a new Chamber of Representatives was elected, sixty-eight Liberals were chosen to forty members of the Catholic party. The attendance at the polls was uncommonly large, partly owing to the urgent exhortations of the bishops, who recommended the Catholic candidates in pastoral letters. Of 89,631 voters which Belgium has at present, 76,141 took part in the election. Nearly 34,000 votes were cast for the Catholic candidates, leaving about 42,000, almost all nominal Catholics, who disregarded the commands of the bishops. The new ministers are tried friends of the principle of religious freedom, and will preserve it unimpaired in concert with the new Chamber of Representatives.

The Protestant Church.—The *Belgian Evangelical Society* has published another very favorable annual report on the state of its Churches and missions. It counts at present seventeen churches or stations, and twenty-three schools. It supports five colporteurs, and a Christian book concern. The expenses, amounting to 60,000 francs, have been surpassed by the receipts. Several new stations have been established during the last year. As the Bishop of Bruges has publicly repeated the foul slander that the Protestant missionaries pay a prize for their converts, the General Assembly of the Evangelical Society took measures to enlighten the public on the subject.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—The Emperor, since the last attempt on his life, regards more than ever the army and the Roman clergy as the two safest pillars of his dynasty. The Church has received several great tokens of his confidence. The name of his eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, appears first among the members of new-established Privy Councils. The bishops of the various ecclesiastical provinces hold again, in violation of the existing law, their provincial councils without previous authorization; and the government not only grants to them this liberty, but the emperor refers to them, on the opening of the Legislature, as to a proof that "the bishops enjoy the full plenitude of their sacred office." A bloody persecution of the Roman Church in Cochin China, where she counts about half a million of members, has occasioned an alliance between the governments of France and Spain, for the sake of making a common descent on Cochin China, and of arresting the persecution. Also a new law on the suppression of religious controversies in the press, though it may be used against the Roman Church, as well as in her favor, is welcomed by the Ultramontane party, which believes that it will at present be used to stifle the opposition of the Protestant, and, in general, the anti-Roman press. Nevertheless, the emperor has declared again, on opening the Legislature, that it is the wish of his government that the principle of freedom of worship shall be sincerely admitted; and a pamphlet, setting forth the views of the Ultramontane party on religious toleration, has been judicially condemned. The split between the "*Univers*," on the one hand, and Count Montalembert and his friends, on the other, is still carried on with the utmost bitterness, to the great amusement of all unconcerned. But the "Univers" is every year more backed by the large army of monks, which increases with great rapidity. In order that none of the many religious orders of the Roman Church may be unrepresented in France, the Barnabites, who until now had only Italian and Russian members, are now establishing a convent and a novitiate.

Protestantism.—The proceedings of the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Berlin, which are published in a French, as well as German and English edition, are exciting in France an uncommonly great interest. France has hardly any High Church men, and therefore the sympathy with the objects of the Alliance is universal. The vexatious interpretations which so many magistrates of the provinces put on the liberty of worship, as established by French law, has called forth an eloquent defense of the good right of Protestantism, by the *Journal des Débats*, which has been re-echoed by the liberal press of all Europe, and will not remain effectless, though the military despotism which at present reigns in France may prevent, for some time, further discussions of this kind in the French press.

ITALY.

The Roman Church.—On November 15, Sardinia had to choose a new Chamber of Representatives. It was an important day for all Italy, for the issue of the election was to decide whether Protestantism and religious liberty would continue to find protection in the only asylum they have throughout the whole land. The ultramontane party declared the Church to be greatly endangered by the liberal policy of the government. Pastoral letters of the bishops, which were read on the Sunday preceding the election from every pulpit of the kingdom, urged the faithful to cast their votes only for candidates sincerely attached to the Church. The Catholic press, very few in number, but unsurpassed in violence of language, denounced beforehand every priest as recreant to his duty, who should fail to use to the same end all means within his reach; for, as the *Armonia*, of Turin, the leading Catholic organ of Sardinia, remarked, "if of two candidates the one is a Catholic and the other proposes to combat Catholicism, it becomes a duty for the priest to use all means within his reach to secure the election of the Catholic candidate." Notwithstanding such exertions the cause of religious freedom has been victorious, the election resulting as follows: Ministerial Deputies, eighty; Left, thirty; Extreme Left, eight; Center of the Right, thirty-seven; Extreme Right, forty-eight; total, two hundred and three. The first three of these factions, which combined form the majority of the Chamber, are divided and united in their opposition to any encroachment of the priesthood. The Church can rely only on the Extreme Right, as the Center of the Right, though not opposed to some concessions to "*the religion of their fathers*," is very far from identifying itself with the tendencies of ultramontanism. In one of its first sessions the new Chamber resolved, with eighty-eight votes against thirty-five, to institute an investigation on the influence of the clergy in the election. Eight priests who had been elected, have been excluded, and the ministry, in concert with the Radicals, seems to be inclined to confiscate the whole property of the Church, and to have the salaries of the priests paid by the State. In Rome, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, a cousin of the French emperor, after having received, some years ago, the minor orders, has now been ordained a priest. The ultramontane party is probably right in cherishing the hope that this event will strengthen the influence of the Roman Church in European politics. The extraordinary favors conferred by the king of Naples on the clergy and religious corporations of his kingdom, have not yet satisfied the pope, who insists on the conclusion of a concordat. The negotiations with the other Italian courts, for the same purpose, have as yet had no effect; only Modena appears to be willing to make the demanded concessions.

The Protestant Churches.—According to a report published by the Table (highest ecclesiastical board) of the Waldenses, their congregation in Turin numbers at present two hundred and sixty-five members, all converts from the Roman Church, and sustains three schools, with one hundred and eight children. The congregation of Genoa has one hundred and eighty members, and a school frequented by thirty children. A newly-established mission at Favale already counts thirty-five members. The congregations at Asti, Alexandria, Voghera, Sampier d'Arena, Nice, Piquerol, and Courmayeur, are all hopefully progressing.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Roman Church.—The Ministry appointed last October has already given way to another, which, like its two predecessors, courts the friendship of the Church, though it does not satisfy the ultramontane party, which considers the solution of the ecclesiastical question (that is, the restoration of the mediæval power of the Church) as being again postponed. Father Morgaez, a Dominican friar, who has been long imprisoned for his opposition to the new dogma of the immaculate conception, has been released, and strenuously perseveres in his defense of ancient Catholicism against modern Popish innovations. In Portugal, where Rome has found its advocates hitherto almost only among the Legitimists, (party of Don Miguel,) a new central organ of the Catholic party has been founded, which, like the *Univers* of Paris, will work for the sovereignty of the pope alone.

Protestantism.—According to the *Spanish Evangelical Record*, a paper of Scotland, which is exclusively devoted to the evangelization of Spain, the progress of Protestantism is greater than, amid the present persecutions, would seem to be possible. The rigorous measures for the suppression of Protestantism, employed in many places at the suggestion of the Roman clergy, seem to be fruitless. In many places regular religious meetings of the converts to Protestantism have been organized. One agent reports to have made, during the first six months of 1857, for religious purposes, two hundred and sixty-one visits, and to have received, to the same end, three hundred and seventy-five. Two hundred and thirteen persons declared to him their readiness to join the Protestant Church. An officer of the army, who asked the agent for religious books, informed him that he knew more than six thousand persons who were willing to follow the Gospel as the only rule of their faith.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—Russian papers report that the Greek Church, hitherto but little successful in the conversion of the pagans and Mohammedans living in Russia, is now rapidly gaining ground among the tribes in Northern Asia. A greater energy than ever before is displayed in supporting the Greek Christians in Turkey, and no means are left untried to gain their sympathies and to attach them more closely to Russia.

The Roman Church.—A correspondence of the *Breslauer Zeitung* has made the round of the European press, according to which the Roman Church is on the point of losing nearly one million of souls, as the whole diocese of Chelm, of the Greek united rite, intends to renounce obedience to the pope, and to join the Russian State Church. The administrator of the diocese, and the higher clergy, are said to have been wholly gained over, the lower clergy to raise no serious objections, and the people to take no interest at all in the matter. The *Univers* contradicts, however, the whole report, whose inaccuracy, at all events, is established by the fact, that the whole kingdom of Poland contains no more than two hundred and seventeen thousand members of the Greek United Church.

Protestantism.—The attitude of the government with regard to the Protestant denominations is said to be liberal and satisfactory. At St. Petersburg a new Protestant paper, in the German language, has been started, with the first of January, under the title, "*St. Petersburger Evangelisches Wochenblatt.*"

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—Acts of unbearable oppression on the part of Turkish magistrates, have provoked a new rebellion among the Christian tribes of European Turkey. The cause of religious toleration has, moreover, lost, by the death of Reshid Pascha, its most influential advocate. Nevertheless, the invasion of the doctrines and civilization of Christianity into the territory of Mohammedanism is uninterruptedly progressing, and many new cases have occurred of Mussulmans desiring instruction in the Gospel.

The Oriental Churches.—The Patriarch of Constantinople and his Council have at length been compelled to give up their opposition to that part of the Hati-Sherif which aims at a reorganization of the Greek Church, and a protection of the people from arbitrary money extortions. In compliance with a demand of the Turkish government, the Patriarch and the chiefs of the nation have proposed (on January 1st) twenty names to the government, which will select among them ten, to constitute the National Council of the Greeks. At the same time it is believed that it will prove impossible to withstand much longer the demand of the Bulgarians and other Slavonian nations, to have only natives appointed as bishops, instead of Greeks sent to them from Constantinople. The Armenians have been aroused by the progress of the American missions in their midst, to a more energetic resistance; and an Armenian newspaper, published at Constantinople, takes great pains to excite prejudice against the Protestant name. The Jacobite and Nestorian Churches seem no longer to have sufficient vitality for such a resistance, and the mass of the clergy and the people seem only to hesitate whether they will prefer the evangelical or the Roman Catholic Church.

The Roman Church.—Another of the Greek bishops has submitted to the

pope, and a defeated candidate for a Nestorian bishopric has taken the same step in order to secure, with the aid of the Chaldean (Papal Nestorian) Patriarch and the Pasha of Mosul, at least one part of the Churches and property of the diocese. The number of Roman missionary priests and monks exceeds that of the Protestant missionaries; the consuls of France and Austria do more for the Roman Church than England and Prussia do for Protestantism, and by large presents many of the Turkish governors have been disposed in favor of the Roman missions. The mountain Nestorians are rapidly falling a prey to the aggressive Papists.

Protestantism.—The missionary field continues to be cultivated with the most encouraging success, and in every branch of the work, and in nearly every part of the field, there has been progress. But some anxiety was occasioned by the intention of Sdepan Agha, the civil head of the Turkish Protestants, to resign his place from want of support, and the powerful exertions of Rome urgently demand an increase of laborers. The appearance of the first two missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America in Bulgaria, was, therefore, hailed with great joy by all the representatives of American and European Protestantism, and the hope expressed that the Methodist Church would follow up with vigor this new mission.

Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Theological and Literary Journal, January, 1858.—1. The Inspiration of the Scriptures; Objections to it: 2. Notes on Scripture; Events that Followed the Lord's Resurrection: 3. Christ's Prophecy, Matt. xxiv, of the Destruction of Jerusalem and his Second Coming: 4. Dr. Park's Sermon on the Revelation of God in his Works: 5. Dr. Donaldson's Orthodoxy of Unbelief: 6. A Designation and Exposition of the figures of Isaiah xlii: 7. Notes on Scripture, Rev. xvi, 16.

II. The Free-will Baptist Quarterly, January, 1858.—1. The Great Objection to the Doctrine of Atonement—The Innocent Suffering for the Guilty: 2. The Smithsonian Institution: 3. Heaven: 4. The Transfiguration of Jesus: 5. Philosophy of the Will: 6. The Pulpit and Politics: 7. The Study of Religious Truth: 8. Marriage and Home: 9. Of an Itinerant Ministry.

III. The Southern Presbyterian Review, January, 1858.—1. Revision Movement: 2. Conversion of the World: 3. Geological Speculation: 4. Edwards and the Theology of New-England: 5. Breckenridge's Theology.

IV. The North American Review, January, 1858.—1. The Public Economy of Athens: 2. The Profession of Schoolmaster: 3. Reformatory Institutions at Home and Abroad: 4. Venice: 5. Ireland, Past and Present: 6. Anatomical Architecture: 7. The Financial Crisis: 8. Jerusalem: 9. Cotemporary French Literature: 10. Lewes's History of Philosophy.

V. Universalist Quarterly and General Review, January, 1858.—1. Modern Civilization: 2. The Religion of Principle: 3. The Man of Principle in Politics: 4. The Huguenots: 5. The Protestant Reformation of the Fourteenth Century: 6. Ignatius Loyola.

VI. The Christian Review, January, 1858.—1. Christian Women of the First Three Centuries: 2. Practical View of the Sabbath: 3. The Devil and his Angels: 4. Religious Persecution in Virginia: 5. The Book of Job: 6. Unitarianism and its Tendencies: 7. Yahveh Christ.

VII. The Christian Examiner, March, 1858.—1. Unused Powers: 2. The Hindoos: 3. Strength and Weakness of the Popular Religion and of Liberal Christianity: 4. Buckle's History of Civilization: 5. Physical and Celestial Mechanics: 6. Review of Current Literature.

VIII. The Mercersburgh Review, January, 1858.—1. The Efficacy of Baptism: 2. Conservatism of Colleges: 3. Reformed Dogmatics: 4. Laying on of Hands: 5. The Lord's Supper: 6. Science for Domestic Purposes.

IX. The Evangelical Review, January, 1858.—1. Tholuck on John: 2. Homiletic Studies: 3. Pastoral Visits to the Sick and Dying: 4. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 5. The Study of the Classics: 6. Ministerial Education: 7. Baccalaureate Address: 8. Man: 9. Discoveries in Biblical Chronology.

X. The New-Englander, February, 1858.—1. Is Protestantism responsible for Modern Unbelief? 2. Spurgeon and Extemporaneous Preaching: 3. The Israelites in Egypt: 4. The Mosaic Cosmogony: 5. The British in India: 6. California, its Characteristics and Prospects.

XI. The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, January, 1858.—1. Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte: 2. The Revolt of the Sepoys: 3. English Hymnology: 4. Ancient Manuscript Sermons: 5. Brownson's Exposition of Himself: 6. St. Hilaire on the Reformation in Spain.

The first article is a brief but elegant line of argument in refutation of the Positive Generalization of Comte. The gist of that generalization is that the human mind historically develops itself through three stages, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. In the first stage man attributes phenomena to supernatural will; first, in the polytheistical age, to many wills; next, in the monotheistic age, to one Supreme Will, or God. In the second, the metaphysical stage, men, ignoring Will, attribute phenomena to causes or forces. The third, the positive stage, ignoring both will and cause, will only recognize phenomena operating in uniform ways, which science will classify into laws. In that era of highest human advancement all the misty illusions which human fancy has located back of phenomena, under the name of gods, powers, forces, causes, will be completely dissipated. An infallible atheism will dethrone them all, and leave nothing but things, events, and laws, of which science has only positively to pronounce, THEY ARE.

The Review shows, first, That it does so happen that Comte's entire range of historical observation, in tracing human development, is circumscribed within the limits of the nations who have lived under the teachings of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. It is thereby shown that his process is adulterated, circumscribed, and unsustained by the entire sum of human history. Second, It is plentifully shown that theology, science, and metaphysics are really coexistent; whether in themselves, in the individual mind, or in the ages. They imply neither succession nor contradiction; but are truly distinct, but parallel and cotemporaneous. Near the close, the article contains the following fine generalization for confining the three departments to their respective spheres:

"Theology may not safely invade such a question as the antiquity of the globe, since that is a legitimate problem of Positive science; and Positive science may not safely invade such a question as the regeneration of society, since that is a legitimate problem of theology; and neither may safely invade such questions as the modes or relations of matter and spirit, since those are legitimate problems of metaphysics. Only when they shall have together accomplished their respective missions will the world be in possession of one homogeneous body of truth."

XII. Brownson's Quarterly Review, January, 1858.—1. Conversations of our Club: 2. England and Naples: 3. Common Schools: 4. The Church an Organism.

The first article is written in a style of much freshness and freedom. The following extract illustrates its freedom with facts:

"The Protestant missionaries in the East, by their tracts and their schools, have had some influence in detaching individuals from their old beliefs and superstitions, but none in making them Christians. Their converts have lost their false religion without having embraced the true religion, and are the very worst people one meets in the East."

We are not prepared to say how true to history is the following extract:

"One of the ablest and most logical writers Protestantism has ever produced in this country, is Dr. J. W. Nevin, of the *Mercersburg Review*. Dr. Nevin several years ago became convinced that the Incarnation is a fact, and the central fact of Christianity, from which all that is distinctively Christian radiates. Believing this he began to detect a significance in the sacraments, and to regard them as the *media* of grace, or the means by which we are brought into living union with the life of the Word made flesh. Following out this with rare erudition and an invincible logic, he found himself forced, as is well known, to accept the Catholic theory, so to speak, of the Church. He found that if he must accept the Incarnation, he must accept what our Puseyite friends call the Sacramental System, and if he must accept the Sacramental System, he must accept the priesthood and the Church; and his masterly articles in the *Mercersburg Review* on *Primitive Christianity* and on *St. Cyprian* contain one of the ablest vindications of Catholicity that has ever been written in our country. It is true, he has not as yet entered the Church, that he still lingers on the threshold, being deterred from taking the final step by timidity, by old mental habits and associations, or perhaps by not finding Catholics in their practice coming up to what he, still no doubt affected by reminiscences of the Calvinistic doctrine of irresistible grace, regards as the standard below which a Catholic, if his Church is true, can never fall. But however this may be, he is in his writings a brilliant proof of the fact that the Incarnation can have no practicable significance without the Church, and that he who accepts the one is logically bound to accept the other."

The following passage in his notice of Weston on Slavery, is commended to the notice of Methodists who would prohibit our Quarterly on the same subject from maintaining the Wesleyan doctrines:

"We can speak of this book as ably and temperately written; as full of valuable statistics and information, and decidedly the least offensive work we have seen from the anti-slavery side in our country. We hope our saying so much will not call forth another *avertissement* from our pro-slavery friends, and afford another illustration of the respect for freedom of thought and freedom of speech they entertain. If anything could make us turn abolitionist, it would be certain threatening letters which we have received from well-known and distinguished Catholic friends for venturing to express a plain doctrine of our religion, and a few plain and well-known maxims of law touching the question of slavery. But

it is impossible for us to be abolitionists, unless we lose our senses. All we ask of the slaveholding portion of our American population, is the opportunity of abiding by the Union, and defending to each section its constitutional rights, without necessarily committing ourselves for slavery or abolitionism. Yet we will tell our friends who have threatened us with the loss of subscribers unless we retract the opinions we have expressed, or at least keep silence on the question of slavery, that when we commenced this Review we made and recorded a resolution that it should honestly and faithfully express our convictions, and that not one word should ever be printed in its pages for the sake of gaining or of avoiding the loss of a subscriber. Those who do not like the Review are free to drop it; but it is useless for them to try by arguments addressed to our pockets, to force us into compliance with their wishes, when we do not happen to approve them. Subjects open to us as a Catholic and citizen to discuss, we shall discuss whenever, in our judgment, we can by so doing effect a good or avoid an evil; and we shall never, knowingly or willingly, be a party to any attempt to gag the press, where its freedom is lawful; and free discussion is allowed us by our religion, and guaranteed by the Constitution."

XIII. The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register, January, 1858.—1. Dr. Pusey and the Church in the United States: 2. St. Peter never Bishop of Rome: 3. The Apostolic Ministry in the Apostolic Position: 4. English Church Work: 5. Pope Clement XI. and the Jansenists: 6. The Rock: 7. A Memorial.

The first article of this valuable number contains a reply to certain charges made by Dr. Pusey against the Episcopalian Church in America. The points condemned by Dr. Pusey are, Ignoring the value of absolution, Lay Delegation, Omission of the Athanasian Creed, and Bracketing the Nicene. The first charge, of ignoring the value of Absolution, is answered, by maintaining that the American Church in disusing private absolution and in preferring the precatory form of the absolution instead of the declaratory form, follows the best example of the primitive Church. To the second charge, it is replied, that the English Church commenced her Protestant career upon the basis of Lay Delegation. At first, namely, all England was held as a single Church, in a single communion; in the government of which the Convocation and the Parliament were the joint clerical and lay legislative bodies. The gradual and successive "reforms" of Parliament, added to the secession of large bodies from the national Church, have changed this relation; nevertheless, lay delegation was the primitive order of things. The Athanasian Creed, in the next point of charge, being not so much a creed as a hymn, was properly omitted by the American Church; ample safeguards for the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation being still retained. Touching the Nicene Creed, its optional use is no indication of undervaluation; since no clergyman avails himself of the option to disuse it, and its authority is expressly acknowledged in the Eighth Article.

The Second Article is a concise but clear disproof of the pretended Roman Episcopate of St. Peter, which lies at the foundation of popery. The writer adduces every passage occurring in the Christian fathers of the first three centuries touching the connection of Peter with Rome, and shows that the thought of Peter's being bishop there never entered their minds. Irenæus expressly calls Linus the first bishop; reckoning Eleutherius as the twelfth, thereby explicitly excluding St. Peter.

The Third Article is one of those exhibitions of magnificent vacuity with which our showy Episcopalian friends compel us to preserve our decorum by

the exertion of great restraint upon our facial muscles. It is a grave discussion whether their episcopates shall spread over entire geographical surfaces on the map, so as to make titular bishops of, say, a whole state; or whether they shall be located in cities and radiate from their centers indefinitely. The former is what may be called the superficial, and the latter the focal method. The former spreads the layer of the Episcopate over the whole extent in equal thickness; the latter condenses it at a point, and shades off to the circumference. Shall Dr. Potter be Bishop of New-York State, fair and square; or shall he be Bishop of New-York City, and thence odoriferate the interior by Episcopal vaporization? It bears a strong resemblance to the Big Endian and Little Endian controversy among the theologians of Lilliput; and we should suppose the disputants to be doctors of about equal magnitude.

The Fifth Article, in regard to the Jansenists, shows that the High Predestinarians were as severely treated by the See of Rome, as the Arminians were by the Synod of Dort and the States of Holland. Jansenism was condemned by Clement XI., in the celebrated Bull Unigenitus. Among the one hundred and one propositions condemned in that bull, were the following:

10 Grace is the operation of God's omnipotent hand, which nothing can hinder or retard.

11. Grace is nothing but the will of the omnipotent God, commanding, and effecting what he commands.

5. Unless God softens the heart by the internal unction of his grace, exhortation and external favors only serve to render it more hard.

28. The first grace that God gives the sinner is remission of sins.

38. The sinner, without the grace of the Saviour, is not free, except to evil.

29. Out of the Church, no graces are conferred.

30. All whom God wills to save by Jesus Christ, are infallibly saved.

The Sixth Article maintains that the Rock on which Christ promises to build his Church is not Peter, but the confession of Christ as made by Peter. He argues this from the change of words from the masculine Petros, Πέτρος, to the feminine Petra, Πέτρα. Had he meant Peter, he would have said ἐπι τουτῳ τῳ πετρῳ, and not ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ.

The book notices of this Review are generally, from its stand-point, manly and liberal. It concludes a notice of Hibbard on the Psalms, with the following words: "As a most important adjunct to the intelligent study of the Psalms, we know not where so much really valuable matter can be found in so small a compass."

XIV. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, March, 1858.—1. Abelard: 2. Spiritual Discipline of the Jesuits: 3. Personal Reminiscences of Dr. Griffin: 4. Hymn Makers and Hymn Menders: 5. Dr. Barclay's City of the Great King: 6. Tennyson.

This Quarterly organ of the New School Presbyterians is edited by Benj. J. Wallace, with Albert Barnes, Thomas Brainerd, John Jenkins, Joel Parker, for associate editors, and the professors in the New-York Union, Auburn, and Lane Theological Seminaries as assistants. Of course we need not say there is plenty of ability in its official corps.

The present is one of its best numbers. The article on Abelard is written with masterly scholarship and ability. It is, perhaps, the best brief historical view of that celebrated man in the English language. The article on Tennyson is critical and eloquent. The writer places Tennyson at the head of all the living English poets; a eulogy not as lofty as it would have been, "in our hot youth, when George the Fourth was king." The passages adduced in proof are certainly among the finest in our language; some of them might, indeed, be quoted as specimens of the power of our English to express beautiful thought.

To the article on Dr. Griffin alone is the author's name, contrary to the ordinary rule of the Review, prefixed. It is one which least needed the information; for it presents sentences of compromise between Latin and English, which nobody in the world produces but Dr. Cox. What is specially odd, the most artificial specimen of Latin-English in the whole article, is given as being uttered by Dr. Griffin himself in conversation. Thus Griffin loquitur: "How much duplicity or bifarious character was there, think you, in the Apostle Paul? So much bilingual, that is prudential pseudology, and no more, I advise you to habituate, both in private and in public, all the way to fifty or ninety of your life."

The excellent article on "Hymn Makers and Hymn Menders" does a liberal justice to Charles Wesley as a poet:

"We regard it as a great loss to the Presbyterian Churches of our country, that so few, comparatively, of Charles Wesley's hymns should have been admitted into their collections. It may not be generally known that, not even excepting Dr. Watts, he is the most voluminous of all our lyrical authors, and it were only justice to add, that he is the most equal."

"The merits of Charles Wesley, as a writer of objective hymns, have been overlooked. We have never read or sung a finer specimen than his well-known paraphrase of the 24th Psalm,

"'Our Lord is risen from the dead,' etc.

Step by step we are led from the sepulcher of Jesus to the throne of his mediatorial exaltation. We see him rising from the grave, like a successful warrior, mounting his chariot, leading captive the foes of his people, dragging them in triumph to the very gates of heaven. We see the angels as they attend their Lord, and we hear them demanding his admission to his own original dwelling-place, the heaven of God."

"There is another objective hymn by Charles Wesley, which is among the finest in the language. We wonder that it has not found its way into American hymn books. Our readers will thank us for transcribing it:

"'Stand the Omnipotent decree;
Jehovah's will be done,' etc.

"Here is a flight which few have ever reached. Well has this hymn been spoken of as being 'in a strain more than human.' James Montgomery, no mean judge, says, 'It begins with a note abrupt and awakening, like the sound of the last trumpet;' and adds, 'This is altogether one of the most daring and victorious flights of our author.' We are glad to find it unabridged in the 'Plymouth Collection;' but for what reason the last line but one of the hymn has been changed to

"'Soon our soul and *form* shall join,'

we fail to discover. The change from 'dust' to 'form' renders the line obscure."

"It must ever be regarded as a mark of great carelessness in our American compilers, that so many first-class lyrics should have been omitted from our col-

lections, while second and third-rate hymns abound. We could supply fifty superior hymns from various authors, which are almost wholly neglected in our own and kindred denominations. There is the noble hymn by Charles Wesley, Jacob wrestling with the Angel, concerning which Dr. Watts did not scruple to say that it was 'worth all the verses he himself had written.' James Montgomery declares it to be among the poet's highest achievements. 'With consummate art,' says he, 'he has carried on the action of a lyrical drama. Every turn in the conflict with the mysterious being against whom he wrestles all night, being marked with precision by the varying language of the speaker, accompanied by intensely increasing interest till the rapturous moment of the discovery, when he prevails and exclaims: 'I know thee, Saviour, who thou art!' We transcribe the poem, without fear of tiring the patience of our readers with quotations:

"'Come, O thou traveler unknown,' etc.

"Never have we read a finer combination of poetic taste and evangelical sentiment."

We may remark, that noble as is the justice here done to Charles Wesley, the instinct of our people has unknowingly preferred the master-pieces of Watts. The hymns

"Come, O thou traveler unknown,"

and

"Stand the Omnipotent decree,"

are never sung as favorites among us. On the other hand, none go ahead of the following of Watts:

"Alas, and did my Saviour bleed,"
"When I can read my title clear,"
"On Jordan's stormy banks I stand,"
"Salvation, O the joyful sound,"
"Come ye that love the Lord."

It will be seen that the trains of emotion expressed in these unsurpassed favorites, though selected with no purpose of such illustration, are two: *pathos* in reference to the sufferings of the Redeemer, and *joy*, in view of the Christian's triumph. Sublime and terrible hymns are seldom the popular choice. This is especially the case with that bold lyric

"Stand the Omnipotent decree,"

and little less so with

"Before Jehovah's awful throne."

The hymn

"Come, O thou traveler unknown,"

is, in our estimate, as in that of this critic, about unsurpassed in hymnology, But its beauties lie slightly below the surface; a surface whose transparency heightens the attractions to the cultivated eye, but conceals them from the popular.

XV. Bibliotheca Sacra and American Biblical Repository, January, 1858.—1. Dr. Arnold's Theological Opinions: 2. Lee on Inspiration: 3. Baptism, a Consecratory Rite: 4. Eusebius as an Historian: 5. An Historical Sketch of the Indo-European Languages: 6. Comparison of Jeremiah xxiii, 5, 6, and xxxiii 14-16: 7. Dr. Griffin's Theory of the Atonement: 8. The Public Economy of the Athenians: 9. Smith's Dictionary of Geography, Symrna.

The article on Dr. Griffin's Theory of Atonement, is drawn up by Professor Park, with no little clearness and skill, apparently for some understood but unexpressed design. It is an interesting document. We hesitate, nevertheless, to reproduce it, even in the most condensed form, from the fear that so extensive, among our own ministry and people, is the impression that all thought and discussion on these topics are obsolete, that the few paragraphs which in several of our numbers have appeared on this topic, may seem like attempts at reanimating a lifeless question. Our impression is, that it is only the sons of peace among ourselves who have stacked arms.

Dr. Griffin was an able opponent of that high Calvinian and Antinomian view of the Atonement, which made Christ a literal sinner, suffering the identical penalty of human guilt, thereby securing the necessary justification and full salvation of all for whom he died. This Antinomianism became Universalism with those who held that he died for all; and required the doctrine of partial atonement in order to consistent Calvinism. It then became, indeed, *consistent* Calvinism.

Dr. Griffin held that the atonement was not a literal suffering of the penalty; nor a literal satisfaction of the distributive justice of God; nor a literal removal of our desert of eternal death; nor a literal surplusage of Christ's meritorious personal obedience becoming our imputed obedience. On the other hand, the atonement was a Divine method by which the literal suffering of the penalty might be dispensed with; by which government could be sustained and honored without inflicting distributive justice; by which *the acceptors* of the work might be saved without the removal of their intrinsic desert of hell; and all this without imputing Christ's personal obedience as our personal obedience; but by Christ obtaining a meritorious right to save us, as his own exceeding great reward from God. Hereby Dr. Griffin does reconcile the atonement very fairly with our common sense, evade high Antinomianism, and reject a partial atonement. These errors Dr. Griffin cast out; only to bring them in again, however, under cover of the predestinarian axiom, "God foreordains whatever comes to pass."

Man, even unregenerate, reprobate man, according to Dr. Griffin, has full *natural ability* to accept the atonement, repent of sin, grow, not in grace, but in goodness, and be saved. Independently of the Spirit of God, he can convert himself, sanctify himself, and save himself. Herein Dr. Griffin contradicts our article, that "the condition of man after the fall is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God." Whether Dr. Griffin held that even without an atonement, the nature of man is such, that he can keep the Divine law, and so (without salvation) attain a merited eternal life, we do not find expressly stated; but we *infer* that he so held, from several incidental expressions. Unless he held this, indeed, his so called *natural ability*, was, after all, not natural ability, but *gracious ability*. It belonged not to natural unredeemed man; but was a superadded gift of atoning grace. On this whole area, therefore, Dr. Griffin was truly semi-Pelagian. He was further from Calvin than are the articles of our own Church. To all this length Dr. Griffin went, to find a foundation upon which to elaborate a structure of human responsibility, and a just Divine

government; and after so elaborating, he promptly turns round, we think, and prostrates the whole at a blow, with the relentless hammer of absolute predestination.

Dr. Griffin evaded the complete Pelagianism of natural ability, by affirming that such natural ability would, in point of fact, never be put forth, by any of the human race. The influence of the Holy Spirit therefore is necessary to salvation. Necessary not to the sinner, for he can save himself without it; but necessary to God, in order that he may have somebody to save. Dr. Griffin was therefore only semi-Pelagian; affirming with Pelagius the full natural power of the man, by his own works, to attain heaven; denying, with both Calvin and Arminius, that any man ever will be saved by his own unaided effort. How far Dr. Griffin's natural ability was nullified by necessitarianism, (which annihilates all power of diverse choice,) we stop not now to inquire. Our only remark will be touching its nullification by predestination.

That Dr. Griffin believed in predestination, does not appear from any works of his own. On the contrary, he defends his Theodice on the ground of *foreknowledge*. It is, therefore, an Arminian Theodice only, that he defends. And he defends Divine justice, even with foreknowledge, on the proviso that God deals with man "*as if*" there were even no foreknowledge. This maxim Dr. Griffin holds as an ultimate key for the solution of difficulties:

"The only part of a moral government which discovers prescience, is prophecy. All the other parts are framed together with the same consistency of relation as if there was no foreknowledge. Break up this principle, and plant the eye of prescience visible in every part of a moral government, and you turn the whole into confusion; the entreaties of God to the non-elect would appear like mockery, and many of his declarations false. God proceeds in his treatment of moral agents as though it was perfectly uncertain how they will act till they are tried. The reason is that the capacity and obligations on which the treatment is founded, are in no degree affected by foreknowledge. This neither weakens an obligation, nor helps to create one which would not otherwise exist."

This mode of defense, it is obvious, serves only for foreknowledge, and not for foredetermination. It defends Arminianism, (in no very effective way,) but leaves Calvinism still unshielded from the objector's shafts. That Dr. Griffin held to predestination at all, we believe, not on any authority of his words produced, but on the affirmation of friends who speak for him. Dr. Park so affirms; and we affirm that if he held the predestination of Calvin, and the necessity of Edwards, he twice distinctly annihilated the "natural ability." he so elaborately created.

II.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. The Edinburgh Review, January, 1858.—1. Prospects of the Indian Empire: 2. Milman's History of Latin Christianity: 3. Scottish University Reform: 4. The Angel in the House: 5. The Addington and Pitt Administrations: 6. Tom Brown's School Days: 7. Abbé Le Dieu's Memoirs of Bossuet: 8. The Hawkers' Literature of France; 9. Lord Overstone on Metallic and Paper Currency.

II. The Christian Remembrancer, January, 1858.—1. The Eucharistic Controversy: 2. Biographies of Distinguished Scientific Men: 3. Analecta Nicæna: 4. Paraméswara-jnyána-góshthí, Christianity and Hindúism: 5. Livingstone's Missionary Travels: 6. English Churchmen in the United States: 7. The Theology of Macarius: 8. Raikes's Journal: 9. Keble on Eucharistical Adoration.

III. The Journal of Sacred Literature, January, 1858.—1. God's Providential and Moral Government: 2. Dr. Davidson on Early Corruptions of the Text of the New Testament: 3. Three Months in the Holy Land: 4. Pantheism, its Historical Phases: 5. Deuteronomy, as the Production of Moses: 6. John the Baptist, his Mission and Character: 7. Egyptian Dynasties, No. III: 8. The Book of Tobit: 9. Correspondence.

IV. The Church of England Quarterly Review, January, 1858.—1. Researches in Palestine: 2. The Philosophy of Theism: 3. Modern Sculpture: 4. Modern Anglican Theology: 5. The East and the West: 6. Tom Brown's School Days: 7. Our Shilling Literature: 8. Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

V. The London (Wesleyan) Quarterly Review, January, 1858.—1. The Waldenses: 2. Homer and his Translators, Chapman and Newman: 3. Memorials of Andrew Crosse: 4. Religion in Germany, its History and Present State: 5. Dr. Livingstone's Researches in South Africa: 6. The Dwellings of the Poor: 7. Our Lord's Passion, Krummacher and Stier: 8. George Stephenson, Railway Engineer: 9. Crisis of the Sepoy Rebellion.

VI. The National Review, January, 1858.—1. Principles of Indian Government: 2. George Sand: 3. Colonel Mure and the Attic Historians; 4. Hashish: 5. Ben Jonson: 6. The Czar Nicholas: 7. The World of Mind, by Isaac Taylor: 8. Mr. Coventry Patmore's Poems: 9. Civilization and Faith: 10. The Monetary Crisis.

VII. The Quarterly Review, January, 1858.—1. Difficulties of Railway Engineering: 2. The Historic Peerage of England: 3. Tobias Smollett: 4. Wiltshire: 5. Church-Extension: 6. Sense of Pain in Man and Animals: 7. Woolwich Arsenal and its Manufacturing Establishments: 8. The Future Management of our Indian Empire.

VIII. The North British Review, February, 1858.—1. Lord Mahon's England, Walpole and Pulteney: 2. Naples, 1848–1858: 3. Scottish Natural Science, Dr. Fleming: 4. Mill's Logic of Induction: 5. Arnold and his School: 6. Proverbs Secular and Sacred: 7. Quatrefages' Rambles of a Naturalist: 8. Capital and Currency: 9. Poetry, The Spasmodists.

IX. The British Quarterly Review, January, 1858.—1. John Gower and his Works: 2. Thorndale, The Conflict of Modern Thought: 3. Meteoric Stones and Comets: 4. De Foe: 5. Dr. Livingstone's African Researches: 6. Projected Communications with the East: 7. Freytag's Debit and Credit, German Life: 8. The Bank Acts, and the Credit Crisis of 1857: 9. Greyson's Letters, Claims of the Doubter: 10. India as it is, India as it may be.

The Sixth Article presents a very interesting view of the methods of opening the channels of intercourse between Christendom and the great East. Asia, the scene of a wonderful past, is awakening to the prospect of a wonderful future. Crusades of a new order are arising in this latter day; crusades rolling Europe upon Asia in a less rapid inundation, but with surer triumph and more stupendous results. We will present to our readers the most important points of the article.

Three modes are before the British public, of connecting England by a short cut with Asia. The FIRST of these is a proposed continuance of the Austrian railroad, (which now terminates near Constantinople,) through Trebizonde, Teheran, Herat, to Cabul. This route is dismissed from the discussion, as being expensive, subject to many transhipments, and under the control of foreign powers.

The SECOND route is by a proposed railway from Seleucia, the northeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea, proceeding through the Euphrates Valley, along the banks of that ancient river, to Bussorah. This scheme requires but eight hundred miles of railway. Passing mostly through a river vale, it presents few physical difficulties. Its cost will be but some six or seven million pounds. A small effective force, together with the authority of the Sultan, would secure the peaceful concurrence of the native tribes. The Euphrates is, at the same time, navigable for steamboats, even to the point of contact with the railroad from Seleucia. Even without the railroad by the river bank, the railroad from the sea to the river, a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles, may be completed at trifling cost, involving but one transhipment.

The THIRD scheme is a canal connecting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, across Suez, terminating, not at Cairo, but at Pelusium, the southeast corner of the Mediterranean. This is the great short cut from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and the vast Asiatic Seas. It will save twelve thousand miles of the route around the Cape to India. It changes the face of the commercial world. The soil of this route is favorable. The proposed width is three hundred and twenty-eight feet, with a minimun depth of twenty-six feet three inches; sufficient for the largest clippers that now double the Cape for India, and for the largest line-of-battle ships. But a small toll upon the immense commerce passing through, would sustain the annual expense; and with that drawback it can be offered as the great marine highway for the commercial nations. Both these latter two plans the reviewer ably advocates, as worthy an immediate execution.

But a politician asks, May not the marine powers bordering upon the Mediterranean, in time so master England upon that sea as to take possession of her work, and thereby snatch India from her hand? It was the victory of Nelson at the Nile, which defeated Napoleon in this very project of wresting India from Britain, by this very route. The reviewer's reply is, that England will, before that possible time, beyond all doubt, have established a great Indian marine as well as a European. This double fleet, acting in concert, would, it may be safely believed, overpower any naval force likely to be arrayed against it. Besides, England has no option. If she declines, other powers will soon forestall her path and gain the prize without a contest.

While European enterprise is thus projecting her grand thoroughfares to the East, it is of incalculable consequence that our America should be sending her iron rails through the great West. How much more wisely might our government and our Southern friends drop the project of extending westward the chains of bondage, and take up the enterprise of sending the chain of the surveyor, to pioneer the track of commerce and the sway of freedom. The pro-slavery agitation is as small-minded as it is wicked. It ignores the great

good that lies before us, as a free united people, seeking no sectional or class predominances; and enters into an unwise strife, pushed to the verge of treason, in behalf of human debasement as a basis for a narrow geographical and oligarchical supremacy. Let us hope that the intensity of this aberration is a symptom of its brevity. Like the Indian revolt, it will in due time give way; and imagination can hardly portray the grandeur of our westward march as a great UNION, until our noble states shall stand, hand in hand, smiling upon the shore of the beckoning Pacific.

X. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. African Life: 2. Spirits and Spirit Rapping: 3. Morayshire: 4. Shelley: 5. The Religious Weakness of Protestantism: 6. The Crisis and its Causes: 7. The English in India: 8. State Tamperings with Money and Banks.

THE article on The Religious Weakness of Protestantism is remarkable. The Westminster's irreligion has usually a subdued scholarly vail of *critique* and scientific candor, by which it seeks to appear the resistless result of rigid *à priori* principles. But in this piece the unmitigated Thomas Paineism unmasks its impious death's head.

While Protestantism is extending its gradual area by civic conquest over our hemisphere, recovering its lost theological grounds in central Europe, and preparing by increasing missionary energy, sustained by the predominating forces of Protestant civilization, to spread her principles over the Asiatic and African, as well as the European and American continents, this periodical has been for more than twenty years auspicating the decay of Protestantism, with a sonorous persistence unsurpassed since the days of the Aristophanic bull-frogs.

ΒΑ. βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοάξ·
ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ἐξόλοισθ' αὐτῷ κοάξ·
οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστ' ἀλλ' ἢ κοάξ.[c]

Of his inauspicious prophecies of the downfall of Protestantism, the wish is the inspiration. But his croak will turn to a death-rattle, ages before the accomplishment of its omens. Protestant Christianity has in no age possessed such strength, with the elements of still increasing strength, both intensive and

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[c] We here add the very spirited substitute rather than translation, by Mitchell, of the imprecation upon the Attic frogs:

Now fires light on thee, and waters soak;
And March winds catch thee without any cloak,
For within and without,
From the tail to the snout,
Thou'rt nothing forever but croak, croak, croak!

For all the unfortunates whose precincts are sadly infested by any of the genus croaker, we furnish the following supplication, from the same author, to be learned for quotation upon the proper occasion:

My dear little bull-frog, do, prithee, be still,
'Tis a sorry vocation, that reiteration,
(I speak on my honor, most musical nation,)
Of croak, croak, croak!

extensive, as at the present hour. It is stronger in its battle with Romanism; stronger in its battle with infidelity; stronger in its battle with heathendom, than at any former period of its history.

If we look to our own country, the proportion of infidelity to Christianity at the period of our Revolution, when even Yale College had almost repudiated Christianity, was immeasurably greater than now. No great Christian organisms, auxiliary to our Churches, then existed; and infidelity was triumphant over a lifeless Church. Passing down to the period of our own recollection, since the time that Frances Wright unfolded her splendors in New-York, and was able to win so brilliant a satellite within her attractions as Orestes A. Brownson, infidelity, open and self-announced, has made no respectable demonstration. It has not a single university. It has not a single periodical that commands public deference. It has no commanding center of publication. It has no organization that faces the light of day. Theodore Parker alone, under guise of the Christian profession, assuming the ministerial name, and entering a professedly Christian pulpit, has, indeed, by force of rare personal talent, and by the prominent assertion of high moral aim, been able for a while to trumpet forth a modified anti-Christianity. He has for a while palmed an *irreligion* upon our public, by christening it *religion*, even an absolute religion. But a resistless wane is coming over the disk of even this luminary. It is impossible for blank naturalism, with all the aid of the popular topics of the day, to hold its listening congregations through the successive weeks of long years. Or if Theodore Parker can do this during his natural life, let him send forth his apostles and see whether, with the best average talent a ministry can command, naturalism could compete with the poorest Christian denomination in our American republic. And as to the philosophical socialists, who would found a society upon irreligion, we submit to them the following problem. Upon their profoundest theories the experiment has been tried some dozen times, under the ablest masters, under the fairest conditions, upon the free soil of our own virgin continent, and of all their labors not a shred remains, not a fragment of broken architecture to memorialize its beauty or its order. On the other hand, an ignorant and aged female, called Mother Ann Lee, founded, upon a *religious* basis, a small social system, amid a hostile community, under the severest conditions possible for human flesh and blood, with no philosophical theory, and excluding the possibility of self-perpetuation by natural posterity. Yet that system blooms in the freshness of its original creation.

XI. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, January, 1858.—1. Professor Baden Powell on the Study of the Evidences of Natural Theology: 2. Revision of the English Bible: 3. Miracles: 4. Pharmakides and the Ecclesiastical Independence of Greece: 5. Final Destruction of the Earth by Fire: 6. Kingsley's Two Years Ago: 7. The Holy Land: 8. Old Orthodoxy, New Divinity, and Unitarianism: 9. Sir William Hamilton on Philosophical Necessity, and the Westminster Confession.

This elegant Quarterly seems to present to our American review writers, a medium for presenting their thoughts to the British Christian public. Of the present number, Articles 1, 2, and 9, are original, and very able. Of the remainder, No. 3 is from the Southern Presbyterian, No. 6 from the New-England-

er, No. 7 from the Christian Examiner, No. 8 from the Princeton Review, and Nos. 4 and 5 are from the Methodist Quarterly Review. Our own Review alone furnishes two articles; one by Mr. Baird of Princeton, and the other by Professor Cobleigh.

The ninth article discusses Sir William Hamilton's views upon philosophical necessity and Calvinism; with much ability and erudition so far as the point of Calvinism is involved; with great bitterness so far as Sir William Hamilton or any other opponent is concerned, and with marked failure whenever the psychological doctrine of free-will is discussed.

So many and so monotonously reiterated charges of blundering, ignorance, and wickedness, upon one who has so lately gone beyond the arena of self-defense, the sod upon whose grave is yet so fresh, are very unnecessary. From the comfortable distance at which we stand from those venerable documents, the standards of the Scottish Church, we should have been prone to assume *a priori* that predestination and necessitarianism would stand as the Jachin and Boaz of the structure of their well-defined fatalism. Yet there are expressions which occur in these documents, which on the surface seem to justify Hamilton and Stewart in saying that they repudiate the doctrine of necessity, and affirm the principles of free-will and contingency of secondary causations. It is the purpose of the present writer, which he seems to accomplish with complete success, to show, historically, that beneath the surface, there is a meaning in those documents which is consistent with necessitarianism, and affirmative of fatalism. In all ages of its existence, theological fatalism seems to construct its nomenclature on the theory of Talleyrand, that "words are made to conceal our meaning."

The Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland says: "God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatever comes to pass. Yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creature, nor is the liberty or contingence of second causes taken away, but rather established."

Said Confession further saith: "God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined to do good or evil."

At start, we may remark on the first of these extracts, that to affirm that God is the preordainer of sin, and yet not the author of sin, is as good as to affirm that a figure is square without right lines or right angles. It is saying that the subject, God, is and is not the same thing. A horse is black; yet so that he is no way sable, or dark colored, or otherwise than white. The reviewer assures us that "the Church of England writers of the last century, who belonged to the school of Whitby, Jortin, Tomline, and Mant," were "the most incompetent bodies of persons that ever undertook to discuss theological questions." We beg to be permitted to join this body of *incompetents*—incompetent to the task of affirming the primal contradiction of Genevan predestination.

Our main purpose, however, in regard to the above passages from the Confession, is to lay before our readers their *sub-sense* of fatalism, as shown by this

author, overlaid with the verbiage of freedom and contingence. When the confession denies that "*violence* is offered to the will of the creature," it does not mean to deny that the creature's volition, in a given case, is decreed, fixed, and absolutely limited to be one sole certain way, with an impossibility of being any other way. It only means that such fixing or limiting that one way, annihilating all alteriety, is not *violence*. It is in accordance with the laws and nature of will; by which indeed it is alone possible that said sole volition should go forth. And when it is denied that "the liberty of second causes is taken away," it means that the liberty of choosing solely as it does and must choose—Hobson's choice—is not taken away. Just so a mathematical square is free; it has the liberty to possess four equal sides and four right angles. It has the liberty to be a square, to possess all the properties of quadration, to retain them unchangeable so long as it is a square. And when the Confession denies that "the contingence of second causes is taken away," it means that whereas some causes are in their own nature, in some sense, contingent, so God, in fore-ordaining everything, *foreordaines them to be contingent*. In what sense a thing pre-ordained and FIXED can be *contingent*, the Confession does not say, nor does our author explain. So far as we can see, just as the Confession's *liberty* is a *liberty* limited to a sole and singular act and course, so its contingence is a *fixed* contingence, a contradiction, a nothing in the world.

Take next the second of the above extracts from the Confession. The contrast between the super-stratum of words and the underlying sub-sense is still more striking. One would suppose (with so great a master of thought and language as Sir William Hamilton) that there was a denial of the doctrine of philosophical volitional necessity in the words, "nor by any absolute necessity of nature." Our author completely fails in showing that this is not the sole possible force of the *language*. He only succeeds in showing historically, that the author, in words of that sole force, meant to cover another meaning. Under phrase of *freedom*, they intended to wrap *thought* of bondage. The words conceal the meaning. So far, indeed, do they carry this strange *double entendre*, that they appropriate the words to a meaning which they absolutely refuse to express. There is a necessity to use other words to impart to them a meaning they can never accept.

The whole quibble consists in this. The Scotch doctors verbally oppose to each other the two terms *necessity of nature* and *choice*, as being in themselves antithetic. Necessity of nature appears in mere inanimate causes and causation; choice appears in living agents. The absence of the *necessity of nature* in the latter case, consists purely and simply in its being *choice*. Necessity of nature, in an event, is the absence of choice; choice is the absence of necessity of nature. So when they deny a necessity of nature they mean nothing in the world more than that the event is a choice and nothing but a choice, whatever *choice* may be. But this is not denying, so argues our reviewer, that in the very nature of choice the philosophical necessity of Edwards is a constituent.

A distinction, Mr. Reviewer, without a difference. The most lifeless causation conceivable, has no greater "necessity of nature" than this, that the antecedent in the given case be limited to one sole possible consequent. Philoso-

phical necessity affirms this of *will* or *choice*, and so contradicts the language of the Confession in any of its possible meanings. The difference lies not in the necessity, but in the subject of the necessity. The two subjects are dead causation and choice; the natural necessity is in both cases the same.

The reviewer uses language to imply that necessitarians hold to a freedom of the will, though a freedom of the will different from that maintained by "libertarians." But when we come to see the definition of the necessitarian freedom of the will, it proves itself a non-existence and leaves necessitarians deniers of all freedom of will. It is uniformly *the liberty of doing as we will.* But this is liberty of *doing*, not of *willing.* It is located out of the will. It is not a property of the will, but of something else, namely, a something which is not the will, but which acts according to the will. A liberty of the will which does not belong to the will, and is not a property of the will, is a contradiction.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*The Harmony of the Divine Dispensations*, by George Smith, F. A. S." (8vo., pp. 319. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) The design of Mr. Smith's able work is to trace, through the successive dispensations of God to man, the Scripture representations of the great work of redemption by the incarnation and atonement of the promised Redeemer. Commencing with the fall, these representations in symbolic form, or their reality in living form, stand at the center of Patriarchism, Mosaicism, and Christianity.

The fall in Paradise was forthwith followed by the tokens of redemption. The promise of the "woman's seed" was God's prophecy of redemption to Adam. Adam's naming the woman Eve, or Life, was Adam's prophecy of redemption in the ear of the woman. Eve's exclamation, "I have gotten a man, even a Jehovah," was the woman's profession of faith that Jehovah was to become incarnate. The very expulsion from the garden was followed by a planting of the cherubim at its margin, not merely to exclude man from the entrance, but to open an access to him whose dwelling is "between the cherubim."

Between these cherubim, as Mr. Smith traces the occult line of history, God dwelt, not momentarily, but through the whole period, and was approachable by the Church of the Patriarchal Ages. Those cherubim were not angels, as is often dreamed; but attendant symbols of the Divine presence. When Israel went down to Egypt, he carried the mediatorial cherubim thither in his habitation; and when Moses set up the tabernacle, he *transferred* (not originated) the cherubim to that abode.

These Edenic symbols, traditionally retained among the fallen nations, have been found among the remains of their antiquity, as developed by modern re-

search. The resemblance of the Mosaic tabernacle apparatus to many symbolic objects of the Egyptian system, and still further to many of the archæological objects exhumed by Layard in Assyria, has been an object of much Christian speculation and much infidel cavil. Some have said that Moses appropriated from Egypt; others that Egypt appropriated from Moses. Mr. Smith clearly establishes the true ground, that *both were derivations from the common primitive source*, of which Genesis alone furnishes the only historic origin extant. What a wonderful volume is this old Hebraic record!

Fig. 1.

The following figures illustrate this point. The first group 1, 2, 3, furnishes images of the goddess Themi, or Truth, on the Egyptian monuments, exhibiting indubitable marks of identity with the Scripture cherubim. The second group 4, 5, presents the Hebrew ark and cherubim beside a similar Egyptian representation. The sacred ark is, in all probability, an emblem handed down from the covenant of the flood.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

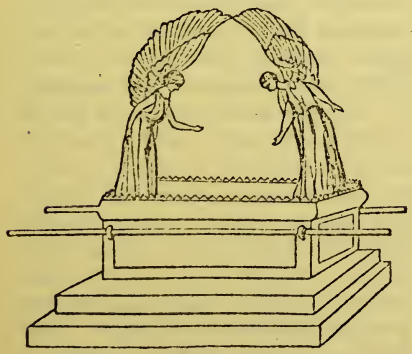

Fig. 4.

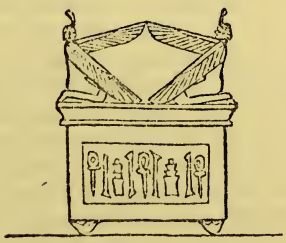

Fig. 5.

The tabernacle of David presented the same cherubic mode of access to God, intermediately between the Mosaic apparatus and the Temple of Solomon. Through the prophets Mr. Smith traces the central representations of the incarnation and atonement until the advent of their reality. Thence the development is traced until in the Apocalypse it terminates in the grand consummation of Paradise restored.

Mr. Smith's work presents several dissertations on points of no ordinary interest and importance. Besides his illustrations of the Edenic Cherubic Tabernacle, his development of the particulars and import of the Mosaic ritual is remarkably clear. His dissertation on the tabernacle will attract special attention. His discussions of the Son of God in the Fiery Furnace, and of Paradise, bring together many novel and valuable illustrations. The whole possesses a unity which suggests that all the parts should be comprehended together to feel the proper impression.

Mr. Smith makes no display of his own philological lore, and depends very much on the authority of critics, respected in English theology, but less frequently than formerly quoted at the present time. Of the various possible meanings of a text, he does not hesitate to prefer that which is favorable to his own hypothesis. Yet the most questionable, and as some would say, the most antiquated of his expositions are sustained by so late an authority as the valuable Old Testament Commentaries of Professor Bush. His volume is in some degree indebted to Faber, a writer who, out of his Cabiric and some part of his Apocalyptic studies, is well worthy of reproduction. It is equally free from anything like the older whimsies of the learned but dreamy Jacob Bryant, and from the more dangerous neologies of the latest German importation. We confess an unchanged preference for the sound old English masters in theology.

(2.) "*The Testimony of the Rocks; or, Geology in its Bearings on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed*, by HUGH MILLER. With Memorials of the Death and Character of the Author." (12mo., pp. 502. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) The marvelous mason of Cromarty! That he should be led by his own manual craft to investigate the deep and massy masonwork of the almighty Architect who laid the earth's foundations, is not wonderful; but wonderful indeed are the profundity, the originality of those investigations, the new and illustrative applications, and the strain of trumpet-like eloquence with which, from beginning to end, he has given them utterance. What richness of imagination; what felicity of analogy; what purity, accuracy, brilliancy of style!

The "Testimony of the Rocks" has not a very perfect unity of subject; yet is there that general symmetry that redeems it from incongruity. We have first the history, deduced through geological ages of plants and animals. Then comes a confronting, face to face, of the two records, on the page of the rock and the page of the book. So far as geology is concerned, he finds a synchronism, if both records be allowed to describe an epochal and mundane day. Then comes the felicitous theory of the "Mosaic Vision of the Creation;" in which the historical seer is imagined as describing the *unseen past*, by the

same conceptual power as other prophets describe the *future*, pictorially exhibited by Divine power to the eye of soul. The Noachian Deluge is then denied, with an extraordinary force of scientific argument, to be universal as to the globe; while the force of the Biblical words is argued to be amply filled out, by supposing the catastrophe universal *as to the race.* Some grand lessons are then administered to the anti-geologists; and the volume concludes with a lecture on the fossil flora of Scotland.

There are some golden passages in the Testimony. There is indeed many a passage of intense eloquence that stimulates and forces us to spring from our study-chair. But more than this, there are passages at which you sit in pure transparent tranquillity, as you see that the world of mind is moving a thought forward; the hand on the great dial-plate has advanced, a clear hair-breadth! Let us note some points:

1. On the canvas of the everlasting rock is impressed, as on the pages of a botanist's herbarium, the complete pictorial history of the vegetable and animal creation, through all past ages, of perhaps some fifty million years. And in the beautiful coincidence between the human classifications of science and the Divine classifications of the Creator, Hugh Miller develops a proof of the resemblance between the infinite and the finite mind; of the creation of man in the intellectual image of God, and the personality of the Divine Being.

2. As geology can trace, with clear distinctness, the commencement and termination of each race, she is able to negate the hypothesis, either that one race runs into or blends with another, or that the higher orders and the highest order, man, are developed by imperceptible graduations from a lower order. Races do indeed rise in successive classifications above each other; but at due intervals between each class; and with diverse qualities, which distance them as independent orders and even separate creations.

Each race, and man's especially of all, starts up in the proper completeness of its being; allowing no other fair solution of its commencement than an immediate planning creative power—*miracle!* The accounting for man's existence by an infinite series of minute causations is thus exploded.

3. Hume argued that as creation was a singular and sole fact, without its like or analogy, so God was unable, so far as we can see, to produce any other than this same form of creation; and variation from it by miracle is inadmissible. Miller argues that creation is not singular; but many times repeated, with ascending variations. At each step, a Hume might have argued that no other ascent was possible, only to be contradicted at the next step. The very fact that Omnipotence has repeated its acts, in ever-varying forms, proves by analogy, that it is still able to proceed in ever-varying forms of omnipotent action.

4. It is a wonderful fact, developed by geology, combined with comparative anatomy, that all the forms of animal existence find the perfected completion of their type in man. Their whole system through ages converges individually and collectively, like a vast pyramid, in him as its apex. Termination in man is the tendency in which they all advance. Hence man is the being of which all the past animal system was a prophecy. Herein we have a striking instance of the determinate purpose and foreknowledge of God.

5. Of the unity of the human race, that is, of its origin from a single center, Hugh Miller recognizes an existent doubt on our side of the Atlantic. He has his solution of the varieties In the Caucasian center, the race still exists in its type of primitive physical perfection. Whenever it departs from that locality, and loses its self-cultivation, a rapid degeneration ensues, tending to destruction. Especially before the face of a superior race does a depreciated tribe, in spite of missionary efforts, persistently melt away. Under the influence of high training, physical, intellectual, and moral, a race preserves its highest type. Hugh Miller holds that no finer specimen of manhood can be found than in the present English aristocracy.

The Testimony is a volume full of suggestive seeds; and we venture a few divergent thoughts:

The great object of God in creation would seem to be, *manifestation;* as he said to Pharaoh, "for this same purpose have I raised thee up, *to make my power* KNOWN." In reading, in our earlier days, the works of Edwards, especially that on Universal Salvation, we were often flung into dubious revery on his assumptions that God performed great transactions *to show forth his attributes to the universe.* The atonement is a *demonstration* of his hatred of sin yet mercy for the sinner; and hell itself, with its endless misery, is intended for a *display* of God's justice to the universe. What proof, said we, that the universe knows, or ever will know, anything about it? Is it, indeed, a fact, that when the scales of mortality fall from our eyes, we forthwith emerge to a full clairvoyance of all the mysteries of the universal republic, and the laws by which it is ruled? But the stupendous pages of geology, laid leaf after leaf, through ages, in the volume of creation, when read by the eye of science, reveal the wonderful fact that Omnipotence has been for long ages *manifesting itself* in the most affluent evolutions, with no eye but its own to appreciate its almost boundless display. Unless invisible critics were surveying these performances, with all our powers of admiration, the Deity has here been, so far as other minds than his own are concerned, but, as it were, wasting an immensity of *miracula speciosa.* So far, we say, as other than his own mind is concerned; but may it not be somehow that his own mind has its own immediate pleasure in this wreaking itself upon an infinite variety of creation? יֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׂחָק saith the Hebrew bard; "The sitter in the heaven shall laugh at them." And if Jehovah hath this ireful laugh at his foolish foes, may he not have a laughter of a gentler sort? "Flowers are God's smiles," says somebody, worthy to have been held in our memory for the beautiful thought. But further than this laughter, and even these smiles, may we not say that—Deus seipsum delectat—*God amuseth himself?*

And when we see the volume of the book of the vast submundane history unfolded, what find we but a pictorial series of Divine sportiveness? a secret play spell of the Creator, all for his own secluded entertainment. What funny little contrivances does Hugh Miller detect in the making and jointing the bones and shells of the primitive testaceæ. What beautiful little architectures, where strength, lightness, and elegance are skillfully calculated, are displayed in the chambers of the primitive animalculæ. And then such brilliant hues, so softly blended, so brilliantly flared, so wittily spotted, so tastefully selected.

And these were poured forth with a conscious boundlessness, and a vast yet regulated variety, for no apparent purpose, than *to please himself*, for millions of years, by the unrivaled Lord of Life. Doth God love the cunning fix, the quaint device, the creative joke, as well as we? Is beauty, as it tints the lily, trills in melody, or unfolds in form, a beauty and a "joy forever" to our God? We know that the eagle is an embodiment of grandeur; and the humming bird is a beautiful *jeu d'esprit.* The lion is an epic; and the ape a comedy. And for a perfect burlesque, there was—for he is now extinct—the poor dodo. Upon that melancholy bird, the Creator heaped everything to make him an ungainly stupid clown, who was perfectly blameless for being the butt of the company, until he sorrowfully slinks from its notice, by dropping out of existence. It would seem cruel to pile a certain sort of merciless ridicule upon a thing so innocently half-witted. And yet the Creator has given to every being its compensation. With the universal bribe of conscious *life*, does he hire all animated beings to suffer the ills of their position in the scale, for the sake of conscious life itself. And do you doubt that they all make the bargain with full consent? See how anxiously they preserve and defend the life he gives, with all the means in their power. Attack their life, and they will, if they can, poison you, or assassinate you, or pound you, according as they have fangs, or horns, or hoofs. Or, if they have no weapons, they will run with the best tug of their legs; or finally die in deep pathos, as if they would complain, not for having obtained, but for losing the boon of existence. Of man, guilty man alone, can it ever be said, "Better that he had never been born."

If these remarks are true, then God performs an infinity of exploitations, that might hold a universe in wonder, awe, or amusement, with no eye in the universe to witness it but his own. Displays of justice most terrible, of tenderness most sweet, of wisdom most boundless, of taste most exquisite, of quaintness most witty, all may be tied together in the infinite KNOT. "It takes all sorts to make a world," says the proverb; and it may be true that on the entire scale, variety is the all-comprehending law, on which Τὸ Πᾶν, the great whole, is planned.

If this be so, we need no gazing universe to see that God may deal with man with a mercy just as tender, a justice just as exact, as if a universe were rapt in study upon it. "For the manifestation of his own glory," and "for his own good pleasure," are phrases of genuine, though not despotic import. And amid the varieties of possibility, without revelation, it would be in vain for man to conjecture his Theodicie future.

Will unredeemed man, in his multiplied millions, as annihilationism teaches, flare out of the scene of being, a blasted bud, an abortive start, a burst bubble, an everlasting failure? Or is development the key, as restorationism teaches; and is all intelligent immortal existence rolling on the waves of billowy centuries, a mighty Amazon, of which damnation is but a backward eddy in the course, from whose curves the wave will, in rolling æons, return to the onward current, toward the sea of perfect life? Or is hell, indeed, the manifestation of the infinite sternness of the Divine consciousness, highest in its character, absolute in its form, the serious and forever solemn in the variety, the never-

ending tragic line in the comprehensive history, the melting semitone of the eternal anthem of the universe? Religion never fills the soul with its own unspeakable importance, but upon this last presumption.

(3.) "*The Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, by ELEAZER LORD." (12mo., pp. 312. New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1858.) So far as the absolute authority of the Scriptures is concerned, it might be of little consequence what the theory of inspiration so long as it is conceded that they are *sanctioned* by God, as the veritable revelation from God, and as true in every part and proposition when interpreted in the intentional sense of the writer. It may, we think, be fairly shown that Christ did so sanction the Old Testament. It may be clearly shown that the canon of the New Testament was selected and similarly sanctioned by the authorized apostles of Christ, and accepted by the Apostolic Church in its miraculous age, and before the special guidance of the Spirit was withdrawn. The question of PLENARY AUTHORITY then being assumed, the question of the mode or modes of *inspiration*, is matter of permissible sacred curiosity and of fair textual interpretation, but no longer an article of a standing or falling rule of faith.

Entering, then, the interior of the sacred volume, assuming the perfect truth to the letter of all its declarations, and interrogating its own authority as to the particular modes, we think there might be shown ample grounds for holding that the modes and degrees of inspiration at different times were very various. Dictations of word there no doubt often were; pictorial representation, animating impulse, restraining guardianship, and spiritual exaltation. And yet in the historical parts, where simple matters of human memory and previous document were arranged and recorded, we seem to find that little else was needed or afforded, other than providential guardianship and guidance. It is undemanded by any safety of faith, as it is burdensome to any reasonable belief, to suppose that the books of Chronicles or Ruth, and the narrative of Abishag or Tamar, were produced with the same full flow of plenary inspiration as the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah. We believe in the divinely sanctioned truth and authority of every genuine syllable of these records. They are a decisive rule of faith. We deny the safety and the right of unsettling their foundations or discriminating their authority. We accept them as a whole, and assert their every part. We shoulder the whole task of meeting the attacks of cavil and criticism at every point. In that task we promptly assume as true whatever cannot be by demonstration proved as false. It is true, if every difficulty on any reasonably invented *supposition* admits a solution; it is true, even where no supposition solves the difficulty, and nothing is left but the possibility that the difficulty could be solved by a fuller knowledge of facts.

Such being our view, we deny Mr. Lord's theory of universal Plenary Inspiration; but hold the doctrine of Plenary Authority. We do not hold the doctrine of Verbal Dictation, but we do hold the doctrine of verbal truth and binding power. Mr. Lord's assumption that we think only in words is plentifully contradicted by every man's consciousness. As children we have conceptions, long before we have words. The dog that lies dreaming of the

chase, has rapid trains of thought, but not a syllable of a word. We are constantly exercising perceptions of shades of color, and shapes of matter, for which there is no name. He must have a feeble power of consciousness or a mighty power over words, who is not often possessed of a thought for which he pauses for the word. We hold the conception fast, waiting for its correlative term to come. Who does not often think of a friend's face without being able to recall his name? The argument, then, derived from necessity, that a revelation must be verbal because we cannot think without words, is inconclusive.

In Mr. Lord's strong assertion of due reverence for the Bible as the word of God we fully sympathize. An intuitional religion, unfastened by the letter, unregulated by the rule, may flare gorgeously for a while, but will prove as evanescent as it is emotional. We protest against a faith without a belief. We hold to a doctrine and affirm a creed. Christ is the *truth* as well as the life; and the Church that disparages the truth, will, in due time, lose the life. Those who pretend to hold the *power of godliness* and deny the *form thereof* will not long retain either power or form. We fall back upon "the Bible, the religion of Protestants;" and we would rather fall back to Liturgy and Rubric, where Wesley lived and died, than attempt to soar into that pseudo-transcendentalism which feels the Scriptures a clog and an obstacle, rather than a stay and a guide.

(4.) "*Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, by Dr. HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Continued after his death by Dr. JOHN HENRY AUGUSTUS EBRARD and LIC. AUGUSTUS WIESINGER. Translated from the German for Clark's Foreign and Theological Library. Revised after the latest German edition, by A. C. KENDRICK, Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester." (Vol. v. 8vo., 624. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1858.) From our notation of the successive volumes of this great work, our readers will remark the uninterrupted promptitude with which the enterprising publishers have prosecuted their performance. The Prefatory Note of the Editor, part of which we here present, well describes the remainder of the work:

> The Commentary of Olshausen was carried through the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, Ephesians, and Thessalonians, when it was arrested by his death. The task of completing it was assigned to his successor and former pupil, Dr. Ebrard, who associated with himself Aug. Wiesinger, also a former pupil of Olshausen, and, like Ebrard, sympathizing thoroughly in the evangelical views of his venerated teacher. Ebrard has completed the Exposition of Hebrews and the Revelation; Wiesinger, of Philippians, the Pastoral Epistles, James, and 1 Peter, and is engaged on the other catholic Epistles. Both are men of sound evangelical views, and thorough Biblical scholarship; and if they want something of that depth of spiritual insight, and high genius which lend such a charm to the writings of Olshausen, they are by no means his inferiors in soundness of judgment and exegetical acumen. If they enter less into extended discussions of topics, they will be found, on the contrary, more full and satisfactory to the philologist."

We would hope that such has been the success of this work in our country, that the same editor and same publishers may furnish us an edition of Dr. Rudolph Stier's Words of Jesus; a work which covers less ground with a

still more expanded exposition, with a genius not inferior, and an evangelical orthodoxy more in accordance with the spirit of our American Church than Olshausen; and far more than Neander, whose neologism he indeed, more than once, rebukes with an affectionate severity. Stier not seldom quotes Wesley's Commentary with approbation.

(5.) "*Aspirations of Nature*, by J. T. HECKER." (12mo., pp. 360. New-York: James B. Kirker, 371 Broadway, 1857.) Mr. Hecker, now Father Hecker, is a gentleman, we believe, of Methodist parentage, who, failing to accept in his early days a true faith in Christ crucified, wandered a while through a round of skepticisms, obeying his moral instincts by active exertion in the reformatory movements of the day, until at last he found repose, if not security, in the bosom of Romanism. To trace logically and imaginatively, if not historically, this round of trials and results, is the purpose of his volume. It assumes the form of a large disjunctive syllogism. Truth is somewhere; it is not in philosophy, not in Protestantism, it is therefore in papism. We shall not prosecute an elaborate analysis of his argument. It is expressed with some beauty of style, (unless, indeed, we mistake the fine typography of the publisher for the elegant style of the writer,) but can be forcible only with minds of a peculiar make in a peculiar position.

But we must object to the author, that he has no right to impute to Methodism the full Augustinian doctrine of depravity on the authority of a quotation from Charles Wesley, which by no means sustains his allegation. Still less right has he to impute the most ultra antinomianism to Methodism, on the authority of passages from Mr. Fletcher, condemning the antinomianism of the Calvinistic Methodists of his day; an ism which Methodism has repudiated, from that day to this, quite as strongly as Mr. Hecker or his pope.

Mr. Hecker repudiates the doctrine of justification by faith. Yet how, by his own history of the matter, does he himself, after all his wanderings, obtain justification; or, what is the same essential thing, absolution from his sins? Not by moralism; not by a course of reformatory doctrines or measures; not by the deeds of the law. He goes to a certain domicile, and he there becomes *justified by faith; justified* at the absolving hand of a priest; *by faith* in the Pope of Rome. Poor Mr. Hecker! How much briefer, safer, and better to have been justified by faith in Christ.

(6.) "*A Liturgy; or, Order of Christian Worship.* Prepared and published by the Direction and for the Use of the German Reformed Church in the United States of America." (12mo., pp. 340. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1858.) The Synod of the German Reformed Church directed this liturgy to be prepared by a select committee, but does not enjoin its use, leaving it for voluntary adoption in the several Churches. It contains a variety of devotional forms, both public and private, of great excellence. First, are the so-called Primitive forms, consisting of the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Mangificat, the Te Deum, the Litany, etc. Next follow Scripture Lessons and Collects for Sabbath worship for the entire ecclesiastical year. Then a large

variety of ritual forms, among which are a Form of Excommunication and Restoration, Laying a Corner Stone, Consecration of a Burial Ground, and Reception of Immigrants. Finally, are added Family Prayer, Private Devotions, and a Collection of Psalms and Hymns.

(7.) "*Memories of Gennesaret*, by Rev. JOHN R. MACDUFF, Author of Memories of Bethany." (12mo., pp. 388. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1858.) The object of the author of this and similar works, is to reproduce in conception, as vividly as possible, the sceneries and histories of the days of the Saviour, and make them the basis of devout reflection, expressed in a style of attractive eloquence. He has made much use of Stanley, Trench, Olshausen, and Stier, as authorities and aids. The works of the author have attained a wide popularity in England.

(8.) "*Course of Study for Candidates for Membership in the Canada Conference.* Adopted at the Conference." (18mo., pp. 170. Toronto: published by G. R. Anderson, for the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 1857.) This very neat volume was prepared under direction of the Conference by Rev. Ephraim B. Harper, Wesleyan pastor at Hamilton, Canada West. It furnishes a very admirable guide for a four years' course of Biblical, Ecclesiastical, and Theological study. It has an extensive appendix of questions upon that very valuable standard, Pearson on the Creed.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(9.) "*The World of Mind.* An elementary book, by ISAAC TAYLOR, Author of "Wesley and Methodism." (12mo., pp. 377. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.) Long years have passed—it is among the recollections in the far distant and enchanted regions of our boyhood—since Isaac Taylor gave his first, perhaps his best work, The Natural History of Enthusiasm, to the world. Since that, a train of thoughtful publications, eminent among which are his Saturday Evening, and his Physical Theory of Another Life, have secured him, not a reputation for the very highest order of mind, not a place among the clarissimi who have advanced human progress a step, but a claim, most willingly conceded by the public, upon its most respectful attention as to an intellect capable of reflecting new light upon the topics it selects, and clothing rarer thought in nervous and eloquent language.

The present claims to be an *elementary* book; but it is not a book for *elementary* pupils. The author's style is too sententious and austere. His vocabulary lies in the upper, Romanic story of the English language. By a thousand turns of spontaneous expression, he unconsciously assumes that his reader is either a trained scholastic mind, or that he is essentially antecedent master of the subject. This is not then a book for the learner to trace his first pathway through the walks of mental science. But, for the thinker who would re-draw the faded lines of memory in that department, for the student who would retrace, under a new guidance, the old ground, and ascertain the surety

of every step by fresh trial, this is the true book. He will find his author treading with slow and careful step, experimenting whether the ground be marshy and treacherous, or whether it be reliable terra firma. He will do this work with such searching incredulity, such power of analysis, and such mastery of language, that we rise from his work largely acquainted with the field of exploration, and fully reassured of the truth of our conclusions. Imagination the author possesses; but it is ever subordinate to his logic. It pictures; but not so much in moist vivid colors, as in graphic forms. Its pieces are monochromatic; all deep iron gray. And they are all the servants of his reasonings, the illustration of his positions, the diagrams of his demonstrations.

Some changes of opinion Isaac Taylor exhibits; one at least since he wrote his Essay upon Edwards on the Will. In that essay he was sternly Necessitarian. He is here as clearly a Freedomist. The reasonings in favor of Necessity he will not indeed affirm to be logically answerable; but he affirms that they are contradicted by our primary instincts; and are dissipated and denied the moment we close the train of speculation, and step out into the walks of real life. We may indeed class thinkers upon this subject as follows: 1. The absolute Necessitarians, who profess to believe that volition is to its antecedent as any other effect to its cause; an absolute and solely possible result. 2. Those who hold, with Sir James Mackintosh and Hamilton, that the Necessitarian argument is unanswerable, and liberty inconceivable and undefinable; but that the latter is affirmed by the more reliable elements of our nature. 3. Those who hold that volitions do invariably follow, indeed, a certain antecedence, but that the nexus between the antecedents and the consequent is not causational necessity, but free uniformity. 4. Those who deny even the law of uniformity as being undistinguishable from necessity, and affirm a free alternity of volition even from the same antecedence. Isaac Taylor formerly held the first, but now the second. We hold the last to be the truth.

(10.) "*An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy, with an Outline Treatise on Logic*, by Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D., President of Franklin and Marshall College." (12mo., pp. 359. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1858.) Here are two books on great subjects in one little volume. Yet the modest terms of Dr. Gerhart's titles, "Introduction" and "Outline," indicate, what he more explicitly says in his preface, that the book is a *manual* embracing that amount of matter in these two departments of culture which can be dispensed in the brief curriculum of our college education. As such this manual presupposes, we presume, a careful previous training in the elements of psychology embracing a patient analysis of our mental powers and operations. If that be well secured, then a survey of "philosophy," embracing a comprehensive view of the various forms which it has historically assumed, and to which we may well conclude it is confined by the limitations of our mental nature, is not only allowable but important. Without that sober prelude, we would like to take out a chancelor's injunction upon all smart gentlemen's perusing such a book to play off its battery of learned but half-understood terminology, to shock us with a paralysis of astonishment at their depth in metaphysics. Our

German friends do indeed play the mischief with our sound old English mental vocabulary. Did their changes, like the regeneration of the chemical and botanical nomenclature, effect the inauguration of a system of self-evidencing truth and beauty, profound would be our gratitude. But the changes sadly resemble a mere turn of the kaleidescope, a new evolution of their splendor, without an item of gain to the value either of the elements or the combination.

The professed speciality in Dr. Gerhart's philosophy is the recognition of the person of the Incarnate at its center. He finds, also, the counterpart of the great philosophic theories of the universe reflected in the four theories of the Incarnate Person. Realism and Ebionism, Idealism and Gnosticism, Absolutism and Eutycheanism, Dualism and Nestorianism, are correlative modes of thought in philosophy and Christology.

The Logic is an amplified translation of a German work by Dr. Beck, of Stuttgard; and develops the established principles of that science with brevity, but with considerable clearness and beauty. Yet even for class use, we think the Outline would be improved, both for the convenience of the instructor and the thoroughness of the learner, were a severer chasteness of expression used, and were it furnished with a copious apparatus of examples for praxis.

(11.) "*Source of Power;* or, the Philosophy of Moral Agency, by Rev. S. Comfort, M A." (12mo., pp. 416. New-York: Printed for the Author, 200 Mulberry-street, 1858.) It is the second member of the above double title which most truly describes the purport of the book. Mr. Comfort surveys the wide field of moral agency and consequent responsibility of man as a subject of the Divine government. He first examines the nature of agency in general, and then agency under its moral conditions. He next traces the existence of the tokens of free moral agency, as appearing in the framework of the human soul. This leads him to analyze specially the nature of will, its relations to the other faculties, to motives, and especially to the moral element. Taking up the religious and Scriptural bearings of the subject, he discusses next the character of agency under the fall; the harmony between psychology and Scripture, the reconciliation of free agency with Divine foreknowledge, and the treatment of man as a free agent by both Divine and human governments.

Mr. Comfort unfolds these great topics with admirable force of thought and clearness of language. Every intelligent layman could, without a training in the depths of psychology, follow his steps and stand with him at last upon an elevation from which the whole ground could be contemplated at one clear unfaltering glance. Mr. Comfort does not attempt to sound, with long metaphysical line and plummet, the depths of the necessitarian gulf. He rather maintains his stand upon the *terra firma* of common sense, where the ordinary instincts of the general mind stand with him, ready to understand, to feel, and to indorse his conclusions. It is the best, perhaps, of its author's productions; and we cheerfully commend it to the favorable anticipations of our ministry and laity.

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(12.) *The Convert; or, Leaves from my Experience*, by O. A. Brownson. (12mo., pp. 450. New-York: Dunigan & Brother, 1857.) We remarked in a former number that Mr. Brownson, "like Augustine, writes Confessions;" but we were not so clairvoyant of the fact that Mr. Brownson was about spreading himself out in a whole volume of confessions, as our accidental hit might have seemed to indicate. Such, however, is his intense self-consciousness that we could have safely predicted that he would, sooner or later, in that way "attempt his own life." Like "P. P., the Clerk of our Parish," in Dean Swift, Mr. Brownson fully realizes "the importance of a man to himself;" and, further, he fully appreciates the importance of "himself" to all the world besides. It is with great propriety that Mr. Brownson titles his autobiography, "The Convert;" for the state of *being converted* has been his normal condition for a large share of his life. If this be, as some affirm, a transition age, then Mr. Brownson may be considered so far the type of his age, as to be properly styled a transition man. The key, we think, to Mr. Brownson's evolutions and final cessation in Romanism, albeit unknown to himself, is this: *Through the whole of his intellectual life Mr. Brownson has been either a Romanist or a skeptic.*

Cardinal Wiseman remarks that all conversions from Romanism have but one process. The inquirer opens the Bible and finds that the particular doctrines of Romanism are not there, and thence he infers those doctrines are not true. Now, says the cardinal, it is plain that such persons were Protestants when they began. They assumed at start the maxim, in which all Protestantism is enveloped, namely, that the Bible is the all-comprehending rule of our faith. They ended Protestants because they began such, and were never anything else. Now, reversing this, Mr. Brownson's own narrative shows that he began his religious life with the assumption of organic human authority as the rule of faith, and so was a Romanist. When he renounced this he became a skeptic, and ceased to be a skeptic only by again returning to Romanism.

Mr. Brownson's early notion of religion was to put himself into somebody's hands and be saved by them. First, he says, (p. 10,) "I almost made up my mind to submit to the Methodists, and let them 'bring me out.'" He, however, gave himself to the Presbyterians, confessedly (p. 29) adopting their authority as his rule of faith. Accordingly, when they at last made him understand that they claimed not to be his proprietors, either as individuals or as an organism, but held the Bible, as being Christ's own authorized words, to be the sole authority, it never entered his purpose to recognize that Bible as historically demonstrated to be Christ's word, and so search its meaning in accordance with that Bible's own direction and spirit. Had he done so he would have been a Bible Christian. No man, since the world began, ever read the Bible in its own spirit, and in full belief of all its statements and obedience to its commands, without becoming a true Christian. We say not a Protestant Christian, for that is a relative term; but an absolute Biblical

Christian, a true Catholic Christian, knowing no more of the Church of Rome than of the Church of Antioch.

By his own description, as soon as the Presbyterians told him that they had no authority as men, and that the common authority for him and them was the Scripture, Mr. Brownson, like a wayward emancipate, commenced to interpret the Bible, not as its obedient pupil, sitting at the feet of the Christ who gave its words, but as a capricious boy handling it as a plaything. Rightly enough, he was forthwith given over to believe a lie. The word of God brooks no such handling. Mr. Brownson ran the gauntlet of anti-Biblical infidelity and landed in almost equally anti-Biblical Romanism.

Had Mr. Brownson "given himself to the Methodists," what would have resulted? The Methodists would not have taken him. They would, indeed, have taken his hand, and have *led him to Christ;* and, without interposing any human interloper between the man and his Saviour, would have bid him, in penitence and faith, submit to that Saviour. Between that penitent and that Saviour the vital matter must be settled. Their advice, in accordance with Christ's own written word, would indeed have guided him. Their prayers would have aided his prayers; their sympathies would have rejoiced in the hour when, in faith upon a present though unseen Saviour, he had received the evidence of his justification before God.

What has Mr. Brownson done? He has surrendered himself to a combination of mere men, whose hypothetical authority is based upon an unhistorical imposture. He has a priestly interloper between Christ and himself. He has fallen into the hands, not of the Redeemer, but of substitutes, who have put a wafer into his mouth, and told him that he was cannibally eating the human flesh of his Lord, and thus, by mastication of a corporeal lump, was expressing therefrom a spiritual grace. He has been set to adoring virgins, and saints, and pictures, and wafers; and is thus bewildered into the second edition of old polytheism. He has, it is to be feared, rejected Christ, and fallen into the hands of antichrist.

That Mr. Brownson is pleased to feel for Methodism a *quant. suf.* of contempt, is of far less consequence to Methodism than to Mr. Brownson himself. So far as Methodism is a pure and perfect guide to Christ himself, she is above all human respect; so far as she is not this, she is worth no man's acceptance. Being this, Mr. Brownson's loss of Methodism is the greatest misfortune of his eternal history.

The volume is done up with much typographical neatness by Dunigan, whose new publishing establishment in Broadway will, we trust, do much for the improvement of our Romanist countrymen.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(13.) "*American Eloquence;* a Collection of Speeches and Addresses by the most eminent Orators of America, with Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Notes, by FRANK MOORE." (2 vols. 8vo., pp. 576, 614. New-York: Appleton & Co., 1857.) The characteristic barrenness which in a former number

we imputed to the earlier period of our history in the region of poetry, by no means extends to the department of judicial or senatorial eloquence. The great prosecutions which became *events* in their day, found jurists and advocates amply qualified to honor our bench and our bar; the greatest movements of our history have drawn out statesmen equal to their exigence; and the profoundest questions of political philosophy and state policy have found master thinkers and eloquent orators, fully competent to sound their depths and give their eloquent pronunciamentos a permanent and monumental value. So abundant indeed is our department of oratorical literature, that Mr. Moore has doubtless found, in the formation of these two cyclopediac volumes, the main difficulty to be not *obtainment*, but *selection*. In the earlier period, indeed, this difficulty is diminished by the fact, that the scarcity of reports and the supereminent merits of a certain number of master efforts, have rendered them *classical*. The age seems to have performed the eclectic process, almost as clearly as the early Church selected the sacred canon; quite as clearly as the literary ages selected the immortal remains of classical genius, or the ecclesiastical ages the products of early patristical piety.

In the ante-revolutionary period—beginning already to assume to our imagination much of the aspect of "the years beyond the flood"—we find a fixed elect number, that leaves compiler and critic no volition. A choice fragment or two from James Otis, pregnant with genius and lore, leaves room for our conception to sympathize with the exclamation of John Adams: "James Otis was a flame of fire!" Next (and with all the advantages of a lengthened life and a florid biographer, truly but the *second*) comes Patrick Henry, "the forest-born Demosthenes." Then follow the elegant periods of the modest Richard Henry Lee, animated, as they are, with the noblest spirit of freedom. John Dickinson furnishes state papers, which won from Chatham the tribute which pronounced them worthy of Thucydides and the ablest masters of antiquity. Samuel Adams furnishes the terse logic; and Josiah Quincy the burning period. Upon this pure and primitive period it is good for our degenerating age to dwell, and inhale its fresh ethereal morning breath of original and universal liberty.

From the commencement of the Constitutional convention to the accession of Jefferson, we have a second period. Of this period, while Fisher Ames has left, in his speech on the British Treaty, the purest specimen beyond all comparison of senatorial eloquence, yet Alexander Hamilton was as unquestionably, in statesmanly power, the master spirit.

The next period, which we should terminate at the commencement of the war debates of 1812, was less marked with magnificent displays of oratorical talent; but the brilliant stars of Clay and Webster (to say less of the erratic flashes of Randolph and the baleful swamp-meteor of Calhoun) were just rising. But within this range we must not forget to locate the noble Bayard; the "without fear and without reproach;" whose speech on the judiciary is peerless in its period. During much of the time preceding our latest point, our Supreme Court, crowned with the presidency of John Marshall, and adorned with the assessorship of Story, was the glory of the nation. At the bar nothing, during the entire series of periods, surpassed the defense of

Selfridge, by Samuel Dexter; the most Websterian monument extant, anterior to the palmy days of Webster.

An Augustan constellation of orators—central of whom in the senatorial, was Webster, in the popular, was Clay—has just passed, and left scarce a survivor worthy to portray its glory. No debate in our legislative history can compare with the celebrated contest of Hayne and Webster upon the apparently unimportant occasion of Mr. Foot's Land Bill. Mr. Webster's speech on that occasion was the crowned masterpiece, beyond all rivalry, of American oratory. Webster must stand the greatest secular intellect of the first century of American history, as the greatest theological was Jonathan Edwards.

Mr. Moore promises a second collection, to consist of the productions of living orators. That was a bad division. He should have made one collection of judicial oratory—of the bench and bar—from the earliest period to the present time. Another collection of political oratory from our origin to the war of 1812. A third collection from that point to the close of Webster's *senatorial* career, (all he spoke after that point devastated his own reputation,) which was the terminus, in fact, of his oratorical era. Mr. Moore has ably performed, nevertheless, his editorial office. His brief biographies skillfully introduce the orator to his audience. His notes aid in realizing the occasion. His selections leave little ground of dissatisfaction, other than must arise from the defect we have just imputed to his plan. The externals commend the work to the libraries of our legal gentlemen, our scholars, and our young aspirants to statesmanship.

We must particularly note the excellence of the engravings of the two volumes, executed by W. G. Jackman. The extent of the octavo page furnishes room for a goodly size of figure, and the clear distinctness of the lines gives a fresh life-likeness to the expression. As a frontispiece we have James Otis; impressing us as, what Cicero would have called, *vir fictus*—a chiseled man; with his fine, and singularly oval head, upon an oval figure. We know not whether there was in the face of Alexander Hamilton the eagle look that we seem to see in his picture. It is curious, and sometimes sad, to trace the varying expressions which, under the shadows of advancing years, are assumed by the pictures of illustrious men. The artist's work should cease, after the zenith of life and the summit of success have passed. Mr. Clay's last pictures have the disturbed eye and marred features of disease and approaching death. Upon the pictures of Mr. Webster's face, which, at his noon of life and fame, presented the very ideal of a statesmanly jurist, there gathered in his latter days a deep, dark, almost stormy lower, abundantly apparent in the present specimen. But in no face has gradual depravation been so palpably stamped as Mr. Calhoun's. As bad ambition acquired the mastery of his spirit, as the free expansion of his faculties into comprehensive enlargement for vast statesmanly good became contracted, its generous expression was dimmed. As the gradual surrender of all his powers to the narrowest of causes concentrated and crisped his soul to the narrowest dimensions, his figure became still more lank and scragged; his eye caught a demoniac fire; his locks flung out a maniac haggardness; and no outline, drawn by artist's hand, to give true picture of the human face divine, ever furnished more unerring token that the

spirit within had prematurely grown to fiend. As later research is endeavoring to withdraw Aaron Burr from the traitor's pedestal in American history, the sure instinct of advancing reflection will concede the true succession to John C. Calhoun.

(14.) "*Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*, from 1789 to 1856. From Gales and Seaton's Annals of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the Official Reported Debates, by JOHN C. RIVES. By the Author of the Thirty Years' View." (8vo., vols. iv, v, and vi, pp. 761, 757, 744. New-York: Appleton & Co., 1858.) It will be seen that this great work, the honorable product of Senator Benton's retired days, extends over a period of nearly seventy years of congressional discussion. It is, therefore, up to its last named date, a complete parliamentary record; invaluable as a matter of reference, and as a reliable material for history; while the abridgment from so masterly a hand, it may well be supposed, will be done with a skill which will preserve its character as a record of our best Parliamentary eloquence A copy of the entire work should stand in the libraries of our higher literary institutions. The lawyer, the statesman, the investigator of American history, will find it an indispensable matter of study and authority.

(15.) "*Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early History of American Methodism*, by Rev. J. B. WAKELEY." (12mo., pp. 595. New-York: Printed for the Author, 200 Mulberry-street, 1858.) Mr. Wakeley is an *antiquarian* among antiquities almost one hundred years old. An "old book" was *revealed* (to use the word in its very modern application) to him by a happy fortuity; and thereby he reveals to us, as from the dead, a variety of interesting facts, and fac-similes, touching the founders of American Methodism especially. No book yet published so transfers us back to that primeval period, and enables us to feel ourselves amid its surroundings, both men and things.

V.—*Educational.*

(16.) "*The English Language in its Elements and Forms.* With a History of its Origin and Development. Abridged from the octavo edition. Designed for General use in Schools and Families, by WILLIAM C. FOWLER, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College." (12mo., pp. 381. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.) This reduction of Professor Fowler's work to a manual form and size, renders it, we should suppose, a valuable class-book. Its main peculiarity of tracing the genesis of our language, and its position among the dialects of the world, enhances its value, and does not in the least appear to interfere with its thorough practical drilling in the actual principle and properties of the language, We may safely recommend it to the attention of our academic institutions.

(17.) "*Annual Report of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*" (8vo., pp. 128. New-York: Printed for the Union,

200 Mulberry-street, 1858.) The following cheering statement furnishes proof that this great arm of the Church is not losing its power under Dr. Wise's able administration:

"A greater number of new schools have been organized in the year past than in any year since 1851; and the increase of officers, teachers, and scholars is greater than has been reported for six years. These results, as well as the net annual increase of our schools during the past *eleven* years, will be apparent to all who will be at the pains to examine the following table:

INCREASE IN ELEVEN YEARS.

	Schools.	Off's. & Teach.	Scholars.	Total Exp's. of Schools.	Total Conversions.	Increase of Church Mem.
Increase in 1847	457	4,056	19,600	$34,900	4,118	Dec.
" 1848	190	5,118	16,802	46,843	8,240	7,508
" 1849	576	3,610	35,201	48,079	9,014	23,249
" 1850	687	10,966	37,356	54,587	11,398	27,367
" 1851	685	8,721	43,722	66,124	14,557	32,122
" 1852	368	4,470	31,368	69,094	13,243	6,896
" 1853	346	4,701	20,329	83,965	16,916	3,937
" 1854	470	4,917	28,057	95,690	17,494	30,732
" 1855	561	5,510	26,061	102,485	17,443	16,073
" 1856	131	1,160	24,987	99,614	16,775	896
" 1857	629	6,102	35,007	15,945	14,669*	20,192
Total increase . .	5,100	59,329	318,490	$717,326	143,867	168,972

"Six hundred and thirty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty children, (one tenth of the children of this nation, between the ages of five and fifteen,) are, at this moment, in the Sunday schools of our Church."

Handsome additions have been made to the library. And those who believe that it is the solemn duty of our Church to educate her people, old and young, in the principles of Wesley in regard to the great doctrines of human rights, will recognize with pleasure, that the Sunday-school department refuses to abdicate its duty upon this subject. With sorrow we have marked that slavery has expurgated from our *secular* school books the pieces that breathed the spirit of freedom into our young hearts. It is time to enter our dissent from that "great apostasy." But still more deeply and firmly would we protest against permitting the same expurgation to emasculate the religious books and periodicals that shall educate our children in the principles of freedom, truth, and piety. None who are truly loyal to the primary principles of American freedom, to the doctrines of Wesley and the institutions of our Church, will approve an unmanly policy by which those sacred principles would be permitted to die out in the very next generation.

(18.) "*Marcus; or, the Boy-Tamer*, by WALTER AIMWELL." This is one of a series by the same author, who is counted, we believe, with Peter Parley, Francis Forrester, and other great writers of boy America. We speak not of these books with any "prejudice" arising from having read any part of them. But our correspondents belonging to that section inform us that the Boy-Tamer is accepted by the boys; and that the series undergoes a ready absorption.

* The number reported from thirty-one conferences only.

(19.) "*Elementary German Reader*, on the plan of Jacob's Greek Reader, with a full Vocabulary, composed, compiled, and arranged systematically, by Rev. L. W. HEYDENREICH, Graduate of the University of France, and Professor of Languages in the Moravian Female Seminary at Bethlehem, Pa." (18mo., pp. 164. New-York: Appleton & Co.) An admirable manual, on an excellent method, by an accomplished scholar.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(20.) "*Lucy Howard's Journal*, by Mrs. L. H. SIGOURNEY." (12mo., pp. 343. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.) To our own taste, or rather feelings, this is by far the best of Mrs. Sigourney's productions. It is an imaginary autobiography, in form of a diary. It begins with the school days, and lets us, with magic power, into the recesses of the thoughts of a pure-minded girl. Simply, yet touchingly, the chaste sweet heart portrays itself; not by description, but by unconsciously recording its own most genuine sensations. The diarist continues her record through the days of young womanhood, exhibiting with a singular trueness to nature her mental development through passing years, until she has become a wife and a mother, meeting the sterner realities of life with a gentle firmness, in which the undiminished fullness of feminine affections is blended with a sense of duty, elevated by religion. The days of sorrow, which to most of us are so necessary to deepen and to chasten our natures, came only to *exhibit* in her the qualities they were not needed to create. In the midst of those sorrows, the record suddenly, like a strain of plaintive music, ceases—dies in silence. Then another hand interposes, and informs us that the silence is the silence of death.

The critics say little about this volume; and the public makes no stir. Perhaps we are to blame; but since Uncle Tom, we have read nothing that has, without the slightest apparent effort of the author, and without much excuse for us, so pestered us in the reading, with blended smiles and tears. Ditto has been the effect in our own little home circle of readers. Suppose our larger Quarterly circle try and see.

There are some little faults of detail. Mrs. Sigourney should not have made her diarist anticipate the metrical style of Hiawatha. And the ostensible editor, who furnishes the closing paragraphs, writes in a style so identical with that of the diarist, that a sense of the unreality offends at the very moment of closing the volume.

(21.) "*Debit and Credit.* Translated from the German of Freytag, by L. C. C. With a Preface by C. C. J. Bunsen." (12mo., pp. 564. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.) Freytag is known to scholars as the author of a standard Arabic Dictionary. He here appears as the author of what Chevalier Bunsen pronounces "the most popular German novel of the age."

The purpose of the fiction is to describe the relations between the sinking

feudal classes of Prussia and the rising, middle, and lower classes. The *idea* of the book, Bunsen sums up in three propositions, as follows:

"1. The fusion of the educated classes, and the total abolition of bureaucracy, and all social barriers between the ancient nobility and the educated classes in the nation, especially the industrial and mercantile population.

"2. The just and Christian bearing of this united body toward the working classes, especially in towns.

"3. The recognition of the mighty fact that the educated middle classes of all nations, but especially of those of Germany, are perfectly aware that even the present, but still more the near future, is their own, if they advance along the legal path to a perfect constitutional monarchy, resisting all temptations to the right hand or to the left, not with imbittered feelings, but in the cheerful temper of a moral self-confidence."

VII.—*Miscellaneous.*

(22.) "*The New American Encyclopedia*, a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge, edited by George Ripley, and Charles A. Dana. Vol. I, A—Araguay." (8vo., pp. 762. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1858.) The first installment of a large enterprise. The volume is a magnificent commencement, and yet has not finished the first letter of the alphabet. The able editors acknowledge large obligations to the Nouvelle Biographie Générale, published by Didot, Paris, and to the English Cyclopedia edited by Charles Knight, London. Nearly a hundred writers have contributed to the work. Their contributions have been so modified by the present editors, as to secure unity. Care has been taken to introduce no special opinions, while the work ranges through the wide domains of History, Biography, Natural Philosophy, Industrial Arts, including Agriculture and Practical Domestic Economy, Law, Political Economy, etc. The history of religious sects will be mainly furnished by able writers from their own body.

Our Quarterly Review has been obliged to notice, with severe animadversion, the illiberal use which has been made of former publications of this kind, to gratify the sectarian prejudice of the accidental editors, and the injustice which our denomination has suffered at their hands. We have the pleasure to say that the services of Drs. M'Clintock, Curry, and Strickland have been engaged to contribute the articles that concern our own Church, and certainly a better representation we could not ask. We may add that the work has the high recommendation of Bishop Janes, Dr. Holdich, and other of our leading ministers.

(23.) "*A Dictionary of Medical Science, with French and other Synonyms*, by Robley Dunglison, M.D., LL.D., Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia. Revised and very greatly enlarged." (8vo., pp. 992. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1857.) Dr. Dunglison has furnished to the profession a number of works of very elaborate character, prominent among which is his treatise of Human Physiology. The present work in its first edition received the commendation of foreign periodicals as a prodigious work, happily at last accomplished. But in the present edition

are added, besides revisions, some six thousand new terms and subjects, some of them recently incorporated into the nomenclature of science, others the fruit of further research. Our country has just reason to be proud of such evidences of the industry, erudition, and talent of our medical profession.

(24.) "*Handbook of Railroad Construction; for the Use of American Engineers:* containing the Necessary Rules, Tables, and Formula for the Location, Construction, Equipment, and Management of Railroads, as built in the United States. With one hundred and fifty-eight Illustrations. By George L. Vose, Civil Engineer." (8vo., pp. 480. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co., 1857.) Presuming the reader to be acquainted with elementary mathematics and mechanics, Mr. Vose here furnishes for him a practical handbook for practical office use. His purpose is not to furnish a text-book for the scientific school. For the engineer and railroad manager it will doubtless prove a valuable manual.

Of the following we have not room for full notice:

(25.) "*Gathered Lillies;* or, Little Children in Heaven, by A. C. Thompson, Author of 'The Better Land.'" (18mo., pp. 59. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1858.) A gem of rare beauty for the bereaved parent.

(26.) "*One Week at Amer*, an American City of the Nineteenth Century." (18mo., pp. 119. Boston; Munroe & Co., 1858.) A satirical poem; not over sparkling with either satire or poetry.

(27.) "*European Acquaintance;* being Sketches of People in Europe, by J. W. De Forest, Author of 'Oriental Acquaintance, etc.'" (12mo., pp. 276. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.)

VIII.—*Periodicals.*

(28.) "*The Phonographic Magazine*, Edited and Engraved on Stone, by Benn Pitman. Monthly for March, 1858." (Cincinnati: B. Pitman, Phonographic Institute.) This is an *engraved* monthly magazine! With the exceptions of headings and quoted words, it is in the phonographic type from beginning to end. Its beauty of page would be obvious to any susceptible eye; but its wonderful power of embracing articulate vocalities in brief and facile forms, and surrendering them to the demanding perceptions with magic ease and clearness, is intelligible to the glance of the *initiates* alone. You understand English, do you? Here is English, arrayed in forms the most beautiful, the most transparent, which it ever wore to any human eye; to which you are as blind, mayhap, as an owlet to the morning star.

The present number of the Phonographic Magazine contains "A Letter from the Royal Stenographic Institute of Dresden," proposing to open a cor-

respondence and interchange between the promoters of Phonetic science of Saxony and the United States. It bears the signature of M. Hugo Häpe, the president of the Royal Institute and Councilor of the Regency. The functions of the institute are to stenograph the transactions of the government, to train a corps of stenographers, and promote the advancement and perfection of the stenographic art. It publishes a stenographic periodical folio; one third of each page is in stenography, and the remaining two thirds furnish its expansion into long hand.

We advise most earnestly that the art of phonography be introduced into our seminaries and colleges. Especially and immediately do we advise its encouragement in our institutes for preparing our ministry, and its acquirement by every young man in our ministry. Of its ultimate adoption into normal schools, high schools, and public schools, we cherish a firm hope.

(29.) "*The Christian Repository and Ladies' Magazine*, Devoted to Religion and Literature. A. OWEN, Editor." (8vo., pp. 64. Dayton, Ohio: Published for the United Brethren in Christ, by Vonneida & Sowers.) A spirited repository of literature, both original and selected. It is done up with talent, and tasteful external finish. Its religious tone is pure, while its air is frank and clear upon the great questions of truth and righteousness.

ART. XII.—LITERARY ITEMS.

Analecta Nicæna: Fragments relating to the Council of Nice. The Syriac Text from an ancient MS. in the British Museum. With Translation and Notes. By B. Harris Cowper. This publication contains the last letter of Constantine, summoning the Council of Nice, and a most complete and authentic recension of the catalogue of subscribing fathers, from a MS. of great antiquity.

Of *Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament*, two volumes are translated and ready. The remaining three volumes will be published early in 1858.

The works of Rev. R. Knight are favorably noticed, namely: *The Doctrine of Scriptural Predestination*, with Remarks upon the Baptismal Question. Also, a Critical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

A Dissertation on Sacred Chronology, containing Scriptural Evidence to show that the Creation of Man took place 5,833 years before Christ. By Rev. N. Reuse. With a few pages on the Egyptian Dynasties of Manetho.

New editions are in press, by Oliphant & Sons, Edinburgh, of Dr. John Pye Smith's celebrated work, *The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah;* and also his work, *The Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ and the Atonement and Redemption thence Accruing.*

Mr. Maurice has lately published Five Sermons on the *Indian Crisis.* Also a Series of Lectures on Christian Ethics, founded on the Epistles of St. John.

Personal Recollections of the Last Four Popes, by Cardinal Wiseman.

Homer and the Homeric Age, by Right Honorable William E. Gladstone, M.P. 3 vols. 8vo., from the Oxford University Press.

Constable & Co. have issued the tenth volume of the collected works of Dugald Stewart, containing Biographical Memoirs of Adam Smith, Dr. Robertson, and Dr. Thomas Reid. A memoir of Dugald Stewart, with Selections from his Correspondence, is prefixed, by John Veitch, M.A.

The Stars and the Angels; or the Natural History of the Universe and its Inhabitants.

Essays, Scientific, Political, and Speculative, by Herbert Spencer. Chiefly reprinted from the Quarterly Reviews, and said to be able.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1858.

ART. I.—ATTIC TRAGEDY AND THE MODERN THEATER.

DRAMATIC literature has formed a large and interesting part of the republic of letters for more than two thousand years. Dramatic show, or the theater, for a still longer period has held the rank and influence of a popular and well patronized institution; and this, too, in the face of a learned, moral, and uncompromising opposition lasting from Plato to the Puritans, and not yet ended. A literature is the expression of a nation's life; of its genius, knowledge, taste, and skill; is the work of individuals, but the common possession of all. Moreover, each form of literature is a typal manifestation of some power, want, or aspiration in the soul. The mere love of knowledge will preserve for us the dry chronicle, the dryer genealogy, and the national myths; but blend with this the love of heroism and beauty, and then will the skeleton chronicles and dim myths be transfigured into a lively and picturesque epic. So, too, ideals, without a pattern of which nothing in man's world has been made, fed from their mystic springs of joy and sadness, cannot always sing their inner song to the heart that owns them, but must utter them; and lyric poetry is at once their expression and satisfaction. And so, too, art is a symbol of a profound want in human nature, underlying and creating it. But there is also a human eclectic faculty; and the Greeks, God's ancient people, chosen to preach the gospel of the beautiful to their own and to all ages, were notably eclectic in matters pertaining to the manly and the beautiful, no less in literature than in art. Homer's epic is immortal, and the Greek lyrics are among the finest we have; yet from these the Greek wrought out the grander form of dramatic poetry. The epic is historical, is an echo, a memory, a shadow of the past; the lyric is emotional, a mood of

mind, a song; the drama, of which tragedy is the noblest form, is both these and more. "The epic is a corpse galvanized; the lyric is a dream, but tragedy is life." Tragedy on its poetic side is the substantial marriage of the epic and the lyric, graced by the subservience of minor species of poetry; in its subject-matter it is an exhibition of the eternal laws of truth and justice applied to individuals, to society, and to states. It is activity and energy, embellished by dignity, grace, and pathos. And naturally, from the relation of the dramatic to other forms of literature, many of the best poets have been dramatists, and among its votaries are some of the finest intellects of the race.

On the other hand, theatrical or dramatic exhibitions, of some kind, are next to the pleasures of the chase in their universality and antiquity. From the combined use which they make of poetry, music, painting, scenic decorations, elocution, and action, they are capable of doing great good in the way of rational amusement and mental culture; but are doing immense mischief by a prostitution of their high functions to a pandering to a vulgar taste and false notions, and to the opening up of facile avenues whereby fleshly lusts creep into our social life and corrupt it. Yet, with all its vices, essential and accidental, the theater still forms a marked feature of the social organization of our large cities. Towns and villages, too, show the tenacious hold the stage has upon the popular feeling, by sending crowds to witness the bizarre theatricals of some strolling company. To measure the demerit of modern dramatic performances, we have selected, as a standard of comparison, Attic tragedy of the age of Pericles.

Of dramatic literature the tragic is the highest form. The former shows us both the earnest and the sportive, the serious and the comic sides of human life, the latter the earnest and the serious only: the one covers the broadest field; the other deals in matters of the weightiest moment. And Attic tragedy, as it was in the splendid days of the literary, commercial, and political supremacy of Athens, combined a moral aim and a religious spirit with great literary excellences. It was remarkable for its brief duration and local limit: three names, one century, and the city of Athens, comprehended its excellence and earned its lasting fame. The history of Greek literature reaches back three thousand years. Of these thirty centuries, the fifth B. C. sufficed for the full birth, maturity, and degeneracy of tragedy in its essential characteristics of beauty, dignity, and ideal truth. To understand Greek tragedy, there is no need of inquiry into the progressive stages of its historic development from the rude and hilarious ceremonies in honor of Bacchus; for these are no essential part of it. When Æschylus appeared,

Bacchus and his troop of satyrs had been dismissed from the stage; his altar, the thymele, converted into a chorus stand; the choral odes were no longer Bacchic hymns, but the sentiments of an idealized spectator, the expression of the thoughts and feelings suggested by the action of the play. The plots were not of the fabulous fortunes and symbolic life and death of Dionysus, but of the mythic, heroic, and historical events in Grecian history. We may also dismiss the dithyrambs, the faces daubed with wine-lees, the Thespian cart and monologues; for however full of historic value and antiquarian interest these may be, yet Greek tragedy must be studied in Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. They were the master tragedians. Although in and out of their own times, at Athens and elsewhere, good tragedies were written, and to some of which judges assigned the tragic prize over the heads of these princes of tragedy themselves, still the public voice of Athens, and the concurring judgment of successive ages, have assigned to these three seats on the tragic throne. A peerless trio in their day, and an imitated but almost inimitable model for after times, and by none nearer approached than by Schiller in his latest plays.

Considering the peculiar fascination of the drama and the universality of mimic representations, it is a matter of surprise that cultivated nations have been without it. The Semitic have no drama. The Jew has no theater; and this, too, with a history full of dramatic incidents, as the Exodus, Samson's exploits, the civil wars of the houses of David and Saul; in fact, Jewish history is tragedy paraphrased. It has the unities of time, action, and place, and is the vindication of the laws of truth and justice in the struggles, crimes, passion, and sufferings of men. The Bible contains no drama. The nearest to it is the Book of Job; but that is more epic than dramatic. Arabians, Egyptians, and Persians were rich in literary compositions, but they lacked the dramatic. The Chaldeans were learned, but they knew nothing of it. It is the glory and the high poetic achievement of the Indo-Caucasian race; and tragedy in its truest and most graceful expression, was the product of the Greek mind.

We profess to be no blind admirers of whatever pertains to a classic antiquity. Granting that Greek literature is a treasury of poetry, science, art, eloquence, and heroism; and that the Greek himself was a model of the true scholarly self-abandonment to a literary vocation, whereby a high success is alone attainable, nevertheless, for the American student of to-day, a knowledge of German literature in the original, with all its vices, theologic and philosophic, is better than a knowledge of the Greek; a broader scholar-

ship and a higher humanity in it, arising from the fact that Christianity has exerted so large an influence in modern civilization, and has thus given the modern a stand-point of thought and feeling far beyond that of the most favored Greek or Roman. This is a general statement, for in the special case of Greek tragedy, as exemplified in the extant plays of the three masters, there must be conceded a dignity, harmony, pathos, unity of plot, precision, and naturalness, and artistic merit of stage decorations and arrangements, which place it beyond the mere life-like and imitative, and elevate it to the standard of a moral ideal, "whereby are brought into living exhibition the deeply grounded ideas of eternal right, of whose laws, fixed and immutable as nature herself, even the gods are made ministers."* The popular mythology of the Greeks was rich in tragic materials, especially the two ancient houses of the Labdacidæ and Pelopidæ. The mythic element, however, was not essential to tragedy, as the *Persæ*, a purely historical play, witnesses. Current politics and history, too, gave tone and color to both tragedy and comedy.

We now propose briefly to present some of the leading excellences of this form of mental activity, which so delighted an Athenian audience that they would sit, with a few intermissions, an entire day, witnessing, with a critical delight, plays sustained throughout at a high level of poetic beauty and didactic morality. On the reader of Greek tragedy no impression derived therefrom is more distinct than the *love of the beautiful and of nature.*

The Greeks were the most felicitous of mortals. Lively, versatile, imaginative, and enthusiastic, they loved and worshiped the beautiful. Their inner life seemed as jocund as a June morning, and a part of the sweet, round day. They had and owned a delightful climate, picturesque scenery, the bluest skies, and splendid sunrises and sunsets. No wonder, then, they loved out-door life. They studied, sacrificed, played, prayed, and dramatized in the open air. They loved this wholesome nature, and from the grand fullness of their sensuous life, peopled earth, air, and sea, with gods, and all their gods were comely beings. They could not tolerate, without some relief, a bloated Bacchus, and hence the legend that in his youth Bacchus was a beautiful boy. Pluto, the infernal god, was noble-looking and had splendid eyes. No people have ever had more right to the name, Children of the Sun. The old and young, man and maid, when dying, leave life with fond regrets at parting with the sun and his bright beams as with a companion tenderly loved. Hades is dreaded because it is sunless. Ajax bids his final adieu to the day and the sun, his native land, the fountains,

* Jacobs, Leben u. Kunst des Alterth., ii, 307.

rivers, and plains of Troy. Antigone bewails her loss of the pleasant light of day, as well as of the social joys of life. Iphigenia sums up all her entreaties to her father for life in one:

> "To view the light of life,
> To mortals is most sweet; in death there is
> Nor light nor joy; and crazed is he who seeks
> To die; for life, though full of ills, has more
> Of good than death."

They loved life in its pleasantness, and ingenuously said so. Yet they could die with a calm hardihood when duty demanded it. There was but little of that most miserable ennui, bravado, affected stoicism, and practice of suicide, which so strongly marked the debauched and cruel civilization of the Romans, even before the time of the empire. In concord with this feeling, the Greek removed scenes of great violence and bloodshed from the stage. He had not the hardness of heart and the brutal delight of the Roman in gladiatorial scenes of blood, nor the modern mania for the deformed and the horrible. The English, unlike the Greek, associate the idea of the repulsive and the loathsome with the conception of death. The difference between the Greek tragedians and Shakspeare in this respect is striking, and marks a morbid taste of the English mind in damaging contrast with the more healthful play of Greek thought and feeling. We give a few instances out of many:

> "Ay, but to die and go we know not where;
> To lie in cold obstruction and to *rot*."—*M. M.*, iii, 1.

> "O Death,
> And I will kiss thy detestable *bones;*
> And put my eyeballs in thy vaulty brows;
> And *ring these fingers with thy household worms;*
> And stop this gap of breath with fulsome dust,
> And be a *carrion monster* like thyself."—*K. J.*, iii, 4.

So, too, Juliet seems to forget her Romeo in the foul fascination of the "horrible conceit of death:"

> "——— a vault, an ancient receptacle,
> Where for these many hundred years the *bones*
> Of all my buried ancestors *are packed;*
> Where bloody Tybalt, yet but green in earth,
> Lies *festering* in his shroud."

And

> "——— here, here will I remain
> *With worms that are thy chambermaids.*"—*Rom. and Jul.*

As deep a grief and a truer pathos are expressed by Admetus for his dead wife:

> "For these will I enjoin to lay me in
> The same grave, side by side with thee."*

And when Hæmon kills himself by the side of his betrothed in the gloomy cave, the poet does not dwell on the foul and disgusting accidents of death and decay, and the "lugubrious vaults," but, true to the loveliness of Greek thought and speech, says:

> "And dead beside the dead, the hapless youth
> Doth lie, and celebrates his nuptial rites
> Within the house of Pluto."†

And the beautiful choral lyric by Euripides is in contrast:

> "We will not look on her burial sod,
> As the cell of sepulchral sleep,
> It shall be as the shrine of a radiant god,
> And the pilgrims shall visit that bless'd abode
> To worship and not to weep."‡

The Greeks disliked the exaggerated, and the deformed, and the exceptional, and hence in sculpture, poetry, and painting, avoided the extremes of passion and grief, inasmuch as such extremes border on contortion, and contortion is allied to deformity. Timanthes, the painter, vailed the head of Agamemnon to hide his face disfigured by excessive grief for the sacrifice of his daughter. The artist has sculptured Niobe when she has one child left, and has not yet touched the lowest deep of grief; and her children, the dead and the dying, faithfully express suffering and terror without a violation of the spirit of the beautiful. Girardin remarks that the ancients believed that when passion becomes excessive the man disappears, and that this is the profound idea lying back of the metamorphoses of Ovid, a prodigy or a miracle being preferred to an exaggeration or disfigurement. They held to a primal rule of art that the passion must be true, and that is true which appeals to the common consciousness. All else is exceptional. Our sympathy is excited by the common or universal, our wonder by the exceptional; and the exceptional in character and passion abounds in the modern drama, and is a characteristic of the light literature of the day. Hence

* ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γάρ μ' ἐπισκήψω κέδροις
σοὶ τούσδε θεῖναι πλευρά τ' ἐκτεῖναι πέλας
πλευροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς·—*Alces.*, 365.

† κεῖται δὲ νεκρὸς περὶ νεκρῷ, τὰ νυμφικὰ
τέλη λαχὼν δείλαιος εἰν' Ἀιδου δόμοις.—*Antig.*, 1240.

‡ μηδὲ νεκρῶν ὡς φθιμένων χῶμα νομιζεσθω
τύμβος σᾶς ἀλόχου, θεοῖσι δ' ὁμοίως
τιμάσθω, σέβας ἐμπόρων· καί τις δοχμίαν
κέλευθον ἐμβαίνων τόδ' ἐρεῖ·—*Alc.*, 995.

the Quilps, the Uriah Heaps, Karl Von Moors, and Manfreds, knaves with generous aspirations and harlots with pure affections Such violations of the probabilities of life degrade the dramatic art, and make it teach falsely when it teaches thus. It is true Homer had his Thersites, a vulgar, ugly, scurrilous fellow. The disease of Philoctetes was as disgusting as his cries were ill-omened and disagreeable. Achilles, hearing of the death of his friend Patroclus, gave way to a foolish extravagance of grief. All these, however, simply affirm that among the Greeks there were imperfect characters, and that writers knew the rhetoric and dramatic value of an exaggerated detail, a sharp salient feature, an idiosyncracy, the eccentric, the ugly, and the deformed, as a contrast to and a better defining of the symmetrical and the beautiful; but were too faithful to the noble ideals of dramatic art to convert these into characteristics.

In the religious belief of the Greeks are found traces of a vast and terrible fate, an inexorable destiny that stood behind the throne of Jove himself, and made the gods the ministers of its own decrees, and which often involved persons in disasters and ruin without fault of their own. But it is an error to make this solemn and awful article of the more ancient popular creed the corner-stone of Greek tragedy. Were it so, then the Œdipus Tyrannus would be the "most perfect type of a tragic hero," and the Œdipus Coloneus would not have been written. Moreover, to an enlightened understanding, the powers above would then appear as an unjust caprice, and to the unfortunate as a colossal malignancy weaving the web of human destiny, while the dramatic action would allow of no developement of character. But in tragedy this terrible and shadowy destiny (*μοῖρα*) was softened down into a Nemesis, the goddess of retribution, who sometimes inflicted woes upon individuals and families in expiation of some primal or ancestral crime, and is either subordinate to the will of the gods or in conformity with the abiding principles of justice. Hence the motive controlling the development of a play was not simply supernatural or external to man, but internal and human also, that is, arising out of the passions, vices, crimes, or sufferings of the tragic hero himself. This secures the sanction of man's conciousness and sympathy for the impressive lessons of the stage.

Instruction as well as entertainment was the aim of tragedy. It taught that there are rights which states and statesmen can disregard only at the peril of their own shame and ruin; and that for the violation of the just and sacred law of giving to each man his due, the wrath of the gods falls upon the violators. Tragedy received its

highest form in Sophocles. And were Sophocles now living, he would disown the modern claim of equal rights and equal privileges for Satan against Messiah in politics, commerce, and literature, the threefold form of man's activity. He would be no advocate that mountain ranges, climate, or the laws of commerce are final in questions touching human rights and wrongs; nor would his seat have been among the scoffers at a higher law. Hear him in a passage that would do honor to the head and heart of a Christian scholar:

> "I had no thought that you, a mortal man,
> Could make your laws annul the laws of God
> That are unwritten and immutable,
> Eternal, not like those of yesterday,
> But made ere time began."*

In the Antigone is illustrated the conflict between the rights of humanity and the mandate of a king who has disregarded some of the noblest instincts of our nature. Creon ungenerously, rashly, and irreligiously forbids the burial of Polynices, ordering his body to be given a prey to birds and dogs; Antigone, the sister of Polynices, moved by love and piety, defies the royal edict and performs the sacred burial rites for the dead. Creon was neither a demagogue nor a political villain, a good king rather; yet he had the most thorough conceit of the rights of kings: men were made for kings. "In all things, small and great, just and unjust, a ruler must be obeyed," was his Heaven-braving and conscience-defying maxim. He was warned that his decree was under bonds to justice and piety, not they to it; yet he slighted these and fell beneath the successive and terrible strokes of the Divine vengeance. The seer Tiresias warns him, and the chorus points the warning, and then his conscience smites him; Antigone ends her own life and he loses a betrothed daughter-in-law; Hæmon, his son, dies in grief for Antigone, and remorse for unfilial conduct provoked by the insane action of his father; Eurydice, his wife, stabs herself in the violence of her grief for the loss of these two. And then the contrite confession of the broken-hearted old king is, that there are laws higher than human codes or the will of kings, and that these will vindicate themselves by unspeakable woes upon those who transgress them.

* *οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον φώμην τὰ σὰ*
κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν
νόμιμα δύνασθαι θητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν,
οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθὲς, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ποτε
ζῇ ταῦτα.—Antig., 453.

The same lofty teaching in regard to the majesty of justice, and the sureness of retribution, pervades tragedy.

> "A vain defense is wealth's proud tower
> When man in insolence of power,
> Justice, thy laws disdains to heed."[9]

Of the Greeks Plato remarks, that even those who have the least share of wisdom, always invoke the Deity before undertaking anything small or great. This remark introduces us to the consideration of the *moral* and *religious* nature of Greek tragic poetry.

From time immemorial ethic wisdom has found an expression in poetry. The Attic Greek was both poetic and religious, and these two characteristics he derived from his double line of descent. He belonged to the best branch of one of the finest stocks the race has ever had, the Attic branch of the Pelasgic stock. He surpassed the other Greeks in æsthetic culture and intellectual attainments. The Pelasgic predominated over the Hellenic or Doric. To the former he owed his lively imagination, versatility, sprightly enthusiasm, liberal spirit, and sportive gracefulness; to the other his lofty earnestness, staidness, aristocratic, conservative, and ethical tendencies. In Sophocles, one of the rare few that mark the flowering of an age's civilization, the choral odes attest the ethic wisdom and religious spirit of the Dorian, while the dialogue attests the graceful vigor of the Pelasgian. These choral odes, so justly famous for their lyric sweetness and power, though of Dorian origin and transmission, were brought to their perfection by Attic dramatists only. The Greek was religious also. The term *sacred* poetry designates the Greek literature prior to the Trojan war. The earliest poems were hymns; the proverbial philosophy of the seven sages aimed at the moral culture of the people. The theogony of Hesiod was a theological text-book for the philosophers of almost every school, and a thousand years after Hesiod, Paul remarked the same religious feeling on Mars Hill. The early and almost unbounded confidence in seers and oracles as revelators of the Divine will, attests a genuine religious spirit. It must be confessed, however, that among the Greeks, as among other Gentile, nations, there was but little practical connection between morality and religion, inasmuch as a great licentiousness of manners abounded while the national faith was doctrinally almost intact. The popular religion had its

[9] *Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἔπαλξις*
πλούτου πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ
λακτίσαντι μέγαν δίκας
βωμόν, εἰς ἀφάνειαν.—Agam., 360.

power, not so much in the attractions of moral goodness, as in the repulsiveness of evil and punishment; the worship was one of fear rather than love. In tragedy, particularly in Æschylus and Sophocles, there is a purer morality; not equal to the Christian, but still much in advance of Athenian private morals. Submission to the Divine will is always inculcated, not only as a matter of necessity, but as a choice of the best.

> "Whatever the gods decree as good
> With patience we must bear."*

And

> 'Tis God that shapes man's destiny,
> And shapes it as he wills."†

The doctrine of expedience and of compromise with sin, is repudiated with an earnestness worthy of the Scotch Covenanters:

> "The truth is always best."‡

> "Through fear of man I'll not transgress the laws
> Of heaven and make the gods my foes."§

Morality and virtue are not mere expediences, but expressions of the eternal right whose origin is in the unchangeable nature of God. In a passage which reminds one of some of the Psalmist's sublime declarations of God's sovereign laws, and one of the noblest in heathen ancient poetry:

> *εἴ μοι ξυνείη φέροντι μοῖρα τὰν εὔσεπτον ἁγνειαν λόγων*
> *ἔργων τε πάντων, ὧν νόμοι πρόκεινται*
> *ὑψίποδες, οὐρανίαν*
> *δι' αἰθέρα τεκνωθέντες, ὧν Ὄλυμπος*
> *πατὴρ μόνος, οὐδέ νιν*
> *θνατὰ φύσις ἀνέρων*
> *ἔτικτεν, οὐδὲ μήποτε λάθα κατακοιμάσῃ.*
> *μέγας ἐν τούτοις θεός, οὐδὲ γηράσκει.—Œdip. Tyr.*, 864.

Which, in default of a fit poetic translation, has been rendered in prose, which is yet but an imperfect rendering of the sense of the splendid original: "O for a spotless pureness of word and deed, in concord with those sublime laws of right which are heaven born and own God their author; which mortal man never devised, nor will

* *τὸ φέρον ἐκ θεοῦ καλῶς*
μηδὲν ἄγαν φλέγεσθον·—Œdip., Col., 1693.

† *τέλος ἔχει δαίμων βροτοῖσι,*
τέλος, ὅπα θέλει.—Orest., 1560.

‡ . . . . *ὀρθρὸν αλήθει ἀεί.—Antig.*, 1195.

§ *τούτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενὸς*
φρόνημα δείσας', ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν δίκην
δώσειν.—Antig., 458.

time destroy; for in them is the great God, and he knows neither age nor change." In Euripides there are traces of a growing religious skepticism and of a corresponding licentiousness of manners; yet even he attests the sympathy of the Greek mind for the doctrine of an overruling Providence. In view of the misfortunes of the contemptible Admetus, and the death of the estimable Alcestis, the chorus speaks like a Christian:

> "To the gods let us pray, for great is their power to save."*

Citations on this and the previous subjects might be multiplied to an indefinite extent illustrative of the teachings of Greek tragedy. And however defective it may be in any of these respects, owing to radical vices in Greek theology and ethical notions, still we must commend the spirit that animates it. Earnestly and beautifully does it teach reverence for the gods, human authority, oaths, marriage vows, and justice; and inculcates patience in sufferings, patriotism, hospitality, filial affection; and at the same time sets forth the wrath of the gods against the violators of these. Such are the moral principles involved in it which led Milton to declare that "tragedy, as it was anciently composed, hath ever been held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems."

The representation of a tragedy at Athens was a magnificent national affair. The ideal conception of the play, its religious spirit, poetic grace, and ethic wisdom, gave it a high humanitary interest; while the colossal scale of its exhibition, the stage and other decorations lavish of the Grecian wealth of architecture, sculpture, and painting; the actors clad in their splendid vestments, the chorus marching with rhythmic step and solemn pomp to the melody of music, and beyond this and beneath the open sky the vast amphitheater with its seated thousands, including poets, philosophers, archons, senators, generals, good citizens, and virtuous women; all these things made the representation of a tragic play an occasion to be remembered and valued. In comparison with this, the modern theater, with all its ambitious splendor of gas-light, upholstery, gilded and carved work, suffers sadly, and suffers still more upon a comparison of morality and good taste. The Greek went to his theater for instruction. The Jew received moral instruction from the mouth of the prophets and priests; the Christian is taught by the preaching and the study of the Bible; and for both these religion has thus carefully provided religious instruction. But for the Greek no such special provision was made; hence the instructional element in their poetry, and the active support given by the wise and good

* *θεοῖσιν εὐχόμεσθα· θεῶν δύναμις μεγίστα.—Alcest.*, 219.

to tragedy, wherein, most of all, this deficiency was supplied. The theater was to the Greek as a temple. A divine sacrifice was the opening ceremony, and his religious belief was exemplified in the plot of the play. Tragic representations were to him a triple school of art, morals, and piety. Even Attic comedy had an element of instruction in it that went far to atone for its corruption and skepticism. The personal satire of the old comedy, with its grotesque fantasies; the middle, with its philosophic and poetic parodies and its travesties of mythology; the life-like portraitures of the fashions and the follies in the new, had criticism, poetic gracefulness, and energy, and in part stood to the Athenian in the place of the modern newspaper, review, party journal, satires, Punch, and the comicalities of literature. There is here, however, in comedy, one of the saddest illustrations of the divorce between literary and scientific culture on the one hand, and pure morals on the other; for here the former was side by side with a great depravity of public and private manners, and neither blushed at the other's presence.

Genius, talent, and fit materials for tragedy are at hand to-day, but the tragic muse is dumb. The truth is, the theater exists for other purposes than dramatic representations. Its presentations are neither poetic, æsthetic, nor moral; but sensuous rather, and sensual, and catering to a depraved and morbid taste. Low comedies of low life, burlesques, farces, dancing-girls, shows of giants and dwarfs, the monstrous and the wonderful, form a large part of the theatrical attractions. Even Macbeth must be concluded with some farce steeped in laughter or spiced with scandal. The condemnation of the modern theater is that its sole aim is *amusement.* This it is that has converted a noble form of poetic literature into a means of defilement, and the stage into a by-word of shame. The office of instructor has gone over to the pulpit, press, and lecture-room, and left to the stage the function of the court fool.

Men need and will have recreation and amusement, and it is well occasionally to travel out of the dull, hardening, and mercenary routine of toil and care into the fairy regions of romance, into the world of sweet ideals, and so do reverence to the divine dreams of our youth. A genial humor, and hearty laughter, too, are wonderful moral restoratives. But the sanctities of religion and the restraints of morality must control the creations of the imagination and curb the sportive impulses of the passionate heart, else the love of pleasurable amusement will first occupy the whole soul and then corrupt the life. The reign of vice and folly is fully inaugurated when the Monotheism of Pleasure is enthroned. It will not do to say that the vices of the theater are incidental only, mere offshoots

which can be lopped off by easy pruning. The baser forms of vice will ever cluster about any institution whose whole aim and sole spirit is amusement. The obligations of morality sat but lightly on the Greek, and hence one reason of the short life of tragedy and the long and prosperous one of comedy. Tragedy at Athens compromised its high functions by ending its tetralogies with a satiric drama, rounding off its high teachings with merriment and a dash of buffoonery. Wit and a "prankish" mischief are not necessarily antagonistic to either good morals or religion. The comic muse might lash with keen satiric whip the flashy fashions and grosser vices of the times. Momus himself, the jolly god, might help laugh us out of our follies, and thus by the histrionic art assist us in learning the difficult lesson of being cheerful and wise. But amusement and sensuous pleasure form the central facts and idea of our popular dramatic entertainments. Comedy in the character of a clown is a chief dramatic power in this school of vice. The history of theatrical representations for nearly three thousand years establishes the fact of the immoral tendencies of the theater, when the amusement sought thereby is under the curb and guidance of no law higher than its own.

Besides the theater's environment of lechery and drunkenness, and their train of attendant vices, we object to the modern drama on account of its *untruthfulness.* Not that its presentations are not of facts in life and experience, but that it seizes upon the exceptional, the intense, and the monstrous, and attempts to exalt these to the dignity of normal modes of life and action, and thus begets and feeds a vitiated taste. It is, consciously or unconsciously, a bold and bad attempt to justify man as a depraved and unrefined being; it effaces the sharp lines of distinction between vice and virtue; puts on an equality of use the moral and the immoral, the healthful and the morbid, noble sentiments and slang phrases; and does not hesitate to select its heroes from the ranks of villains or low back alleys, and then make them radiant with pure sentiments, setting the finest feelings of the soul on a dark background of unblushing criminality. To illustrate: Manfred, the fierce and gloomy misanthropist, is not only exceptional in character, but is too full of sneers and curses, and the defilement arising from the incestuous origin of his sufferings, to be safely brought before the imagination. It certainly is opposed to the Aristotelian aim of tragedy, the purification of the passions by terror and pity. Manfred's madness is intensely morbid and depressing. He suffers from an unsettling of the reason, as well as from remorse, and, like Karl Von Moor, belongs to the intense school of literature. The play is an exaggera-

tion and is unveracious. It stirs the feelings, but leaves an impression false to the moral and true ideal of human life. More modern plays written for the stage are too well known to require either description or denunciation.

But what of the *regeneration* of the drama? It is idle to talk of the theater as having outlived its time. Dramatic poetry has a peculiar charm for the cultivated mind. The popular instincts of the races that have adopted it will ever demand its pleasures. Neither can we stigmatize either the drama or dramatists as enemies *per se* of morality and religion. We do, however, earnestly condemn the prostitution of the high humanitary functions of both these to their present low spirit, aim, and method. Poetry, music, painting, elocution, and history are ennobling in themselves, and the combination of these into an agreeable form of literary composition cannot be essentially pernicious. Besides, the theoretic aim of the drama is the punishment of the wicked and the triumph and reward of virtue. A pure, healthful drama would be an efficient aid of virtue and knowledge, a charm and nourishment for the best minds and purest hearts. The stage, addressing the eye by its shows and action, the ear by its music, the heart and understanding by the graces of poetry and sound sentiments, might do much for the elevation of the ignorant, and so reach some that might not be reached by other favorable influences. But we have no hope of the regeneration of the written drama or the theater under the usurped regency of pleasure. This is the seal of its degradation, and until this is broken no permanent reform is possible. Its aid in the cause of pure morals will be at the best spasmodic. The status of public morality and public taste will determine that of the theater, and hence one necessary condition of stage reform is, that there shall be an abounding of truth and righteousness among the people. A refined taste, pureness of heart, and a love of truth for practical ends worthy of a rational spirit, will naturally elevate the drama to its now lost office of giving instruction and entertainment, apart from its present surroundings of vice and crime. And, until then, the duty of the Christian and philanthropist is clear; they must keep aloof from the theater. The presence of the sober and the religious classes would not reform the theater whose only god is amusement, but it would corrupt them. A Christian must have done strange violence to his judgment and conscience to frequent the theater on the honest plea of its being a school of good morals and fit instruction. Satan has long had a share in the use of the fine arts, music especially; but he is almost sole proprietor of the modern theater. We would it were not so. We love all the forms

of man's activity, and the poetic not the least, and lament the sad and sinful abuse of what might be a crowning glory of man's mental achievements.

Must, then, dramatic literature be ignored? Not at all. Keep the distinction clear between the *acted* and the *written* drama, between dramatic poetry and the theater, and our duty is equally clear. Dramatic poetry is chargeable with no evils that may not and do not lie against every species of written composition. A drama written to be read cuts off the evil accompaniments of the stage. We then put in the plea for a written drama, for enjoyment and instruction in the privacy of a home, that shall embody the religious spirit, poetic grace, noble idealism, and the severe outline of Attic tragedy, and be animated by the Christian teachings of the age. We see no reason why the enlightened Christian mind of this age may not find fit expression in the dramatic form; fit, not for the stage—too pure and thoughtful for that—but for the parlor and study. The revival of the Greek drama is an impossibility, and not desirable if it were possible. Materials for tragedy as well as tragi-comedy and comedy are not lacking, and these can be idealized by the spirit of a Christian humanity, aided by the elevation and enlargement of view which has fallen to us in the progress of the ages.

Nor do we desire a revival of the so-called Scriptural mediæval dramas. The specific form of an art must spring from the consciousness of the times that give it birth. So will a pure drama spring from an enlightened and reverential Christian consciousness. The objection that a Christian play would shock the religious feelings by making God a *dramatis persona* is wholly void; for there is no need of its being theomorphous. In nearly half the extant plays of the Greek masters of tragedy, the chief actors are human only. Nor would we seriously object to a tragi-comedy, seeing that the laughers and weepers jostle each other continually, and the sportive or humorous impulse, purely and truthfully directed, flings a sweet freshness over the more somber scenes of life.

A late article in the Presbyterian Quarterly so well expresses our views on this subject that we quote: "Christian tragedy must be *written*, not acted. In the retirement of the study or the parlor it may be enjoyed, but not on the stage. And in such a reading age as ours, when almost every child has been taught to conquer the printed page, the results may be as beneficial as if the old majesty of the Greek proscenium, baptized by a spiritual Christianity, were offered to our eyes."

Art. II.—FAITH, THE EVERLASTING BOND.

No doctrine of our holy religion has been more widely and ably discussed, explained, and defended, than Faith. The most vigorous intellects and warmest hearts have united to declare its power to enlighten and to strengthen the human soul for all high and holy action. Philosophic mind has explained its nature, its varied phases of action, as applied to different subjects in the material universe, and in the intercourse of man with man in his friendly and commercial relations. Religious mind has pressed the principle yet more widely and deeply, and adopting the basis so clearly presented by the masters of Mental Philosophy, has shown its power to "overcome the world" in the purest spiritual sense, to redeem the soul from the fetters of sin and earth, to enable it to triumph over death and the grave, and leaves it in full exercise before the throne of God.

There is a class of trained mind who, clearly perceiving these mental relations, with the added spiritual light consequent on and abiding with a renovated moral nature, reach a point where doubt and fear expire, leaving the soul free to press on from "grace to grace." There is another class, the perfect antipodes of this, who do not reason at all on the subject, who never analyze and sift their thoughts or emotions; they awake to the fact that they are sinners, they are instructed to believe in Christ as their Saviour, they do so in all simplicity and sincerity of feeling, and the result is pardon and salvation. For them "it is well sometimes to be insensible of diversities which, if discussed, are more likely to confuse their perceptions of some essential difference, than to aid their decision." But there is a third class, numerous in every community, who are thus described by Isaac Taylor:

> "They stand midway between the advantageous post of rude, ingenuous fervor, and that of real or unrivaled eminence in matters of science and learning. But a middle position is one of jeopardy, incertitude, timidity. By all the amount of their actual intelligence they feel the offense of the cross; and yet their intelligence reaches not the point which should set them free from anxiety in maintaining their profession; so that while the uninstructed, when borne onward by a ruling principle, forget all secondary considerations, the more intelligent, though not less steady and consistent in action, (perhaps more so,) yet continue to hold converse with reasons they have repudiated, and to traverse again and again the ground of their firmest convictions."

Standing in this rank, the writer feels the deepest, widest sympathy with struggling religious mind; and supposing past experience to be a fac-simile of thousands of other minds who are "fighting

the fight of faith" amid the mists of obscure mental vision, would throw one ray of light which may lead some to a result not otherwise gained, except by weary, personal conflict; for Taylor again says: "The elementary principle of faith receives an enrichment, a diversity of color, and an *individual* form, from its combination with the peculiarities of mind wherein it lodges." It is our object to show the reasonableness of faith, and *why* it is so mighty to conquer. We would trace some of its beautiful developments from the by-gone eternity at the point where we can take cognizance of its actings, and trace the links of a wondrously connected chain through Eden, through this fallen earth in all its upward struggles, in Gethsemane in its redeeming power, in the Christian Church, in the Reformation, and in individual experience, until the redeemed are all before the throne of God; and even there, we think, is written, "Now abideth these three—*faith*," etc.

First, let us picture heaven in its ancient and primeval beauty; containing myriads of angelic beings of various intellectual ranks, but all holy and obedient to the great Central Power which had created them, which sustained them, and which governed them in perfect love and wisdom. Ages rolled on, marked by increasing advancement and happiness; but we know too little of angelic natures to imagine their employments, to know their tests or their temptations. One, lofty in position, a leader among the ranks of heaven, of capacious intellect, of vast powers, of immense resources, and of wide-extended influence, became dissatisfied with his condition. We do not, for one moment, speculate upon the question, *how* a holy being, in a holy place, could admit an evil thought. We take the simple revealed fact: in heaven Satan doubted. *He lost faith* in the wisdom and love of God who had defined his position and his duties; and yielding here, he snapped the only bond which unites an intellectual, spiritual being to its Creator. This was not probably the work of a moment. It was considered well and long; the tremendous probabilities were weighed by a mind capable of vast calculations and of far-seeing vision, and it was the deliberate choice of a free-will agent. Then again, Satan influenced an innumerable host; some received, some rejected his counsel; this presupposes thought, conference, and deliberate decisions. The fact that for this fallen angelic host *no redemption was provided*, proves their sin to have been of a special malignity; but until we know more of the peculiarities of angelic nature, we cannot clearly perceive the justice of their irremediable sentence. The point to seize and hold is this: *want of faith in God* was the starting point of all evil. Unbelief laid the foundation from which arose anarchy,

rebellion, the loss of heaven, and the infliction of an endless hell to angels. Heaven was purged, and again glowed in unsullied brightness, and a lesson had been taught the loyal ranks of a most confirming nature.

It pleased the Almighty in his wisdom, to create a new scene of action; probably for the instruction and fuller confirmation of the unfallen myriads. At his word this earth was formed, and Eden clothed in perfect, if not heavenly beauty. A new race was created, and humanity entered on an immortal career. It would be interesting to know wherein holy and intellectual natures can materially differ; but that knowledge is reserved for a future world. The angelic and human are not alike, though the past has proved that both can fall.

Behold our first parents in Eden, a holy, happy pair. The moral atmosphere is as pure as that which pervaded heaven, and the whole being, moral, intellectual, and physical, is without flaw or stain. Another mystery we cannot solve: Satan is permitted to tempt, and they to listen, to yield, to fall. Satan had had fearful proof of what unbelief could accomplish; perhaps centuries had passed since his first experiment, and he had watched its varied workings amid the doomed ranks around him. One thing was sure, absolute ruin was the result. No marvel then that he should repeat the experiment with a race he had resolved to ruin. He could not try again in heaven, for he was too far removed; to earth he had mysterious access. He succeeded by inducing a *want of faith* in their Creator, God. The tie of holy union was again broken, and the human as well as the angelic nature was severed from its God, and a wide, and as Satan thought, an impassable chasm intervened; for he had no foresight of the grace that could bridge it over, and make it a highway for the redeemed.

Satan had again triumphed, and seemed to possess a sure power to ruin holy beings wherever he had access. If ever conquered, then, *faith* was to be the point of contest and of victory. This weapon (the power of inducing unbelief) was to be rescued from his grasp, and the opposite of that which had ruined was to restore, by gaining its original ascendency throughout the universe of God. Turning from a ruined world, let us, with solemn reverence, take a higher view, basing all our thoughts on that only which is revealed. The Triune God had resolved on man's redemption, and in solemn covenant had arranged the plan which was to retrieve earth, to confirm heaven, and to defeat hell in final overthrow. God the Father gave his only-begotten Son; God the Son assumed humanity, to suffer, to die, and to rise again; God the Holy Spirit pledged his

sustaining power to the man Christ Jesus in the tremendous conflict, and his regenerating and saving influences to the purchased Church, until the top-stone of perfect victory should be raised with shouting. The promise in Eden commenced the work. Satan heard the plan of restoration with wonder and dismay, but rallied all his energies for opposition at every point, and *perhaps* victory in the end, having such hope based upon the proved weakness of human nature.

Now let our minds revert to Old Testament history, and we shall find that in every conflict and in every trial, *faith* was the grand point of contest. *Faith in God* the victory of man, or *unbelief* the triumph of Satan. By faith Noah built the ark, and Abraham offered his son, and Moses forsook Egypt, and Joshua and Caleb gained the promised land. By faith Israel conquered in battle, and Isaiah saw Messiah's triumph, and Jerusalem arose from dust and ashes, and the stately temple was rich in sacrifice and redolent of gold and incense. On the other hand, unbelief generated idolatry with its perverting influences, and caused the deluge with its destructive power, and buried the cities of the plain. It slew the Israelites in the wilderness, lost them numberless battles, led them into various captivities, and shrouded their whole moral nature in almost impervious darkness.

In the fullness of time Jesus came. Infinite wisdom selected the place, the hour, the mode. Perfect humanity again appeared on earth, though its native Eden had departed, and the atmosphere it breathed was tainted with sin and death. Thus Satan had the decided advantage, in that he could multiply the agencies of temptation and evil as he could not have done in Paradise.

Now it is of great importance to the discussion, that we should here closely hold to the idea of the *perfect manhood of Jesus.* Human nature fell in the first Adam; human nature was redeemed in the second Adam. (An interesting question is here suggested. Was the second Adam in his pure manhood superior to the first, or did they stand at equal points to be tempted by the great archfiend?) At what age Jesus became fully conscious of his great mission, we do not know. At twelve we see its dawnings, and as his mind expanded, the great idea of his destiny became clear. Wider and wider grew the grasp of cause and effect, until its magnitude, its responsibilities, and its tremendous results, were mapped out before his mental vision. No wonder that he spent whole nights in prayer; no wonder that we trace a deepening sadness through all his utterances, as he advanced calmly and steadily to the great propitiatory hour. We emphasize the fact that the Divine nature seemed to hold itself in abeyance except when Jesus

required it for miracle. The perfect man lived and nourished himself *by faith*, not by sensible consolations. He lived by "the word of God" as absolutely as Adam was required to do in Eden, and amid far greater difficulties. He met the tempter in stern conflict amid the pain and hunger of forty days, and conquered by the word of God. By *simple faith* in that word, for he had no accessory aids. Thus we trace the triumph of this principle from the commencement of his mission. Satan never gained an inch of ground from the second Adam through all his mortal life. So far humanity was retrieved and hell discomfited.

Solemnly we approach the final conflict. All hell has rallied for the issue, all earth has combined to hate and to destroy. "He trod the wine-press alone, and of the people there was *none* with him." Alone in the garden of Gethsemane he agonizes and bleeds. Alone, with unclouded intellect, and keenest feeling, his mighty mind surveys the scene. An infuriated, waiting hell, a ruined, unbelieving earth, his Father's throne darkened by the shadow successful sin had cast, eternal justice to be vindicated, eternal truth upheld, the obstructed channel of infinite love to be reopened, and infinite mercy permitted to act without a restraining barrier; he saw (as we cannot see) a fearful expiation to be made, and himself a sin-offering for a guilty world. He saw the glorious results of his successful achievement—earth redeemed, man pardoned and sanctified, heaven opened, his Father glorified, and the triumphant mediatorial crown upon his own weary head. But he saw, too, a defeat, a ruined earth, a victorious devil; consequences which we cannot even imagine.

Perfect humanity wrestled with these views, and trembling hung upon the balance. They clothed the body in bloody sweat; they extorted the impassioned cry, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" and "he was heard in that he feared." The Saviour did not shrink from suffering; he would not have put from him the cup of the world's redemption. "An angel came from heaven strengthening him." What did he say to nerve that torn, struggling, bleeding heart? Did he not whisper the Holy Spirit's pledge? Did he not speak of infinite strength and infinite resources? Did not the perfect man rally, and by one mighty *act of faith* lay hold of the Infinite—thus link the human with the Divine in that tremendous hour, and as the God-man expiate and die? "Who through the eternal Spirit offered himself to God." Was not the bond of union broken by the first Adam in his fall, through *unbelief*, here again united by the second Adam through *faith*? Perfect humanity had stood the severest test to which it could be subjected; had met the

tempter with all his wisdom and resources and experience of centuries, and had triumphed. The *principle of faith* was re-established, and through its agency individual man was to be redeemed from sin, and fallen earth restored to more than primeval beauty.

We anticipate a query as we pass on. Do we not make the faith of Jesus, rather than his death, the procuring cause of man's salvation? We answer, No. He bore a load, he endured an anguish, he died a death, which we cannot comprehend, on which we dare not speculate. We only know it was not a human offering, and yet we read: "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God," "but being found in fashion *as a man*, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." Something linked the human with the Divine; unblended they abode together, and, to our mind, it seems so clear that the completest triumph of Christ over Satan would consist in restoring the *original bond* which he (Satan) had broken, that *faith*, as the instrumental cause of union at that test-point and forever, looks gloriously grand in its perfect simplicity.

Now, in this light, read the letters of the apostles, or rather, begin with the Gospels. The opening announcement of the plan of salvation: "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever *believeth* in him, should not perish;" "To them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that *believe* on his name." It is deeply interesting to trace the vigorous actings of the principle of *faith*, when the Holy Ghost descended in Pentecostal power upon the hitherto feeble Christian Church. The ascension of Jesus into heaven had completed his redeeming work. The mighty chasm which had been created by sin and unbelief between fallen man and his offended God, was bridged over by Almighty love. Beneath the Spirit's influence, the Apostles believed all that Jesus had personally taught them, and with a triumphant bound they leaped to the other side of that bridge, and stood there ever after immovable and "more than conquerors." How full and undoubting their proclamation: "Whosoever will, let him come;" "Whosoever calleth on the name of the Lord shall be saved." How glorious and wonderful the results: "three thousand added to the Church in one day," etc. Trace it through the epistles; justification by *faith*, sanctification by *faith*, salvation by *faith*, how urged, reiterated, enforced! Argued in one letter with logical power; in another, used as a persuasive, gentle lure; in a third, grasping the entire Hebrew economy, and making it pregnant with life and meaning to the believing mind, even while clearly showing it to be but "the shadow of good things to come," of which

vigorous Christian faith brought the foretaste here, and the glorious anticipations of unutterable bliss hereafter. "Whom having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet *believing*, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." "Jesus, the great high priest of our profession, who has passed into the heavens." In this light read Heb. xi, 12, and it will be clearly seen that while the other graces follow in its train, *faith* is the leader through all the sorrows of life, the upholder mid the agonies of martyrdom, the conqueror over death and the grave, the sure bond through all eternity.

Turning from the Bible to later ecclesiastical history, even a cursory reader can see that the more unfettered the action of this principle, the more successful was the religion it represented; that as it lost its central position, in the same proportion the Church lost its spiritual power, until the corruption of death was nearly reached by the Roman Church in the period preceding the Reformation. At that time it was buried beneath ceremonies, and superstitions, and popish mummeries, and priestly craft; it was not dead, but the vital power was so nearly extinct that it could not act. The work of the reformers was simply to remove the load of rubbish that benumbed it. Aided by the Spirit of God, it first found full development in their own hearts, and then went forth, like a flaming fire, "conquering and to conquer." It was the clear conception of this principle that made Wesley and Whitefield mighty to arrest and save the masses to whom they preached; and ever since, in Christian or in heathen lands, victory has ever been in proportion as *salvation by faith* has been rightly apprehended and received. In the redemption of individual man, the Holy Spirit continually employs this one great medium. The word of truth falls upon the sinner's ear, the Spirit uncloses the torpid sense, he hears, *believes*, and starts from sleep. Another message; he *believes* and trembles in view of sin and danger. Again, it whispers of a Saviour's love; he *believes*, unutterable peace pervades his soul, and he starts on a Christian's high career. The *world* presses, Satan tempts, inbred sin obstructs, but the words of promise cluster richly round; he *believes* and triumphs. Troubles assail, friends depart, earth's fairest props are broken; "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee," is heard amid the universal crash; he *believes*, and struggles onward still with the triumphant song, "Who shall separate us from the love of God!" The body fails, the chills of death steal over him;

> "The world recedes, it disappears,
> Heaven opens on his eyes, his ears
> With sounds seraphic ring!

Lend, lend your wings, I mount, I fly!
O grave, where is thy victory?
O death, where is thy sting?"

and *through faith* he obtains abundant entrance into the everlasting kingdom of full fruition.

Thus Satan is foiled at every step; thus every point is wrested from him, and now we see *why* strong faith so glorifies God, and so elevates the human soul. If perfect faith united perfect humanity to Divinity in Eden before the fall, and also in Gethsemane as part of redemption's price, we see the fitness and the power of this instrumentality in restoring man to his forfeited position, and leading him through Satan's kingdom to his home above. And for aught we can see, *faith in God* must keep all heaven's host revolving around the central throne, and bind each to all in everlasting brotherhood of union.

Art. III.—AMERICAN SLAVE CODE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

American Slave Code in Theory and Practice. Its Distinctive Features shown by its Statutes, Judicial Decisions, and Illustrative Facts. By William Goodell. New-York, 48 Beekman-street.[c]

The *fact* of the existing relations between master and slave in our Southern states is not to be argued; it is notorious. The *nature* of those relations is less palpable. They should be accurately defined and unerringly traced. Should they be found, by cautious analysis, to be capable of no modification which did not involve destruction, the discussion of the institution based on them will be without intricacy.

For an infallible exponent of these relations we need not go beyond the *slave* code of the South. Should this code be found in vigorous operation in the South, and should its practical application be found indispensable to the very existence of slavery, then will

[c] Most of the authorities cited in this paper are found in the volume named at the head of this article. As the writer of that book aimed merely at collecting and classifying extracts from the slave codes of the various states in the South, our use of him will be restricted to the appropriation of some of his authorities to the special purposes of this article. That book compresses in a narrow space so numerous authorities, and arranges them with such skill and accuracy, as to richly reward the most attentive reading.

the character of the institution be fairly tested by the *nature* of that *code.* The aim of this paper will be to exhibit an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of this code, as the basis of a valid judgment of that institution. All foreign tests can be nothing but mere fallacies. They who ransack the archives of departed ages, of buried nations for this purpose, may furnish us amusement, but can never create conviction. What has the patriarchal servitude, or that which belonged to the code of Moses, to do with American slavery?

Before the slightest force can attach to the argument from that to our slavery, the identity of the great elements of both must be proved. Till this is done, whatever Divine tolerance or sanction may be shown for the one, it cannot be claimed for the other. We must peremptorily demand, as a test, an unequivocal expression of God's will. This, and not the harmless servitude approved in the infancy of the race, must fix the moral character of slavery.

How can the inquirer, guided by these false analogies, make the smallest approach to truth? When slavery has been charged with immorality, what correct thinker has not been surprised at the holder's response, "I am merely copying the patriarchs in their divinely authorized institution." As though there ever had been, or could be, an American on this continent holding slaves under the Mosaic or Patriarchal code. No such code has existed for ages, nor can it exist in this republic.

Nor are the virtues which may adorn the few of such as act under a corrupting system, any moral test of the system itself. In spite of the profoundest corruption and intensest despotisms that have buried the virtues and crushed the hopes of man, instances have never been wanting of shining virtue. Should such be found among Southern slaveholders, their character cannot be an exponent of that system in spite of which it has been formed. To the shallow observer it may disguise the tendency of the system, but could never be the fruit of its workings.

Nor can we admit for a moment the innocence of this institution on the allegation that "its apparent evils are its ABUSES." We submit to all unbiased men, whether that which includes all possible injustice is *capable of abuse.* If all wrong be intrinsic to it, is it possible to do wrong out of its sphere? Would not every illegitimate application of *such* a principle be right? If there be no room in the universe for any principle which is neither right nor wrong, then that which is purely wrong cannot be so in its misapplications. The abuse, therefore, of such a principle is preposterous. It is an impossibility which can never be truthfully alleged. As an apology for

slavery we hold it utterly groundless. Should we successfully attempt to portray the slave code, this development of its nature will furnish our readers with the true character of the institution which it protects. Especially will this be so, should the strictest harmony be found between these laws and the fundamental principles of slavery. We are aware that these slave laws have been pronounced the product of a darker age, and "merely the obsolete lumber of the nineteenth century." But in direct conflict with this statement, we ascertain that the most rigorous of these laws were born in our own century, and not a few in our own age.

No generation is held responsible for defunct laws which its improvements have consigned to the unopened volumes of the past. But this can never be so with the slave laws until the utter subversion of the institution itself. If the intrinsic nature of slavery demanded every law which has been enacted for its protection, then the continued existence of the one proclaims the present enforcement of the other. In what chapter of man's history have we ever found a nation's practice superior to its laws? The preponderance is invariably in the other scale.

But were it not thus *generally*, it would be so where slavery obtains, for it is not possible to take away man's self-ownership and appropriate him like mere brutes, without a course of practice for which an enlightened age would blush were it expressed by statutes. When those atrocities which have birth in the very principle of slavery are urged against the institution, how often is the answer manufactured out of what arises from the normal state of society. The cruelties of capitalists to their laborers, of mechanics to their apprentices, and even of parents to their offspring, are alleged as parallels. But were this answer valid, who sees not that the best and worst institutions in the universe would be equally good? What must be that cause which demands such an argument? Because one parent in a million, in spite of all the tender relations binding him to his child, can act the bloody tyrant toward that child, therefore slavery, which never fails to create tyrants, is harmless as the domestic institution!

We shall now entreat our reader to accompany us in the statement of the fundamental principle, in developing the harmony between this and the slave laws, and in showing the unavoidable connection between these laws and the general practice of slave owners.

The grand fundamental principle on which an institution is founded, contains in itself whatever the institution legitimately authorizes, and excludes all laws and regulations in conflict with the institution. Such a principle is therefore wrong in itself, if it be so in any of its

legitimate workings. If in all its appropriate applications it be right, it is intrinsically right. By ascertaining, then, what is the fundamental principle of slavery, we shall find it facile to point out the discrepance or harmony of the slave laws with that principle. This principle is briefly stated as consisting in THE ABSOLUTE OWNERSHIP ON THE PART OF THE MASTER IN HIS RELATION TO HIS SLAVE. Concede this proprietary relation of the one to the other, and what claim on that property can be too sweeping? Can he who has no right to himself have any right to anything else? And being void of all right, can he be susceptible of any injury? If self-ownership be the foundation of all rights, the want of that precludes the presence of these, and this makes the infliction of wrong an impossibility. For there can be no wrong suffered where no rights are possessed. If it be in the very nature of self-ownership to comprehend all other rights belonging to a moral agent, then the loss of that is the removal of these. When the title to property is valid, any use of it not injurious to another is just. No slave law can be out of harmony with the fundamental principle, if it prohibits the owner from injuring his neighbor by his slave property. Injury to the property itself (the slave) is out of the question, for as the fundamental law allows the slave no rights, he *cannot* be the subject of wrong. A law permitting the master to starve the slave, to dig out his eyes, or beat out his brains, would in nowise conflict with the fundamental principle. The great principle of justice proclaims his right *to do as he will with his own.* Any law, therefore, restricting his rights to appropriate his slave as he pleases, would be unjust, oppressive, tyrannical; it would antagonize with the very foundation principle of the institution.

This absolute right of property, then, precluding all other right in it, whether it be in the property itself or in any other claimant, this right leaves the master absolute lord of the slave. Hence all slave laws consistent with the institution, treat slaves not as persons, but as things; not as men, but as property; not as agents, but as chattels. Now it requires no great depth of scrutiny to perceive these two classes, persons and things, can never exchange places. One must forever be without what is essential to the other. The laws adapted to each must also be equally dissimilar. The uses to which the two classes should be appropriated, must have the same unlikeness and the agency by which they are controlled must be internal to the one but never so to the other. Now this very distinction between the material and the mental universe, has been recognized between master and slave by a vote of the United States Congress, and by a late decision of our supreme federal court.

Every slave law ignoring this distinction, is either at war with the institution, or enacted to remain a dead letter.

We proceed, then, to the slave code, to examine it in the light of the *essential principle* of the *institution.* As that shows the slave *legally* divested of his personality, it involves his *ineligibility* to any privilege belonging to a person. The *marriage* state cannot be his, as by the Creator's appointment it involves *personal* obligations. Hence the slave's marriage, with his owner's consent, is his emancipation from thraldom. The slave's state is that of a chattel; domestic obligations are personal; the two states, therefore, can never co-exist. The marriage among slaves is pronounced by the highest judicial authority to be without civil and sacred sanction. (Stroud's Sketch of Slave Laws, p. 61.) No slave, therefore, has ever maintained an action against the polluter of his bed. No one has been punished for fornication, for adultery, or for bigamy. (Maryland Reports, 561–563.) As slavery ignores the marital right, it recognizes nothing which is in that right. The father and mother are without claim on each other, without security against separation, without parental rights in their offspring, without government over them. Education, protection, with all those parental duties arising out of the married relations, can never devolve on a slave. Hence a legal expounder justly asserts, "that the law knows no more of the marriage of slaves than of brutes." (Jay's Inquiry, p. 132.) How could it be otherwise with a slave who is incident to be bought, sold, transferred, mortgaged, attached, leased, distributed, and inherited? What shadow of the domestic institution can attach to beings who may be hourly the sport of all these mutations? Of all the slave states, none but Louisiana can prevent this violent disruption of either parents from each other, or of children from them. (Stroud's Sketch, p. 50.) To these heart-rending separations there are no statutory restrictions or limitations. (Wheeler's Law of Slavery, p. 46.)

That the family relations among slaves are ignored by general society, is too palpable to be laboriously proved. Even the benevolent institutions of the age have not failed to assume it. The American Bible Society did this. When it announced the supply of "every family in the United States with a Bible," no one conceived slaves to be included. Though these constituted more than one eighth of the entire nation, not a single family was supposed to exist in these three millions of Africans. Masters distinguished for their piety and humanity act on the same assumption. Of the long list of recorded instances take only the one following: "A slave owned by such a master went without permission to spend a reasonable period with his wife, for which he was kept six weeks

in the stocks, endured fifty lashes per week, and received only food sufficient to prevent actual starvation. During this month and a half of the slave's threefold agony, his lenient master was in his last sickness." (Weld's Slavery as it is, p. 23.)

"That not a fragment of the family institution remains among slaves, is also apparent by the arbitrary sundering of entire families, which is daily executed with a suddenness and barbarity shocking to the least sensitive. Parents are no more consulted as to the disposition to be made of their children than are domestic animals as to the control of their young." (Ib., pp. 56, 57.)

Volumes might be swelled by those acts of masters which assumed the non-existence of the *family* among slaves. We quote only a single instance of the thirty advertisements inserted in Weld's Slavery as it is, (pp. 164–166.) "Twenty-five dollars reward. Run away from the subscriber, a negro woman, named Matilda. She may be somewhere up the river, as she was claimed *as a wife* by some boatman there." The Southern papers are crowded with such notices. The tone in which these speak of the marriage covenant among slaves is in accordance with their daily practical disregard of it, and with the farcical character stamped on it by the principle of the institution. The tears of agony wrung from ten thousand sufferers, and the shriek of despair piercing the heavens, are the heart-rending eloquence expressive of the mockery of the marriage covenant. But this is only a single point of all those to which this far-reaching principle applies. Another of its requisitions is the slave's entire submission to the master's pleasure. The slave being legally incapable of being injured is out of the sphere of persons, and is classed with mere things. His master could not have absolute control without corresponding submission on the part of the slave. The necessity of this reciprocity is repeatedly recognized by the ablest jurists of the South. We quote from Judge Strong, (p. 24,) who says: "It is plain that the dominion of the master is as unlimited as that which is tolerated by the law of any civilized country in relation to brute animals; quadrupeds, to use the words of the law. . . . He may supply the slaves with such food and clothing, both as to quantity and quality, as he may think proper or find convenient. . . . The master may determine the time and degree of labor to which the slave shall be subjected. And so far-reaching is this power that it may be exercised over the slave by any one whom the master may depute. The master may inflict such punishment on the person of the slave as he shall judge proper." (Ib., p. 24.)

Now these prerogatives, so expressly secured to the master by

statute law, are no less implicitly authorized by the fundamental principle. Both harmonize in making him irresponsible in the exercise of his power, and in allowing that power to be unlimited in its extent. There is not a slave in the South who is not legally under its control, bodily, mentally, morally, educationally, and religiously. Though the master cannot shut out from him the light of the sun and stars, he can exclude the light of the mind and of the Bible. He can stamp imbecility on those deathless powers of the spirit whose destined range is *infinity*. But while these laws of the institution thus expressly place the intelligence, the morality, the piety, the health, and the life of the slave in the master's keeping, they depart not one hair's breadth from what is innate in the fundamental principle. These relations of the parties remain unmodified by any possible circumstances. No matter how sensitive, reflective, and religious the slave; how ignorant, vulgar, and profane the master, the one is under the brute sway of the other; he is his impersonal tool to work out his basest purposes.

By the law of all civilized man, self-defense is admissible against the violence of an assailant; but this would be death to the slave. No matter how great his physical strength, or how small that of his master; no matter how undeserved the infliction, or to what barbarous extent it is imposed, the sufferer must be unresisting as an infant, though the master be furious as a maniac, (p. 97.) This principle is inculcated by every variety of illustration. Another law recognizing it says: "The submission of the slave can be perfect only as the power of the master is absolute. . . . To remain a slave he must be sensible that there is no appeal from his master." (North Carolina Reports, 263.)

The conclusion is here expressly authorized that this tyranny over the body and mind, the soul and spirit, is not only lawful, but is indispensable to the very existence of slavery. (Wheeler's Law of Slavery, pp. 124–128.) This authorizes the statement of Jefferson, who, in the very ears of the South, said: "The whole commerce between the master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passion; the most unrelenting despotism on the one part and degrading submission on the other." "Thus is he nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny." Indeed, the utter crush of the victim's spirit under the power of the lash is the necessity of the institution. (Slavery as it is, p. 45.) So that the overseer's lash is the only law for the slave in this republic. (P. 49.)

The power of this institution to assimilate all others to its own likeness is not a modern discovery. It is not wanting, however, in late instances of its molding agency. The Church, whose just

claim has for ages been to a higher morality than the State, has owned the superior power of the slave institution. This surrender to that powerful antagonism has been peculiar to no single branch of the Church. We take as a specimen a resolution adopted by the Savannah River Baptist Association. They resolved that "the master's authority to annul slave marriages, and compel new sexual connections between Baptist husbands and wives, whom he had violently separated, is valid."

Though few Christian Churches have placed the master's authority so expressly above God's law, yet have those of almost every denomination done by implication the same thing. What though a few Southern voices have indignantly exclaimed: "What! authorize the master to coerce to these *divinely* forbidden crimes!" This usurpation of Jehovah's authority has ceased to surprise us. It is a demand of the system; though it is not often made openly, it never fails to be made *really*. In the presence of so intense an antagonism, how is *neutrality* possible? For the Church to attempt to occupy this position, would be going over to the foe. It must, therefore, take sides with legalized crime, or prepare for the martyr's struggle.

But we are reminded "that, in accordance with the chivalrous character of the South, it has magnanimously enacted laws protective of the slave." That laws so entitled exist in several of the slave states is notorious, but that the protection of the slave is their object is not quite so unquestionable. Let us scrutinize a few of these protective statutes, to determine their harmony or conflict with the institution. The State of South Carolina prohibited the master from working his slaves more than fourteen hours per day in cold weather, or fifteen in warm." This prohibition is not without significance. As it is introduced by the assertion that slaves had not sufficient time for natural rest, it tacitly proclaims that a longer period measured the daily task of the slave, and as it was found to crush him into a premature grave, such a wanton waste of property must be legally precluded. Other slave states, as Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, restricted the labor of their criminals in the state penitentiary to ten hours per day, and no more than this was demanded of the West India slaves. The merciful provision of the South Carolina law left only one third more labor on the slave. Take another instance of protective statutes from the slave code of Georgia. This forbids the owner to inflict such punishment, to require such labor, and so withhold food and clothing, as to impair the slave's health. (Prince's Digest, 376.) This prohibition involves the previous practice of these outrages. It assumes the owner's

legal right to perpetrate them on his slaves, and that the fundamental principle of slavery invests him with these fearful prerogatives. But this statutory protection utterly fails to provide for the case. While it binds the owner it leaves the overseer beyond its jurisdiction. It leaves the slave to groan away his agonizing life under the iron rod of this proximate tyrant, without even a pretended shield of protection. We advert to another legal provision, which, however, is restricted to Louisiana. That law allowed "slaves thirty minutes to breakfast, and two hours for dinner, when they prepared it for themselves." This merciful interference is referable to the lingering influence of the French and Spanish slave laws, which were far less rigorous than ours. Still this is but an appearance of clemency, as the profoundest silence is maintained on the hours of their commencing and terminating labor, and we know by unquestionable witnesses that in the sugar-making season whole nights were worn away by their exhausting labor. In a few other slave states, laws have been enacted to limit the hours of slave labor. But what provision has ever been made for the enforcing of such laws? Will these be executed by the owner? By him are they violated. Or by the overtasked slave? Impossible, for no colored person can on any account be a witness or complainant against the whites. May not the non-slaveholder enforce these laws? Never! The silence of death is not deeper than that imposed on this class in the South. Overawed by their lordly neighbors, their utterances are in the midnight whisper.

The unendurable rigor with which these laws suppose the slaves treated, is indicated, also, by the extreme brevity of their lives: "The average lives of those taken to the extreme South scarcely reach seven years." The four slave states which have enacted these pseudo-protective laws cannot be unaware of their farcical character. They regard the food, the labor, the clothing, and the correction of the slaves. They are divisible into two classes. Those of the first class are surrounded with circumstances which are a bar to their enforcement, and could never have been intended to be availing. The second class are not inoperative, as they benefit the *law-making owner.*

Let us scrutinize that law which we have quoted from the slave code of Georgia. It is so constructed as to apply only when excessive whipping, starving hunger, and crushing labor are all made to meet in the experience of the slave. Either of these inflictions can occur alone, and may endure for any length of time, without infracting the law. Or should they all be suffered together, and the victim not lose his health, the law has no penalty for the iron-

hearted master. Or if they should be murderous, so as to take his life, who would avenge his death by applying the law?

That the inefficiency of these protective laws is a painful reality, evidence from Southern records is abundant. We have room here only to give it in its most condensed form from Weld's collection of it, (Slavery as it is:) "Slaves in Virginia are ill fed. They are doomed to scarcity and hunger." "In 1839 they had not sufficient food to eat; they were scarcely allowed the crumbs from their master's table; they were deprived of needful subsistence." They were supplied with only sufficient barley to keep them from starving. "In Georgia their allowance is insufficient to support laboring men." "In Tennessee thousands are pressed with the gnawings of hunger." In North Carolina (1826) "the greater part of them go half starved much of the time." In Louisiana, (1835,) "there is a good deal of suffering from hunger." "They are famished during a great part of the year." In Mississippi, "they are half starved. Their sufferings are in the quality as well as in the quantity of their food. Ordinarily, this is merely vegetable; it is merely on special occasions they have any meat, and nothing like a sufficient quantity or a healthful quality is allowed them."

"Attempts have been made to substitute cotton seed for their allowance of corn." The fatal result was expressed by General W. Hampton, who, with an oath, exclaimed: "They die like rotten sheep."

In Maryland "a peck of corn a week was by custom allowed to each slave." In Florida "it was a quart of corn per day, with a little salt for a full-tasked hand." These particular statements corroborate that general assertion of T. Clay, of Georgia, "that the food of slaves is of the coarsest kind. . . . They live on a coarse, crude, unwholesome sort."

The Western Medical Reform states as a notorious fact, "that vast numbers of badly-fed negroes were swept away by that prevailing epidemic." Their meals, which occur twice a day, (eleven A.M., and from seven to ten P.M.,) are taken in the most dreary circumstances. Dr. Edward P. Bliss, Esq., and B. S. Ranshaw agree with many other authorities in stating, "the slaves know nothing of gathering around the social board. Their meals are taken without table-spoon, or knife, or fork. The benchless ground is their seat, and their peck of corn, distributed through the week, is their repast." Though this picture may be beyond the reality in the slave-producing states, it is not overdrawn in the slave-consuming states. Weld's "Slavery as it is" shows, by numerous and unimpeachable evidence, that the want of clothing by day and

covering by night is not an inconsiderable source of slave suffering.

A Virginian stated in Congress that he "knew many negroes died from exposure to weather; . . . that they were clad in flimsy fabric, which could turn neither wind nor water." In Maryland "naked slaves often fall victims to the inclemency of the weather." In Georgia we rode through many rice swamps, where the blacks were very numerous, men and women were working up to their waist in water, nearly naked. "In every slave state negro men and women suffer extremely both when they labor and when they sleep. Their want of protection against the rains, and winds, and piercing colds, occasions intense and often fatal sufferings. In the South generally, men and women have scarcely clothes sufficient to conceal their nakedness. Boys and girls, from ten to twelve years, are often among their master's children in entire nudity."

That rags, or almost utter nakedness, is the common state of slaves, appears from almost every advertisement made by the owners of fugitives. In Florida each was allowed a pair of trowsers and a baize shirt for summer, and, in some cases, to these was added a pair of shoes for winter.

We are aware that in conflict with these well-attested statements have been urged the reports of interested and superficial observers. Such have jumped to the conclusion that the well-dressed waiters at hotels, and those in families of fashion, and such as are pampered for misses, are specimens of those thousands of half-naked wretches which toil and perish in the rice swamps. What conclusion could be more amazing than this? Because one slave in a hundred thousand, neatly clad for a special purpose, has met the searching eye of these reporters, therefore the millions that never enter their master's house are in a decent and sufficient costume!

In keeping with the ragged and half-covering garments they wear, are the *huts* in which they lodge. These are eight by ten feet, and about the same height. They have a hole for a chimney; the ground for a floor. They are without partition to separate the sexes; without sash, or glass, or chair, or bedstead. Here the slave shivers away the night under the single blanket which covers him.

Such is the filth often surrounding these huts as to generate fatal disease. These facts are sustained by the best-authenticated testimony, a collection of which is made by Weld's "Slavery as it is," p. 43, et seq.

The same writer (pp. 44, 45) has exhibited the workings of the *institution* toward the sick and the aged. The miseries they endure

chill us with horror. The issue of the numerous lawsuits to collect for medical services to slaves, shows this to be the legal rule. "Such bills are collectable only when, in the owner's judgment, his interests demanded such services." But this absorption of humanity in pecuniary interest is peculiar to the workings of no part of slavery. It is *wanting in no part of it.* Whole volumes might be swelled by their details. Our limits, however, will admit of only a single specimen for each large class.

Another striking point exhibiting the oppression of the system is COERCED LABOR. We know that God's curse fulminated as from Sinai against "oppressing the hireling in his wages." But even this is not that wholesale robbery which is committed in extorting from the slave the labor of his life. If the oppressor under the theocracy was doomed for retaining a part of his laborer's wages, what depth of damnation must be his who gives not a shadow of wages to his workmen!

We know that wages imply the concurrent action of the laborer and the employer; the receipt, on the part of the former, according to his agreement with the latter.

By equitable wages an equivalent is secured to both parties. This equality of the labor to the wages and the wages to the labor, is the mutual demand of eternal justice. Wages, then, involve volition in both parties and equality on both sides. Both these elements are excluded by slavery. The mere supply of the present animal wants of the laborer can, therefore, never be his *wages.* By the Creator's appointment he is related to the *family,* to society, to government and to those emergences never wanting in men's history. He is morally bound to provide for these demands. The principle has ever been conceded that laborers deserve a fair proportion of the product of the soil they till, a just reward for the houses and cities they build, and a compensation for the thrift they give to the state.

The Scriptures assume the correctness of this principle in every utterance of malediction against its infraction in withholding wages from the laborer. Who, then, shall measure the audacity of slavery, which overrides the justice of earth and heaven; which coerces millions to labor without the *pretense* to wages; which possesses, controls, and appropriates both the labor and the laborer without obtaining consent or imparting reward! Could the cry of trampled justice, bursting from all the generations of Southern slaves, be satisfied at once, what would remain through all the fertile regions of the sunny South? what of its flocks, herds, carriages, horses, wardrobes, cities, hamlets, banks, exports, imports? what of all

that now distinguishes that land of wealth from the desert through which the savage roams?

The just due of every slave, of which he is annually robbed, is indicated both by the price at which he is sold and the pittance on which he subsists. The cost of supporting each slave a year has been accurately ascertained by Southern committees appointed for the purpose. They have stated it in detail and in aggregate: corn, thirteen bushels, at fifty cents per bushel, $6 50; clothes and lodging, $10 00; total, $16 50. The statement of T. Clay, of Georgia, was based on these reports, in which he affirms "the present economy of the slave system is to get all you can from the slave, and give him as little as will support him in a working condition."

How can this injustice be excused by the allegation that slave labor is unprofitable? If the Divine author of the social system be just, how can it be otherwise than unprofitable? Indeed, the fact that it is so is a proof of its injustice. Were it profitable at the long run for a usurping class to monopolize the services of their neighbors without wages, then would the social system be wrong which worked out such a result.

But who can strike the balance between the slave's earnings and the cost of supporting him, and then doubt whether God be against it? Were slavery beneficial, the North could not now be wealthier than the South, which has all the vast advantages of *soil* and *climate.* The recently-ascertained fact would not exist, that the lands of the North exceed in value those of the South by a greater sum than would purchase the entire slave population. Give to the slave the difference between what he costs his master and what he earns for him, and how soon might his peck of corn a week give place to a well-replenished table, and his single blanket on the ground to a bed of comfort! The fact, therefore, that this great surplus in the earnings of millions leaves the country comparatively poor, proves the intense hostility of the system to God's social arrangement.

Any attempt to show HOW slavery works the injury of society, would be exceeding the limits assigned us. Nor can this ever demand a protracted discussion. We need simply to know that slavery dooms its victim to ignorance in his person and posterity, to the incapacity of ever making anything his own, and to obey the absolute will of his master under the stimulus of the lash. Knowing simply this, how can we ignore the dire results? The slave *code,* therefore, must be nugatory, so far as it is out of harmony with the *slave principle,* and the want of the master's corresponding practice toward the slave must peril the institution. For as one cannot control another's rights by force without the most oppressive

violence, how could that system of force survive the disuse of that appropriate means? We have seen that the fundamental principle of the master's proprietary right in the slave involves his right of purchase, of sale, of seizure for debt, of inheritance, of distribution, and of annihilating every family relation; his right of inflicting punishment; of withholding food and clothing; that his right, in fact, sweeps over the entire being of the slave, grasping every moment of his time, every relation of his life, and every faculty of his nature. If any restriction of the master's will be to that very extent an encroachment on his right of property, all laws regulating the treatment of his slave must be at war with the fundamental principle of the institution. The overthrow of this, or the absolute control of him, is necessary in such a sense as to admit of no middle way, no other alternative.

After this rapid glance at the protective slave-laws regarding the food, and labor, and clothing assigned them, let us with even greater brevity advert to the laws regulating their punishment.

Our first selection is from Brenard's 2d Digest, (241,) which says: "In case any person shall willfully cut out the tongue, put out the eyes, castrate, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb or member, or shall inflict any other civil punishment OTHER than by whipping or beating, by horsewhip, cow-skin, switch, or small sticks, or by putting irons on, or imprisoning such slave, such person shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money." Here are described two classes of cruelties, one prohibited, the other allowed. The exceptions to the prohibited inflictions are fully authorized. No one is found in the forbidden list which would not diminish the slave's pecuniary value. Thus the *chattel* character of the slave was plainly the presiding genius of the enactment. This legal prohibition of these outrages is, in fact, a proclamation of the previous practice of them, and such a wanton destruction of property was not longer to be endured. This statute, affording security to the owner against the rage of the overseer's passion, was by no means a nullity. But the humanity of it is yet to be discovered. It is the admission and authority of huge wrongs perpetrated on "*the defenseless race.*" It is a preventive against damaging the article, and not a protection against cruelty to the sufferer. Nothing is definitely prohibited but maiming, mutilating, and murdering; nothing but what injures property. When we scrutinize apparently the most humane slave laws, this same principle is found to underlie them.

Alabama, Missouri, and most of the slave states have enacted laws similar to this we have quoted. Like that they regard the limb and life, the pecuniary value of the article. They aim at protecting

the owner against the violence of his overseer on his slave property, and the family and creditors of the owner against the destructive rage of his own passion. To make *humanity* their *paramount* aim would be treachery to the institution; it would soon dissolve every fetter of the bondman, making him free as the circumambient air he breathes.

A law in the Missouri code (page 309) provides, "that if a slave refuse to obey a lawful command, his master may imprison him." Now who but the master shall determine the *legality* of the command? Not the slave, he is a chattel; not a court, for a fair hearing before a tribunal of a question between the owner and his *property* would be a legal curiosity. As, then, there can be no umpire but the excited master, what a farce is the qualification, *lawful* command! The supreme law of slavery makes his authority absolute, which precludes the possibility of an *unlawful* command. If the virgin be commanded to resign herself to the embrace of her master, (as is often done,) what can there be unlawful in making this peculiar use of his property? It infracts no law in the slave states. The statute, therefore, authorizes him to imprison her for this disobedience. The spirit of this law is indicated by that which allows the master to send his house slaves to an appointed officer, to receive the number of lashes he may specify, without any reference to the offense to be so punished.

Thus the power of the individual is not restricted by that of the magistrate, as by all equitable law; it is extended by that power. His right as a master has made him *ex officio* a judicial functionary, with the powers of a court to award sentence, and to command a public functionary to execute it. This law, then, makes the master prosecutor, judge, and executor in his own case; and, like all others in the slave code, is intended to be in harmony with the fundamental principle. (Wheeler's Law of Slavery, pp. 243, 244.)

This very principle precludes from the slave all CIVIL *rights*. In recognizing slave chattelhood, civil government ignores slave rights. Taking away from the slave self-ownership, it crumbles the last possible foundation of any other right. The slave, then, is related to civil government only in the contingence that he becomes a criminal. It can inflict on him penalty, but can secure to him no right; it can avenge him for no wrong. Such is his strange relation to government, that its eye is never upon him but for infliction. That government has occasionally departed from this anomalous principle of administration is notorious. But never has it recognized human rights in the slave, without just so far infracting the law which made him a slave. How can that principle which leaves him

no right to his bones or muscles, to his soul, body, or spirit—how can that principle leave him any right to property, to reputation, to form contracts, to wife, children, education, or even to religion? What possible advantageous relation could such a being bear to civil government? What protection can he need who can never have anything to be protected? What is law to him which recognizes no one privilege within his reach? What absurdity, then, can be more glaring than to recognize the righteousness of the principle which makes the master, and complain of his cruelties to his slave? The validity of the principle is the justification of its application. If that makes the master absorb all the rights of the slave, how can he be blamable for using what is now his own as he will? What mockery could be more bitter than for a state to declare a slave out of legal personal existence, and then proceed to legislate respecting him as though he were a man? Are not all protective enactments put in the hands of these mere *things*, adding mere insult to oppression? These inconsistencies, however, are only in theory; they leave the system of chattelhood practically in full force. In no land ever blighted by slavery was this system ever so rigidly applied as in this "land of the free." The colonies of England, France, Spain, Portugal, have all made the African their bondman; but it remained for this great Republic to make his yoke galling beyond endurance.

The very intensity of the antagonism between slavery and all our other institutions, throws the slave power on the defensive, where it is intrenched in the most heartless despotism that ever crushed out the hopes of man. Nowhere else would its abolition involve such a death-struggle. Nowhere else was it compelled to become universal or *extinct.* Nowhere else could mitigating laws be so utterly a burlesque. The crisis we have reached is a prophet's voice, proclaiming with oracular certainty the possibility of but one alternative, which is, either the uprooting of slavery or of all our other institutions standing in its way. It must give or receive a blow at the root. It must live alone amid the trophies of its conquests, or soon find its grave on this Western continent. The obstacles which the slave laws throw in the way of those recovering their freedom who are unjustly enslaved, are invincible. Our want of room crowds out the Southern authorities which abundantly sustain this allegation, and will admit only of a simple reference to a few of them. (Wheeler, p. 6; p. 197; Stroud's Sketch, p. 76; Wheeler's Law of Slavery, p. 394; Brenard's Digest, 229, 30, 260, 24; Revised Code, 482; Stroud, p. 78.)

By consulting these authorities we find the conviction forced upon us that slavery is upheld by suppressing the testimony of its

victims; and especially, that the multitudes of negroes which are kidnapped are retained in bondage by finding every avenue to freedom legally choked. (Wheeler's Law of Slavery, pp. 193, 195.)

The last application of the slave principle which we shall trace is to EDUCATION and *religion*. That slavery closes every avenue of thought which might be opened to its victim is certain, according to its own code of laws. The South well understands that a state of intelligence and chattelhood, like all other opposites, can never coexist. Almost every slave state has enacted the most rigidly prohibitory laws. Mark the language of these interdicts in the few specimens that follow. South Carolina said: "Be it enacted, that all and every person or persons who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe, in any manner of writing whatsoever hereafter taught to write, shall forfeit £100." (2 Brenard's Digest, 243.) Georgia also inflicts a penalty for the same offense. South Carolina forbids all assemblies of negroes for purposes of mental instruction, and authorizes the magistrates to disperse them with the infliction of twenty lashes "or more, as they shall judge best, to deter them from such unlawful assemblage in future." (Ib., 54, 55.) Virginia enacted (thirty years since) "that any negroes met with others in any house or place, by day or night, for teaching them reading or writing, shall be deemed unlawful assemblies, and shall be punished in the above manner." (Revised Code, 424, 425.) Nor is there less stringency in the legal provisions of corporate towns. Savannah decreed "that any person or persons that teaches any one of color, slave or free, to read or write, or cause such to be taught, shall be subject to a fine of thirty dollars, or to ten days' imprisonment, or to thirty-nine lashes." Still greater severity dictated North Carolina to enact that "if a free black taught a slave to read or write, or gave or sold a book or pamphlet, or even the Bible to him, should receive thirty-nine lashes or imprisonment, or if a white he should be fined $200." (Jay's Inquiry, p. 136.) Georgia, for such offense, inflicts, $500, or imprisonment, at the discretion of the court. (Ibid.) Louisiana, for this offense, inflicts imprisonment, and goes on to enact, "that any person using any language in any public discourse, from the bar, bench, stage, or pulpit, or in any other place, or in any private conversation, tending to produce dissatisfaction among slaves, by paper or book, shall be imprisoned or die." (Bent's Com., vol. ii, part 4, p. 168.)

It is evidently a deep-seated conviction of the South, that every beam of intelligence which can fall on the negro mind must be quenched. This is expressed without disguise by Mr. Berry to the

Virginia Legislature, twenty-five years since. "We have," says he, "as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds. If we could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed. They would then be on a level with the beasts of the field, and we should be safe."

Weld (Slavery as it is, p. 51) assures us, that in North Carolina the patrols were ordered to search negro houses for books and pamphlets of any kind; Bibles and Hymn Books were particularly specified. (Chap. 7.)

From Brenard's Digest, (261,) Stroud's Sketch, (pp. 93, 94,) it appears that in South Carolina the obstacles to a slave's worship are nearly insuperable. He must previously know that a majority will be white persons; that no person will be there having a warrant to apprehend him; that a justice will not be within three miles of the place. A mistake in either of these contingences would expose the slave to twenty-five lashes.

In Virginia all evening meetings of slaves are unequivocally forbidden. (Jay's Inquiry, p. 137.) The same state fixed a penalty of thirty-nine lashes on a free black for conducting religious meetings by night or day; that any one without a warrant could apprehend him; nor was there one attendant without the same liabilities. (Child's Appeal, p. 67.) This harmonizes with the slave law of Mississippi, excepting the master may allow the slave to attend the white teacher's ministry.

The Presbyterian synod of Kentucky (1834) adopts in its address this expressive language: "The law does not permit free access to the Scriptures; but their ignorance, the natural result of their condition, makes the Bible to them a sealed book. The community will never sustain a missionary among them until they are ripe for emancipation." The synods of the same Church in South Carolina and Georgia (1833) say "there are over two millions in a worse condition than heathen." . . . . . "The negroes are destitute of the Gospel and ever will be under the present state of things." . . . . . "Out of the State of Georgia we know of no church built for them. They have no Bible read by their own firesides, no family altars, and when in affliction, sickness, and death, they have none to administer to them the consolations of the Gospel." In harmony with these official reports is the statement of a distinguished Georgian, (Rev. C. C. Jones:) "We cannot cry out against the papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, ... for we withhold the Bible from our servants, and keep them in ignorance of them."

It is not twenty years since, that a Methodist missionary in

South Carolina was induced, by an address from more than four hundred persons, to abandon his mission. They urged the danger of mental improvement and religious instruction; "that oral instruction would lead to a desire to read, and will ultimately revolutionize our civil institutions. . . . . Intelligence and slavery have no affinity." Thus must slavery keep its finger on the mental pulse, to watch against the too exciting elements of even religious truth. This is but a single instance among many in which the slave code has a legitimate application, showing that this code must be a vigilant guardian of the principle, or both perish together. This fact, that ignorance and slavery are in eternal wedlock, is the fittest eulogy of the institution. This reveals the inherent unutterable wickedness of the system. If slavery has its only safety in crushing out the image of God, who but a tyrant can advocate it? But while the necessity of these prohibitions is a valid plea, it is also an overwhelming argument for the overthrow of the institution.

Finally, the glance we have taken at the slave code of the South will enable the reader to contrast it with the slave codes of Moses and the patriarchs. The Mosaic servitude was founded on conversion to the true religion; the slavery of the South on violence against all religion. The Jewish usages were subversive of the principle; those of the South corroborative of it. Under the Mosaic system the slave was bought by his master, but never sold by him; the South often buys the slave merely to sell him. Those were reduced to servitude; these are transformed to property. Those had all the rights of the marriage state; these no more than the cattle of the field. The children of the Jewish servant were born free as the air they breathed; those of a Southern slave are loaded with the chains of bondage the moment they open their eyes on the light. To find a prototype of Southern slavery, we must go far beyond the range of Patriarchal and Jewish servitude. We must find such a victim of cruelty as Joseph, seized by violence, sold for money, dragged to a distant land, and doomed to perpetual slavery. It is such bondage from whose depth of wrong come up groans that sound to heaven, and requisitions for blood to which God's ear listens.

Where does the Bible make the slightest reference to this outrage but with the deepest reprobation? Yet the plea of Bible slavery has been urged to enlist God's authority for the most heartless despotism that ever crushed the human form.

To silence forever the plea of Mosaic slavery, let us view it still more narrowly. The lowest class of servants under this system either sold themselves, or consented to their sale. Nor was there a

slave under the theocracy, for whose ultimate freedom its workings did not provide. Its septennial institution liberated two thirds of those in servitude, and its jubilee was proclaimed by trumpets which sundered the bonds of every servant of the nation. What mind ever comprehended the general design of the theocracy, and suspected it could favor all chattel slavery; that it could raise one class to be despots, and sink another class into property. Does not every social provision of this Divine economy preclude the possibility of such an institution? So utterly alien was it to this, that the "national language was without a word exactly expressive of either *slave, slavery,* or *slaveholder.*" How many ages would slavery survive in the South, should two thirds of all in bondage be septennially set free? How many would now be under the lash, had every fiftieth year since our national existence sounded the trumpet of universal release? Let such, then, as find a vindication of slavery in the Mosaic code, ask themselves this short question: Could slavery subsist in the South under the Hebrew institutions? If not, how can they reason from the one for the other? How can they sustain chattel slavery by Hebrew servitude, when they know that would perish under the economy which sustained this?

The entire unlikeness of the two is made unmistakable by the Hebrew treatment of the foreign slave. He no sooner stepped on the promised land than his fetters dropped from his limbs, never again to bind him.

We beg that it may not escape our readers that the *contrasts* are at *vital* points. That these points are in fierce and everlasting collision. The one originated in compassion for the poor; the other in an avarice which would swallow up the poor. The one was temporary, terminated by the workings of the theocracy; the other was perpetual, stretching through generations. That was voluntary; this compulsory. That left the servant with his manhood; this makes the slave a *thing.* That possessed him with civil rights; this leaves him no rights to protect. The one guaranteed his married relations; the other ignores them as without obligation. That provided for his education; this prohibits education on the severest penalty. That secured freedom to a fugitive from another land; this drags him back to the direst bondage. That recognized the sanctities of domestic relations; this treads them to the earth with ineffable scorn.

These concluding remarks are no attempt at the Bible argument against slavery, but aim simply at suggesting the inevitable conflict between the slave code of Palestine and the slave laws of the South.

Art. IV.—AARON BURR.

1. *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, by Matthew L. Davis. Harper & Brothers. New-York: 1837.
2. *Life and Times of Aaron Burr*, by J. Parton. Mason & Brothers. New-York: 1858.

A great number of circumstances combine to attach to the subject of this sketch a peculiar and deep interest. His immediate antecedents were men pre-eminently distinguished, not less for their moral than their intellectual greatness. His own career as a brave and dashing military genius early distinguished him as a man of no ordinary promise. His career at the bar was scarcely less brilliant, taking his position at a single bound, as it were, in the very foremost rank of his profession. His rise to eminence in the political world was as unprecedentedly rapid as his subsequent downfall was sudden and complete. Singular and marked as was the vicissitude of fortune which attended him in later life, it was no less so than the fortitude and heroic courage with which he bore up under it. Possessing intellectual qualities which might have immortalized him among the benefactors of the race, he made himself forever infamous by prostituting them to uses totally inconsistent with an elevated and towering mind. Called into public life in an era remarkable for self-denial and patriotic self-sacrifice, he beheld in the appliances which public favor had placed within his reach only the most available means for gratifying a selfish ambition. Among a phalanx of statesmen illustrious for directness, integrity, fair and open dealing, he preferred ever to gain his object by the tortuous path of stratagem and intrigue. Ostensibly to take satisfaction for a personal offense, but really to silence the tongue of a formidable adversary, he imbrued his hands in the blood of the country's idol. In a community where the sanctities of domestic life were usually revered, he bore the stigma of unscrupulous libertinism; circumstances indeed combining at one time to render him an object of admiration, at another of pity, and finally of ineffable contempt.

The biographers of Mr. Burr, Mr. Davis, editor of his Memoirs, and Mr. Parton, author of the Life and Times of Aaron Burr, both of whose works we have taken as our text, are each of the opinion that, on the whole, their subject has been by far too severely condemned. That he has been grossly belied, and that by men far beneath him in moral quality, as well as by those in high places, is

doubtless true; but, while the honest attempt on the part of Mr. Parton, in his singularly interesting volume, to show this up, may, to some extent, modify his reputation, as colored by the popular traditions concerning his character, yet so deeply settled have become the convictions of the people in relation to his fatal defects of character, and evidently utter want of high principle, that but little or no permanent change in the public sentiment in this respect can ever be reasonably expected.

Perhaps we may as well add here what more we have to say with regard to the manner in which Mr. Parton has discharged his duties as biographer; and we unhesitatingly pronounce it such as to demand a cordial and emphatic recognition. Contrary to the usual custom, Mr. Parton has not become the advocate or apologist of his subject. Foul and spotted as is the reputation which has clung to him so pertinaciously and so long, he evinces no anxiety to *whitewash* him from it, nor to lose sight of the facts upon which the prevailing opinion is founded. He is by no means blind himself, nor would he, by throwing a shining vail over Burr's natural deformities, attempt to blind others to his radical defects of character. Far from setting him up as a model for good behavior, or becoming, in his zeal for what he deems historical justice, an apologist for base and malignant conduct, he aims only to present some of the most favorable aspects and extenuating circumstances of Burr's career. In a word, we believe he has aimed to treat his subject with strict impartiality, influenced in his judgments by neither favor nor prejudice. He seems, in every case, to have spared no pains to ascertain the unrelenting truth. Every page bears mark of indefatigable labor. The irksome details of political strife had to be carefully sifted; a no small chaos of materials to be reduced to historic order. But he has performed his task with the most evident honesty of purpose; "with the zeal," indeed, "of an antiquary, and the taste of an artist." His style is vigorous and flowing, and marked by originality of expression and illustration. Besides giving us the Life of Burr, Mr. Parton has also given us a very graphic transcript of his times, sketching at length the rise and progress of those political movements in which he acted so conspicuous a part, particularly of that which resulted in the overthrow of the Federal power, or influence of the Federal party, in the United States, in 1800; truly one of the most important passages in our political history. But let us proceed with our inquest upon Colonel Aaron Burr.

This notable character was born February 6th, 1756, in Newark, New-Jersey. His father, Rev. Aaron Burr, then president of

Nassau Hall, at Princeton, was a man celebrated alike for his erudition, eloquence, and piety. His mother, the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, the distinguished New-England metaphysician and divine, was likewise well known as a woman of fine culture and deep, fervent piety. As the pious mother of Augustine, while he was yet an infidel in his principles, and a libertine in his conduct, wept bitter tears, and daily petitioned Heaven in behalf of her wayward son, so Mrs. Burr, though she lived hardly to hear her child lisp his mother tongue, prayed daily that, should God spare his life, he might be guided into all truth, and serve faithfully the God of his fathers. In after years, when his propensity for intrigue became notorious, he was often faithfully warned that he was a "child of many prayers," that the petitions of a pious mother to the throne of grace would yet "avail much," either for or against him. Of the natural guardianship and protection of both these parents he was deprived at the early age of twenty-eight months. His youth was spent in the family of Timothy Edwards, his maternal uncle. While here he used frequently "to manifest his impatience of wholesome restraint by taking his bit between his teeth, snapping his finger at the tutor in charge, and running away."

At the age of twelve he entered Princeton College. Though prepared to enter junior, in consideration of his youth, it is said, he was obliged to commence sophomore, a necessity to which he submitted with very bad grace. His time in college he devoted at first diligently to hard study, but subsequently more to desultory pursuits. He graduated, however, at the age of sixteen, receiving the highest academic honors which were in the hands of the faculty to bestow. Burr early formed many correct habits, both in regard to diet and intellectual labor, to which he firmly adhered through all his life. He never gambled, was never intemperate. Indeed to his severe regimen and regular habits in other respects, we feel warranted in attributing much of that physical and intellectual force which enabled him, during his protracted life, to endure such excessive fatigue of both body and mind.

During Burr's college course, a "revival of religion" occurred among the students. Young Burr was somewhat awakened, and went so far finally as to talk with his venerable president, Dr. Witherspoon, in relation to matters of religion, the revival then in progress, etc. Whereupon the reverend doctor assured him, that in his opinion it was not *true rational religion*, but *fanaticism* that was operating upon the minds of his friends. We never hear anything more of his inquiring "what he should do to be saved."

We next find him spending some time by invitation with a friend of his father, the noted Dr. Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Conn., who, it appears, was anxious that, after the fashion of his antecedents, he should decide upon the ministry as his profession. After duly considering the matter, however, he came to the conclusion that he was possessed of none of the necessary "gifts and graces" to qualify him for, or lead him to suppose that he was "called" to, that important work. Another conclusion of no little importance he arrived at, also, during this sojourn with his venerable friend, and that was, to use his own language, "that the road to heaven was open alike to all," the Westminster Catechism, and the instructions of his revered friend, to the contrary notwithstanding. It seems that not even the iron logic of his distinguished ancestor was sufficient to satisfy his mind that God "chose whom he would to eternal life, and rejected whom he pleased, leaving them eternally to perish, and be everlastingly tormented in hell." His ingenuous mind revolted from an idea so odious and repulsive, so utterly repugnant to all his best moral instincts. In a word, he rejected, as he always maintained, after calm and full investigations, the Gospel *according to Jonathan Edwards*, rejected it completely and forever.

We next find him stopping with his brother-in-law, Judge Tappan Reeve, who had married his only sister, and studying constitutional history and military science. Burr seems to have been a natural born soldier. He always felt that he possessed not only the necessary genius and skill, but had pent up within him all the enthusiasm and ambition for military distinction necessary to insure success, did but circumstances occur favorable for his development in that direction. Nor had he long to wait. The shedding of his countrymen's blood just at this juncture, at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker's Hill, brought him at once from his retirement, from the companionship of his musty tomes, into the field of active duty. He felt that the time had now arrived for him to distinguish himself, "to make his mark." So, although only just entering his twentieth year, a mere stripling in appearance, at an age when most boys are just beginning to study in earnest, and to entertain some of the "self-respecting views of manhood," we find him tendering his services in defense of American liberty, and panting for glory upon the battle-field.

In July, 1775, he joined the army at Cambridge. Although at first disgusted with the want of discipline and good order that prevailed among the troops, we soon find him, in spite of the remonstrances of friends at home, leaving a sick-bed to accompany Gen-

eral Arnold through the trackless, hideous wildernesses of Maine and Canada; traversing, late in the season, precipitous mountains, thick woods, deep and almost impenetrable swamps and morasses, on his famous but bootless expedition to Quebec. On this expedition Burr rendered signal service to Arnold, especially by proceeding in advance, although at the imminent hazard of his life, with a verbal communication from Arnold to Montgomery. This mission he so well and satisfactorily accomplished, that he was immediately appointed by General Montgomery as one of his aids, with the rank of captain. In this capacity he served, displaying astonishing skill and intrepidity, during that disastrous assault upon Quebec in which the brave Montgomery fell. Burr was within a few feet of the General when the latter was struck by the fatal shot. He caught him up in his arms, and, in a dying condition, bore him from the battle-field. It was quite enough for a youth of twenty, however ambitious for military distinction, to have it caught upon the breath of fame, and whispered through all the land, that he had sustained in his youthful arms the dying Montgomery. Indeed the *éclât* which he, yet a beardless youth, acquired first by this adventurous march through the trackless desert of our Northeastern wilds, but more especially by being known as the chivalrous aid-de-camp whose arms supported the dying hero of Quebec, not less than his subsequent military exploits at Monmouth, Long Island, and Westchester, in all his after life gathered round him hosts of friends and admirers, and distinguished him as a man of no ordinary military prowess.

Soon after the death of General Montgomery, Burr was made brigade-major under Arnold. With him, however, he remained only a few months. Some, by the way, may be curious to know what was his estimation of Arnold. Concerning him he used to hold the following language: "Though amid the excitants of battle a madman, ready for any deed of valor, he has not yet a particle of moral courage, is utterly unprincipled, has no love of country nor self-respect to guide him, is not to be trusted anywhere but under the eye of a superior." Contrary to Arnold's express commands, he soon left him in Canada, and proceeded to New-York. Upon his return to this city, he at once received and accepted an invitation to become a member of Washington's military family. But so repugnant to his tastes were the orderly habits and cautious temperament of the wise chief, that they seemed to have filled him with profound disgust. Burr here, for some reason, contracted for the general a dislike which he never afterward overcame; while Washington, on the other hand, perceiving but too well Burr's want of high principle, very

naturally distrusted him from the very first, and never after could be induced to repose in him any great confidence, or intrust him with any high responsibility.

In the beginning of the next July he was appointed aid-de-camp to General Putnam, a rank with which he was better pleased. The distinguished part which Major Burr took, and the efficient services which he rendered in the retreat of our army under Washington, from Long Island and New-York, established his character for intrepidity and military skill. His gallant conduct at Monmouth, during which battle his horse was shot under him, rendered him no less conspicuous than it had before done at Quebec. Hereupon he is appointed lieutenant-colonel. We follow him next in his delicate and difficult command on the lines of Westchester; again as ordered by Baron DeKalb to West Point; as designated by Washington to take charge of the Tories in behalf of Governor Clinton, and so on from one important post of duty and labor to another, until at length his health gives way, his constitution is shattered, and he is forced to lay down his arms, to sheathe his sword, and abandon forever his hopes of military glory. The exposure and fatigue from which he suffered on the day and night of the battle of Monmouth, seriously impaired his health. He never fairly recovered from their effects. His medical and other friends, therefore, whose opinions he felt himself bound to respect, expressed it as their conviction that he could never endure the fatigues of another campaign. So on the 10th of March, 1779, at the age of twenty-three, having already won the reputation of being one of the most efficient and gallant officers of the American Revolution, he tendered his resignation to the commander-in-chief. In this connection it were proper enough to say, that though Washington manifestly considered Burr destitute of principle, he yet as evidently respected him as a soldier, gave repeated evidence of entire confidence in his gallantry, his persevering industry, his judgment, and his discretion.

Colonel Burr now returns to private life and the study of the law. After pursuing his studies one year only, he was admitted, though with much opposition, to the bar at Albany, at which place he commenced practice. On the ensuing 2d of July he was married to Mrs. Theodosia Prevost, widow of General Prevost, of the British army, a very intelligent and accomplished lady. Up to this point, it may be well to state in passing, Mr. Parton expresses it as his opinion that Colonel Burr "had not been profligate, had not yet had one amour of a criminal kind, nor incurred an obligation which he had not discharged."

As soon as peace was declared he removed to New-York, where, by unremitted attention to business, he soon found himself crowded with clients, accumulating property, and taking the lead in his profession. His remarkable success and rapid elevation as a professional man, no doubt, were owing, in part at least, to the favorable auspices under which he commenced his practice in New-York. It was just at the close of the Revolution. Tory lawyers were put under the "ban of the empire," while the Whigs, of course, were exalted, in point of privilege, in a corresponding degree. He was, moreover, descended from a family, the prestige of whose name had its influence in bringing him into notice. He had retired from the army with distinguished honor; these, united with talents which alone would have signalized him under any circumstances, combined to bring him at once prominently before the public, and enable him to take rank among the first lawyers of his day. His time was now divided only between his profession and his beautiful home at Richmond Hill. Indeed his beloved wife, his idol of a daughter, and his many friends, now engross a no small share of his thoughts. No man seemed to cherish warmer domestic attachments, to be more devotedly, fondly attached to his family than Aaron Burr. "The letters that passed between himself and wife, after they had been several years married, read like the passionate outpouring of Italian lovers in the first month of their betrothal." But in an especial manner was he devotedly fond of his daughter. However lost he might have become in his subsequent life, to all that was loyal or holy; "however poor, bereaved, contemned he may have been, with the penalties of debt and treason hanging over his head, and himself an outlaw and fugitive in the earth, one holy, loyal sentiment lingered in his perverted soul; love for the fair, gifted, gentle being who called him father. In his later life the only disinterested sympathy his letters breathe is for her. Indeed the feeling and sense of duty which they manifest, offer a remarkable contrast to the parallel record of a life of unprincipled schemes and heartless amours." Tradition says that this daughter was once complaining because she was not as pretty as some others. He reproved her gently, thus: "My daughter, would you become more beautiful, seek, then, sweetness of temper, a tender, loving heart; let thus a beautiful spirit inform those features, and you will possess a beauty the power of which is infinitely beyond that which you now covet." She afterward became not only a cultivated and accomplished lady in the fashionable sense, but a woman of true refinement, possessing many and rare virtues, and beauty besides. Yet how deep is our regret, that in teaching his gifted child so much, he yet taught

her so little. Upon the loss of her son, she writes to her father thus: "Whichever way I turn is anguish; I think even *Omnipotence could give me no equivalent for my boy—no, none, none!*" Alas that she had never been pointed to a God in whom she might have put her trust! Then might she have counted *all* her earthly losses gain. Indeed Aaron Burr's affection for his daughter was the great redeeming fact of his career and character. For her it was he seemed to live. In her were centered all his thoughts and hopes. And the very last thing which, upon his death-bed, he surrendered up, was the portrait of his dear Theodosia. But to return:

"During these early years there was not a spot upon the brightness of his good name. A rising lawyer, devoted to business, avoiding politics, happy at home, honored abroad, welcome in the most refined and elevated circles, and shining in them with all the luster of a striking person, graceful manners, and a polished wit, who would have predicted for him anything but a career of still increasing brilliancy, a whole lifetime of honorable exertion, and a name that would have been distinction to all who bore or should inherit it."

Colonel Burr, however, was at length induced to enter public life; was elected a member of the state Legislature by the Whigs, in the spring of 1784; was a member during two sessions, taking, on all great questions, an active and decided part. He distinguished himself first, by advocating the passage of a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State of New-York, adding an amendment, which was lost, that slavery should be entirely abolished after a day specified. Secondly, and particularly, did he bring himself into notice, and establish his reputation for firmness, sagacity and discrimination, by his unsuccessful opposition to the so-called "Mechanics' Bill," which was afterward pronounced unconstitutional on the same grounds upon which Burr had based his objections. So great was Governor Clinton's confidence in his wisdom and integrity, that, though politically opposed to him, he appointed him Attorney-General of the State, which office Colonel Burr accepted in September, 1789. While serving in this capacity, he reared for himself a lasting monument of his patience, juridical wisdom, and skill, by his masterly report as chairman of a board of commissioners appointed by the Legislature to examine the various claims held against the State for services rendered, or injuries sustained, during the Revolution. Though the task was one of great delicacy, and surrounded by incalculable difficulties, yet in so masterly and exhaustive a manner did he accomplish it, that the report met with no opposition whatever, and formed the basis thereafter of all settlements with public creditors on account of the war.

On the 19th of January, Colonel Burr was appointed a senator of

the United States. Until about this time he was little known as a partisan politician; now he seems to have committed himself fully to the troublous element of politics; a step which his biographer regards as "the spring of all his woes"—the great mistake of his life. In Congress Burr fully sustained his reputation as a man of great force of character, firmness, industry, and sagacity. The Journals of the Senate afford ample evidence that he was an industrious and efficient member of that body. It is true that he felt called upon, upon every favorable opportunity, to stigmatize Washington's doctrine of non-intervention—the doctrine of the administration—as "cold and repulsive neutrality." But this only shows that he was afflicted with some of the "fast" notions entertained and advocated occasionally by legislators of a later day. In 1792 Governor Clinton nominated him as a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, and thus, in the short space of three years, he was advanced from a private station to a seat in the national councils, and to the highest honor of the bar, and very soon after to a competition with Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Clinton, for the presidency itself. This point he reached when he was but thirty-six years of age, and that without having originated or being the exponent of any particular political idea or measure; without, indeed, being fully committed to either of the two leading parties.

Wherein lay the cause of Colonel Burr's sudden elevation and advancement, and that over the head of longer tried and more experienced politicians, in a state where the leading families had for a century nearly monopolized the offices of honor and emolument, it is not an easy matter to determine; indeed it was as much an enigma to his cotemporaries as to more recent writers of political history. Some thought it was owing to the prestige of his father and grandfathers' names, among whom was John Adams; others, like Hamilton, attributed it to his unequaled wire-pulling; some thought it was his military reputation; others called it luck. His own circle of friends of course regarded his elevation as the legitimate result of a superiority to most of his rivals, in knowledge, culture, and talents. Doubtless *all* these were causes of his success. But whatever may have been the cause, we think the fact of his success deserving of consideration, especially as it demonstrates the confidence which the democracy thus far reposed in him. Another transaction, which occurred during his senatorial career, also clearly demonstrates this. Colonel Burr was recommended by the Senate to Washington, as a substitute for Morris, who, on account of his monarchical views and opposition to the revolution then in progress

there, had become extremely odious to the people, as minister plenipotentiary to the French Republic. To Madison and Monroe, who were delegated by the Senate to confer with the President, he replied that he made it a rule of life never to recommend or nominate any person for a high and responsible station in whose integrity he had no confidence; that wanting that confidence in Colonel Burr, he could not nominate him. So great, however, was the confidence of the Senate, not only in his capacity, but in his integrity, that they remonstrated with the President. He, however, remained inflexible. Monroe was nominated in his stead. Colonel Burr did not accept the appointment tendered him by Governor Clinton, as Judge of the Supreme Court. His term of office as senator expired March 4, 1797. In 1798 he was again elected to the Assembly from the city and county of New-York. It was in this year, a year marked by more political virulence than any other since the independence of the country, that the foundations were laid for the overthrow of the Federal power in the United States. To this end, and thus to the first triumph of his party, no man, perhaps, contributed more than Aaron Burr. It was he who taught the democracy how to conquer. It is true that it devolved upon Thomas Jefferson to furnish the *ideas;* yet it was extremely doubtful whether those ideas would soon have been realized in our government, been carried to their practical results, had it not been for the *tactics* of Aaron Burr. A new president was to be elected. The prospect was gloomy; all places of high trust and positions of influence were under the patronage of the administration. Many of the city banks, it was said, were influenced in their discounts by party considerations. It was evident, however, that as went the State of New-York, so would be decided the contest through the whole Union; and as the city of New-York decided, so would the state. Colonel Burr therefore set himself desperately about maturing his plans and perfecting his organizations so as to secure the city of New-York. He was successful. Although in 1799 the Federal party as usual had been triumphant, the year following returned a Democratic Legislature. The star of the Federal party, which from the foundation of the government had been in the ascendant, had now set forever. Presidential electors of the Democratic party were appointed. Burr's services were appreciated by the democracy. He was appointed on the ticket with Mr. Jefferson, for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States. By the Constitution, as it was originally adopted, the person who had the greatest number of votes, if a majority of the whole number given, was president, and the person having the next highest number was vice-president. When the ballots were examined, it was

ascertained that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr were the two highest candidates, and that their votes were equal. So near came Aaron Burr being the chief executive of the United States. The House of Representatives, after a contest producing the most implacable and bitter animosities, decided in favor of Jefferson. Mr. Jefferson was therefore declared president, and Aaron Burr vice-president elect of the United States.

Although it was painfully evident that Jefferson cherished a mortal dislike for Burr, and subsequently left no stone unturned to blast his reputation and ruin his prospects, arising doubtless from the above named contest for the presidency, yet it is equally apparent that Thomas Jefferson could never have taken that distinguished seat but for the eminent services, the indefatigable labors of Colonel Aaron Burr. "This presidential contest, also," says Mr. Davis, "afforded the enemies of Colonel Burr an opportunity to lay deep and broad a foundation from which to assail him with the battering-rams of detraction, falsehood, and calumny; and from that day, until he was driven into exile from the land of his fathers, he was pursued with an intolerance as relentless as the grave. At the height of his popularity, influence, and glory in 1801, we find him, as the consequence of this intolerance and persecution, before the close of 1804, suspected, contemned, derided, prostrated; and all," adds Mr. Davis, "without any wrong act on the part of the vice-president." That he was basely, cruelly belied and traduced; accused falsely of intriguing and bargaining with the opposite party to promote his own election, there probably can be but little doubt. But does not the very fact that he was thus confidently assailed, and persistently followed up with detraction and calumny, indicate that his enemies were aware that there was some fatal defect in his character, and that therefore his reputation could be easily undermined and destroyed? Does not the fact that he was so easily sacrificed, clearly show that his hold upon the confidence and the affections of the people was slender and precarious; that he really never had any place in their heart; that, though indeed he might have committed no overt wrong act, yet there must have been something "rotten in Denmark?" Though we by no means deem Aaron Burr, politically speaking, to have been altogether the dark, dangerous, and dishonest man he impressed others as being, and which his enemies succeeded but too well in making him out, yet there must have been in him an element, a basis of the unscrupulous, without which the slanders of his adversaries could never have taken effect. Perhaps the secret of his fall was, that as a politician he never had any *real* basis, such as great ideas, strong convictions, important original measures, a

grand policy; in short, as Honor was his only god, so it was but too apparent that rather for personal reasons than any great desire to promote the public weal, it was that he had turned politician. Resting upon such a sandy foundation, taken in connection with the fact that his peculiar gifts were not of a nature to charm the multitude, and it ceases to be so much a wonder that he was so easily prostrated.

The animosities, then, to which this presidential contest gave rise, seem to have fixed the destiny of Burr. From this period his direction is downward.

It was during his term of vice-presidency that his famous duel with General Alexander Hamilton was fought. Briefly let us state some of the circumstances which led to that melancholy affair. Hamilton and Burr were among the most notable men of their day, and may be regarded as rather the exponents of their respective parties. Hamilton was a violent, headstrong partisan, yet the basis of his character was noble and disinterested; no man more honorable in his feelings than he; none more generous or more kind. Burr, on the other hand, ever scrupulous with regard to infringing the rights of others, was heartless in the matter of demanding satisfaction when any unfortunately trespassed upon his own. That Hamilton was in the habit of pursuing Burr with denunciation and abuse, none who know the former as the partisan politician will for a moment doubt. Hamilton himself admits that he had said things which bore hard upon both his public and private life. During the campaign for the election of governor of the State of New-York, in 1804, in which Burr was sustained by a wing of the Democratic party as a candidate for that office, a slander was perpetrated under the sanction and cover of General Hamilton's name, which seems to have stung Burr to the quick. Burning under a sense of his wrongs, he demanded of Hamilton an unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expressions which would warrant the assertions that had been publicly made by his friends. Hamilton, for obvious reasons, was not prepared to do either. If Colonel Burr would specify the particular offensive epithet which he was reported to have used, he would make all due explanations. But Colonel Burr would accept nothing less than a general disavowal of any intention on his part in his various conversations to convey any impression derogatory to his honor. Hamilton, while of course he could make no such general disavowal, felt himself debarred from making even those general concessions which he might otherwise have made, by the cold and peremptory manner in which he was addressed. A challenge was the result. On Wednesday, July 12, at seven o'clock

A. M., the parties met at Wehawken, on the Jersey shore. General Hamilton fell mortally wounded at the first fire, was conveyed home in a dying condition, and expired the next day about two o'clock.

That which gives this transaction on Colonel Burr's part quite all the atrocity of murder, is the coolness and deliberate determination, the stern heartlessness with which he pursued his victim. He no doubt had his provocations; felt that he had; but while we do not yet believe them sufficient, or of a nature to justify, according to the world's own "code," the challenge, or withdraw from that transaction the charge of murder, yet had they been, he, by his apparently heartless and revengeful conduct, has forever forfeited the sympathies of his fellows. Yet was this duel even more fatal to himself than to the dead. From that hour forth he wandered a fugitive and outlaw in the earth. In short, the fate of both these men affords a melancholy example of the folly and sin of sacrificing principle to false notions of honor, of substituting pride for honesty, and regarding the speech of people rather than the unequivocal commands of God. This duel, however, was not altogether without its beneficial effects. There can be no doubt but that it served to rouse the mind of the free states to a sense of the execrableness of the practice of dueling, and rendering it forever thereafter entirely odious.

Colonel Burr, much to his surprise, finding that the disastrous results of his meeting with Hamilton had stirred up such a storm of popular indignation against him as to render it quite impracticable to remain at home, escaped to the Southern states, where he remained until the next session of Congress, when he again appeared in Washington to resume his duties as president of the Senate. The last act of importance performed by Colonel Burr in this capacity was to preside in the case of Judge Samuel Chase, who was impeached before the Senate of the United States for high crimes and misdemeanors. Here Colonel Burr evinced all his accustomed promptitude, energy, and dignity. His impartiality and fairness won for him the applause of his opponents as well as friends. It was said of him, indeed, that "he conducted with the dignity and impartiality of an angel, but with the rigor of a devil."

On the fourth of March, 1805, his term of office expired, and he retired forever from public life. On the 2d he took his leave of the Senate. "It had been for some days upon my mind," he says, "to say something upon that occasion, but had nothing prepared." His address, however, was one of great power, and produced an unexpected and profound sensation. The whole Senate, embracing of course many bitter political enemies, were in tears, and so un-

manned, it is said, that it was some time before they sufficiently recovered themselves to come to order and elect a president *pro tem.* In the conclusion of this address occur these memorable words: "This house is a sanctuary—a citadel of law, of order, of liberty—and it is here, it is *here*, in this exalted refuge, HERE, if anywhere, will resistance be made to the storms of political phrensy and the silent arts of corruption; and if the Constitution be ever destined to perish by the sacrilegious hands of the demagogue or usurper, which God avert, its *expiring agonies* will be witnessed on this floor."

The last passage in the life of Colonel Burr, of any particular public interest, is that of his apprehension and trial for treason. For several years previous to 1805, Burr had entertained the project as entirely feasible and practicable, of revolutionizing Mexico. At that time, 1805, it was generally thought that a war with Spain was inevitable. In anticipation of that war Burr began making preparations for an expedition into Mexico, with a view of inducing the people of that province to improve that opportunity afforded them of throwing off the yoke, and declaring themselves independent of the mother country. But in case no such war should be declared, it was his design to settle upon a tract of land which he had purchased, lying in the then Mississippi Territory. But hardly had Burr commenced active operations, before rumors were put afloat and industriously circulated that Aaron Burr was raising an army in the United States for the express purpose of making a fillibuster descent upon Mexico, with a view of wresting it from Spain, a country with which we were then at peace. Nor did these rumors stop here. It was soon whispered that he had hostile intentions against the United States, contemplated the separation of the whole Mississippi Valley from the general government, and establishing there a new realm with himself at the head. Strange as it may appear, these rumors, so utterly without foundation, for his whole force at no time exceeded one hundred and twenty men, immediately struck terror to every heart. Burr seemed for a time abandoned by his most confidential and devoted friends. Even his son-in-law, Governor Alston, of South Carolina, dared hardly to communicate with him. The result was, Colonel Burr was at once arrested as a traitor, transported from Mississippi to Richmond, and, after enduring outrages and cruelty almost beyond description, was brought to trial before the Circuit Court of the United States, Judge Marshall presiding. After a long and tedious trial, in which all the influences, instrumentalities, and means which executive power and patronage could control, that legal skill could invent or eloquence sum-

mon, were employed to secure his conviction, he was acquitted—acquitted not through any clemency or partiality of his judges, but because his own acuteness as a lawyer, and the adroitness with which he managed his defense, enabled him not only to establish incontestably his own innocence, but to thwart the foul designs of those who clamored for his blood.

Not long before Burr's death, he was asked if he ever seriously designed the separation of the Union. He replied with indignation, "that he would as soon have thought of taking possession of the moon, and informing his friends that he intended dividing it up between them." While Texas, aided by thousands of American citizens, was struggling for her independence, he used to say: "Alas, I was thirty years too soon. What was treason in me thirty years ago is patriotism now." This illustrates what was probably his true political character. He was a fillibuster.

The remainder of Colonel Burr's strangely eventful history is soon told. Conceiving that, in view of the personal and political rancor which the death of General Hamilton and various other causes had excited against him, a temporary absence was desirable, after taking every precaution to keep his movements a profound secret, he sailed from New-York on the 7th of June for England. "Like a criminal he fled from the country which had once delighted to honor him—from a city in whose counsels his voice had been potential, and of whose society he had been esteemed an ornament." Rumor, however, "with her thousand tongues," had preceded him. The English government distrusted him. After a few pleasant months, therefore, spent with his favorite master in social and political science, Bentham, he was obliged to flee to the continent, and finally took his way to Paris. After experiencing there a varied fortune, often sunk in poverty and distress, during five years, insulted by both American officials and French, Napoleon, then at the height of his power and glory, giving no heed to his petitions for passports and protection, although his brother Joseph, now just placed upon the Spanish throne, in years agone, when an exile and fugitive in his turn from his native land, had been an old guest at Richmond Hill, he finally secured the necessary papers and recommendations to secure him a passage home, and arrived in Boston June 8th, 1812.

What a comment this upon the instability, the uncertainty of human affairs! Here was the ex-vice-president of the United States reduced so low as to barely eke out a scanty subsistence in a foreign capital, and beg for the paltriest of favors from insolent and purse-proud officials. So true is it, as Juvenal says:

Turba Remi sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
Damnatos.

Immediately upon his return from Europe, or as soon after as relentless creditors would let him, he opened an office, and commenced again the practice of law in the city of New-York. The distinguished reputation with which he retired from the bar in 1801 secured for him at once an extensive and lucrative practice. In this pursuit he passed the remainder of his days.

His wife having now been long dead, and despairing of ever living to redeem the glory he had lost, his thoughts and affections more than ever center in his daughter and her son, Aaron Burr Alston. These were all he had left in the wide world to love or live for. Judge, then, of the sorrow that must have pierced his soul, as he learned, by almost the first mail after his return from Europe, that that fair-haired, intellectual boy, for whom he had felt such constant and increasing anxiety, to whom he was looking to redeem all his own glory and transmit down the mingled blood of Alston and Burr, was indeed dead! Desolating in its effects as was this blow, it was, alas, to be soon followed by another, if possible, still more so. Partly with a view of counteracting the effects of her own deep-settled grief and a disease which was fast wasting her away, and partly to afford her father some consolation under their mutual bereavement, Mrs. Alston left her Southern home, by ship, about the 1st of January, 1813, on this journey. As if to complete for the old man the tragic antithesis of destiny, this beloved and gifted daughter, she who had shed such an angelic ray upon his dark career, was never heard from more. "The agonies of suspense now endured by the husband and father, how eager letters were written by each to tell the other she had not yet arrived, the weary waiting for the mail, the daily hope and daily despair," can of course be neither imagined nor described. Gradually a fixed and settled gloom overshadowed the husband's mind, and when at length the crushing but inexorable conviction could be no longer resisted that his beloved Theodosia too, as well as his son, had passed from his arms and sight forever, that his beloved wife had probably found her final resting-place in the coral caves of old ocean, he drooped and died, the victim of a "weight of woe" which time could neither subdue nor change. But Aaron Burr *still lived.* Though bolt after bolt in rapid succession from the skies had scathed and desolated him, he yet stood alone—majestic in his loneliness, sublime in his desolation. Severed now indeed he was from the human race, without a single object in earth or heaven to place his hopes upon, yet he murmured not, but sternly, calmly continued to walk the earth,

until his head was blanched with the snows of four-score winters. Never very social in his habits, he became less and less so as years wore on. Though not morose in his disposition, he yet felt no sympathy with the living world about him, asked for none.

> "He goes to the river side,
> Nor hook nor line hath he,
> He stands in the meadows wide,
> Nor gun nor scythe to see.
> With none has he to do,
> And none ~~to seek him~~,
> Nor men below,
> Nor spirits dim;"

but in fearful, yet uncomplaining wretchedness, stands to expiate his folly and his sin, conscious that "the thorns he's reaping, though they tear him, and he bleeds, are of the tree he planted." He reminds us of the naked grandeur of the stripped winter oak, torn, perhaps, by lightning and tempest, yet bearing proudly up against the sky, solitary, desolate. Aaron Burr died in the eighty first-year of his age, September 14, 1836, and was "gathered to his fathers." He was buried according to his request, as nearly as possible at the *feet* of his father and grandfather, in the college burial-place at Princeton, with the honors of war, and was followed to his last home by the professors and students of the college, together with several of the clergy and a large concourse of citizens and friends.

Courage and fortitude were the darling virtues of Colonel Burr. He was a man of imperturbable coolness, self-possession, and presence of mind. He never suffered himself to be affected by sudden change of fortune for weal or woe, but cultivated, both in himself and others, a soldierly hardness of character. He was a remarkable business man. He has been called, from his irrepressible activity, "business incarnate." Whatsoever he undertook withal he had a remarkable faculty of bringing to pass. In his diet he was a Spartan, abstemious, temperate. Colonel Burr was generous to a fault, a trait of character attested by the liberal distribution of his own private means among his more destitute companions in arms during the war, until the ample patrimony which he had inherited was quite exhausted; by the crowd of beggars that always thronged his door; by the fact that he always had one or more indigent young men or women with him, in whose education he took a deep interest, one of the most distinguished of whom, perhaps, was the late Vanderlyn, whose "Landing of Columbus," painted for one of the panels in the rotunda at the capitol in Washington, attests at once the genius of the artist and the generosity of his benefactor. Yet his generosity

was not of that nobler kind allied with and made possible through frugality. He freely gave away that with which he ought to have paid his debts, or made provision against the day of his necessities. Whatever other bad qualities Burr had, and they were many, it is said of him that no man would go further to alleviate the sufferings of another, or make greater sacrifices to promote the interests of a friend. He was, moreover, passionately fond of children, and mingled often in their innocent sports. However hard his lot, he never repined. However much he had been the victim of injury and injustice, he never denounced any one.

He came before us first in public life as a *soldier*. As such we found him brave, indefatigable, sacrificing; as an officer, efficient, sagacious, prompt, ranking at the early age of twenty-two among the first. It is true that he seemed to be actuated rather by a love of, and ambition for military glory, than an exalted sentiment of patriotism; yet we are not to forget that in that service he sacrificed his health and patrimony. Though but a boy in appearance, it is said that his presence among his troops was a sufficient pledge of good order, and if at the head of his regiment, almost an equal pledge of victory. He was a rigid disciplinarian, a consummate tactician, and indefatigable in the pursuance of this plan. To what heights of distinction he might have attained, had not his health failed him, we can only conjecture. Mr. Parton says: "Had his Mexican expedition succeeded, I think he had it in him to run as successful a career in Spanish America, as did Napoleon in Europe."

As a *lawyer* Colonel Burr cannot, according to the acute analysis of his biographer, claim a place among the greatest of his profession. Yet as a lawyer of the second rank, as a skillful *practitioner*, rather than one particularly erudite or profound, he thinks his equal never lived.

As a *speaker* he was colloquial in his style, dignified and impressive in manner, resembling, says Mr. Davis, "an elevated tone of conversation, by which a man, without any seeming effort, pours his ideas in measured and beautiful language into the minds of some small select circle, dislodging all they may have previously entertained upon a given subject, and fixing his own there by a magical fascination, which when he chose he could make almost irresistible." His speeches were usually argumentative, short, and pithy. His appeals, whether to judge or jury, were sententious and lucid. No flights of fancy, no parade of impassioned sentences, were to be found in them. Never vehement or declamatory, he was always conciliating and persuasive. Whatever he had to say he spoke boldly, and plainly, and deliberately. Too dignified ever to be a

trifler, his sarcasm rarely created a laugh, but told powerfully upon those who provoked it. It is not a little strange, in view of the signal success which always attended his oratorical efforts, that he should feel, as he has been frequently heard to express himself, that he was no orator, having never spoken with pleasure or even self-satisfaction. Indeed he seems never to have been *proud* of anything save his military career. What he achieved in law or politics was as nothing in his eyes in comparison with his deeds as a soldier of the Revolution. But at any rate, judging from results, but few men could be called more eloquent. Unfortunately no complete or authentic specimen of his eloquence has ever come down to us.

As a *statesman*, less philosophical and profound than Hamilton, far less comprehensive and general in his views than Jefferson, he was yet sagacious, discriminating, and practical, possessing withal an adminstrative ability rarely equaled. He belonged, in a word, to that class of men whom we denominate shrewd, sagacious politicians, rather than profound statesmen. Originating no ideas himself, no man knew better how to invent the necessary tactics to *carry out* the ideas of another. Jefferson said of him that, "he was a great man in little things, but really a small one in great ones." One of the truest remarks Hamilton ever made of his antagonist was, "that his talents were better adapted to a particular plot than a great and wise drama."

Colonel Burr's *mind*, then, cannot be said to have been a comprehensive one, but rather acute, analytical, and discriminating, quick to conceive things in detail, but not calculated to entertain masses of ideas. Distinguished as was Mr. Burr as a polemic, "great and brilliant" as Mr. Parton thinks he would have become as an instructor of youth, we agree with Mr. Davis in thinking that his peculiar intellectual gifts, together with his courtly and fascinating manners, pre-eminently fitted him for diplomacy. While it is altogether idle and vain to speculate upon what he might have become had Washington yielded to the importunities of Madison, Monroe, and others, and appointed him minister to the French Republic, it is yet not only possible, but quite probable, that, standing as he then did in the original brightness of his character, he would have reflected honor upon the country, shed new luster on his own name, and prepared the way for a destiny widely different from what his was.

The morals of Colonel Burr, as is well known, were most corrupt. Believing in the Bible, he yet practically discarded it as useless. Disgusted with the ascetic features of Puritanism, reared under a

type of religion that did not engage his affections nor satisfy his intellect, he seems to have turned his back upon the faith of his fathers altogether; with the rash hand of impatience to have thrown away the sweet with the bitter, all the wheat with the chaff, and to have degenerated into an unnatural example of Voltairian skepticism and Chesterfieldian vanity and falseheartedness. From the beginning to the end of his career we find no trace of moral principle. He never, apparently, felt any compunction of conscience for whatever he may have done; yet, in justice to him, let it be said, he was no foul-mouthed scoffer at religion. His integrity as a politician has been a subject of much discussion. As destitute as he was of any moral principle, as exclusive, exacting, and subtle as was his selfishness, we yet have no evidence that he ever abandoned his convictions for a price. Though his path was indeed a tortuous one, yet it was not therefore necessarily one of *perfidious* intrigue. Though his ambition was without limit or restraint, we have no evidence that it was a treasonable ambition. Unscrupulous as he was in the use of means, it would yet be difficult to point out a single instance in his public life where he was ever disloyal.

With regard to the matter of Burr's relations with women there is some difference of opinion between Mr. Davis and Mr. Parton. The former says: "The sacred bonds of friendship were unhesitatingly violated when they operated as barriers to the indulgence of his passions." And such has ever been the prevailing opinion. But Mr. Parton assures us, on the other hand, on what to him appears good authority, that Mr. Burr has been somewhat belied in this matter; that he was far from being the tricky Satanic monster of prevailing tradition; that he was no debauchee; that he gave no evidence of a love for any of the grosser forms of licentiousness; that indeed for him to have been a sensualist of a brutal order, would have been a constitutional impossibility. He assures us that he was "no corrupter of virgin innocence, no despoiler of honest households, no betrayer of tender confidences, but only a man of gallantry," who, except invited, never was guilty of carrying an intrigue to the point of criminality, etc. But this description, after all, only converts him into the smooth, smiling, plausible demon, a character indeed reminding us forcibly of Goethe's Mephistophiles in Faust.

Colonel Burr was about five feet six inches in height. He was well-formed and erect in his attitudes. In all his movements there was a military air. Although of small stature there was a loftiness of mien about him that could not pass unnoticed by a stranger. His deportment was polished and courtly. His features were regular, and generally considered handsome. His eye was jet black,

with a brilliancy never surpassed, while his whole manner, whether performing the appropriate civilities of the drawing-room, or furnishing entertainment in a more privately social way, was inconceivably fascinating. Strange that a man whom nature formed to move in so exalted a sphere of usefulness, should ever consent to be influenced, much less actuated, by considerations other than such as ought to govern an honorable mind; nay, condescend to wallow in the quagmire of insatiate and unhallowed passion, to draggle the pinions of a spirit which might and ought to have been an angel of light to the world, in the cess-pools of infamy and lust. Yet this only teaches that important lesson, so often taught, that intellectual strength is no defense against the cruel power of temptation, no guarantee of dominion over ourselves. Had this most remarkable man, created manifestly by the God of nature to put forth a commanding agency in human affairs, only fashioned his character after the type and pattern furnished in the Gospel; had he but consented to have been guided by those high moral considerations by which a Milton, a Burke, or a Washington were guided, and upon which alone can be predicated success; had he, in a word, but consented to have been a faithful servant of the Most High, his life, instead of being a signal and unhappy failure, as now, might have been a victorious success. His name, instead of being universally held up to execration and "cast out as evil," might have been gratefully remembered for all coming time; where he now may have been a curse, he might have been the instrument of vast benedictions to millions. But his career now looms up dark in the history of the past, as a signal token of God's eternal displeasure with such as, though responsible for a mighty influence in the world, dare to trifle with it by living "without God." The results of his conduct verify the words of Young:—

> "Talents, angel bright,
> If wanting worth, are shining instruments
> In false ambition's hand, to finish faults
> Illustrious, and give infamy renown;"

and in his own experience as faithfully verify the fearful predictions of the Psalmist concerning those that forget God: "His house and his heart shall be left unto him desolate; his life shall be smitten down to the ground, and he made to dwell in darkness as one long dead." We behold in him, if not all that Gilfillan saw in his ancient prototype in Paradise Lost, "the clouded ruins of a God," at least the wreck of all that is divine in man. "He lived," indeed, as Washington Irving said of King Philip," a wanderer and a fugitive in his native land, and went down at last

like a lonely bark, foundering amid darkness and tempest, without a pitying eye to weep his fall, or a friendly hand to record his struggle."

Art. V.—HUDSON ON A FUTURE LIFE.

Debt and Grace, as related to the Doctrine of a Future Life. By C. F. Hudson. 12mo., pp. 472. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1857.

The present age of theology is eminently characterized by a re-examination of fundamental positions which were supposed to have been long since settled; and among these the knottiest subjects have been sturdily grappled with. The striking peculiarity of many of these efforts is that they have originated in Christian minds, thus differing from the hostile attacks which infidels of the last century, and doubters of the modern school, have made upon the cardinal doctrines of the Bible. It is noticeable that Calvinism, especially, has not only lost the firm grasp upon its advocates which once led them unflinchingly to maintain its direst tenets, but it has undermined many of the basis truths of Christianity in those earnest, inquiring minds that have once begun to question its dogmas. Most of the erratic theories that have lately been broached among us on the hard questions of free will, free grace, and free destiny, have evidently been the reactions of yearning souls long bound down under the iron dicta of this system; yet it is noteworthy, that most, or all, of these, when they have rejected the dogmas of this stern theology, (for it is too repugnant to assimilate with *humanity*,) have nevertheless failed to attain the equipoise of a just Arminianism; they have either groped helplessly in the dark, confessing themselves bewildered with a conflict which they are unable to terminate, or they have rushed to some extreme of downright heterodoxy. We suspect another of these struggles in the conclusions arrived at in a new work, the title of which we give above; a book which, by its extent of research, cogent and fearless reasoning, no less than by the magnitude and interest of the topics handled, is probably destined to exert a marked influence in theological circles. It proposes to solve the great enigma of the continuance of sin in an endless future, by the extinction of the sinner from being; but it sets forth the proposition of annihilation from a Christian point of view, and discusses the questions involved in a manner and spirit so different from other

treatises that have advocated this theory, as to justify us in a more extended review than such efforts usually merit.

Setting out with a brief historico-critical sketch of the various philosophies that have been broached, touching the ground and final cause of man's immortality, in the course of which the author develops the central problem of his book—the permission of evil, and that perpetually, by a Creator of perfect power and goodness; he next proceeds to show the antagonism necessarily subsisting between these two principles, which he maintains is essentially *Dualism.* This he traces in the various systems in which it has been embodied in different ages; and applying it to the different Christian schemes, he reduces these, in respect to the solution of the question of evil, to "four theologies:" (1.) It is God's necessity, which is bald Dualism; (2.) It is his choice, which is Absolutism; (3.) It is of Nature, which virtually abnegates sin, and results in Pantheism or Atheism; (4.) It is permitted, which is doubtless the ordinary opinion. The effects of each of these theories, which he fastens upon several systems of Christian divinity that have been esteemed as orthodox, he admirably illustrates, as producing in pious minds what he calls, severally, "an agony of faith," "a prostitution or else a prostration of faith," "an eclipse of faith," and "a trial with eventually a triumph of faith." He next examines, with great rigor of analysis and severe logical deduction, the various solutions of the great problem thus brought to view, in the *theodicies*, as he terms them; namely, the justification of eternal punishment, on the following grounds: God's sovereignty; as against his infinite majesty or love, or his just government; for the sake of example; as against the universal welfare; as being of infinite demerit in itself; as against absolute duty; as intrinsically eternal, either past or future; as the greatest evil; as required by the Divine foreknowledge; as inherently connected with free-will; as the choice of infinities, or of two penalties; and various other reasons that have been assigned as its final cause. Nearly all these, we think, he conclusively shows to be either untenable or insufficient; hence he infers that neither evil nor its punishment will be endless, and this constitutes his own "*theodicy.*" At this point we take occasion to notice, by way of specimen, his disposition of two of these methods of solution; one because it is that most frequently resorted to, and the other because it is our view; and in the same connection to inquire whether his own solution of the problem is more satisfactory.

It is commonly claimed that the everlasting punishment of sin is just, because due to the infinite attributes of God, which have thereby been offended; for it is maintained that the character of the party wronged is the true measure of guilt. To this, in addition to counter-

arguments of lesser importance, the author substantially objects that it deduces infinite qualities from the relations of finite things. However infinite God may be, his perfections do not enhance the guilt of the sinner, except in proportion as the latter is able to apprehend them; and as he, being himself finite, can never perfectly do this, his sin must necessarily lack the element of infinity. In short, man's capacity, being limited, is not adequate to the production of anything really infinite. The objection appears to us logically insurmountable; and we may be permitted to remark, that we have always felt a misgiving when we have heard this assumed as the vindication of endless penalties of the Divine law. For, again, as the author continues, by parity of reason, every good act would have an infinity of merit, and so the account would be balanced, if a single act of genuine obedience could be offset against one's sins; since the latter, however enormous, aggravated, or repeated, would be equally infinite. In a word, this theory admits no degrees of guilt.

The other theodicy to which we refer is the doctrine of the perpetual sinfulness of the lost, not by reason of their destiny, but as a result of their own choice; thus incurring ever renewed and increasing guilt, which calls for a parallel punishment. That such will continue to be the case in the other world, if the sinner continues to exist, is the unavoidable inference from the known laws of his being; for we have no faith in those statements sometimes made respecting the contrition of the damned: *remorse* they doubtless will feel in all its power—a sense of self-destruction; but if true *penitence* were possible in hell, then reformation and salvation must be supposed as the sequel. The author takes exceptions to this solution, as being founded in a distinction between moral and natural inability on the part of the sinner, which, while it leaves his will theoretically free to choose the right even in the other world, still denies him the actual possibility of ever doing so; for without the former he cannot continue to incur sin, and with the latter his punishment might cease. But the same distinction is clearly applicable to many sinners in the present life, so that we may properly speak of hardened offenders as incapable of reform, without meaning that they have no freedom to do so; thus the Scriptures themselves represent it as impossible to those that are accustomed to do evil to learn to do well, as much so as for the leopard to change his spots or the Ethiopian his skin. And this inability is one that affects not merely man's passions and emotional susceptibilities, so depraved that he has no power whatever in himself to restore them to rectitude; it applies with equal truth, but in a somewhat different sense, to his will itself; it is God that must work in us both to will and to do,

before we can be saved. If, then, habits of sin may become so confirmed, even in the present probationary state, that the sinner's reform may become hopeless, and his final character certainly evil; there is no difficulty, surely, in supposing his continued impenitence and depravity equally or even more desperately fixed, beyond the slightest chance of change, in the future state, without in the least impeaching his free-will or lessening his guilt. There is a wide difference between certainty and necessity: the sinfulness of the lost is the result not so much of any external compulsion, as an inevitable issue of their own spiritual state and of self-induced corruption. But even if it were still more of the nature of infliction than this, there would be no injustice in its continuance, nor would this be any palliation for its guilt; since men in this life have the opportunity of preventing such a moral condition in themselves, and are therefore justly chargeable with all the wickedness that they may entail upon themselves. Besides, the gracious assistance of the Holy Spirit, without which we are assured none can ever avail themselves of the offers of salvation, even when made, will be withdrawn beyond the grave, and in its stead the lost soul will be shut up to all its self-polluting forces and only contaminating associations; this of itself is sufficient to insure a perpetuity of sinfulness. As God was not under any obligation originally to furnish either salvation or this aid to it, so he may justly at any time withhold them; and still less can complaint be made, on the part of the finally wicked, for the loss of those influences which during their whole lives they only neglected and sought to extinguish. In fine, if this life be a probation at all, there must not only be two spheres of existence beyond, of a nature severally correspondent to the divergent characters of its subjects, after these shall have become so confirmed as not to be liable to any reversion by reason either of inherent capability or of external solicitation; but these future conditions must each be such as to illustrate and vindicate the stability of these opposite characters; that is, they must be scenes of conscious happiness or misery flowing from them, and yet persistently cherished by their subjects; still further, these characters must have been permanently formed in this life, and thus, for a longer or less term, measurably have afforded an actual type of the hereafter of each. For whatever may be predicated of the lot of the righteous saved, may with equal propriety, in an opposite direction, belong to that of the wicked lost; if the one are to be rewarded (however at the outset a gratuity) with immortal blessedness, it is fit that the other should be punished (however self-induced) by endless pain.

Passing by other less important objections raised by the author

against this solution, as being substantially met by the above presentation of it, we notice his concluding one, namely, that it has no countenance in the Scriptures, which represent the sentence of eternal punishment as the penalty of past sins, those "done in the body." This is true of the sentence itself, as we have shown above; it is in accordance with the previous conduct of the individual during probation; but its continuance through eternity is based upon the already evinced incorrigible permanence of the character thus formed. Were this susceptible of reform, the penalty likewise would not be unalterable. The same principle is observed in human judgments: a criminal is imprisoned for life—the utmost limit to which finite justice can pursue him, not because he has been criminal for a commensurate term, but because, perhaps by a single act, he has manifested such thorough depravity as affords no prospect of improvement through his entire future; he is only put to death—the penalty proposed by the author—when he has shown such dangerous guilt that society is otherwise incapable of defense against him.

We have thus shown, we think, that one at least of the schemes for solving the difficulty of endless punishment rejected by the author, is sound and adequate; others that he has repudiated doubtless contain more or less truth, and may serve to afford collateral support to this. It remains, on this branch of the subject, to inquire as to the tenability of the theory of the author—the annihilation of the wicked, as a vindication of Divine justice. The capital objection of a metaphysical nature that we name against it, is, that it excludes all gradations of punishment, and thus reduces all degrees of sin to a common level of enormity. We are taught that there will be various ranks among the saints in glory, corresponding to their advancement in virtue, holiness, and usefulness here; and reason demands that sinners should in like manner be punished with different degrees of severity according to the measure of their guilt. Indeed, it may fairly be questioned whether a deprivation of existence would be any punishment at all, and not rather a refuge "from the wrath of God." But waving this for the present, we cannot see, after all the ingenuity of the author on this point, how justice can be satisfied by an indiscriminate extermination of the guilty, in whatever degree, by the same penalty. Can it be shown that this infliction will be more dreadful to those most deeply stained with sin? On the contrary, as it is only a penalty *in prospect*, it must be most awful to those whose moral susceptibilities are not altogether deadened, that is, to the comparatively innocent. Again, what penalty of a positive kind can be substituted for that of hell? The

author finds a sufficient infliction in the pangs of conscience. But this is liable to the same fatal objection; it falls with least weight upon the most abandoned in sin. Furthermore, there is often no opportunity for the infliction at all, since death surprises many a sinner in the midst of his crimes, and allows him scarcely a moment's anticipation of punishment. Shall the intermediate state be assumed as the penal dungeon, where remorse shall prey in due proportion upon the vitals of the culprit? That too is unequal punishment; for then the antediluvians and Sodomites will have suffered ages longer than the more guilty denizens of modern times, if a general judgment is to be the signal of the release of both from purgatory: and if even this last be also repudiated, then we know of no fixed walls to the prison-house of despair, and the intermediate state becomes merged in the very eternity denied. And in either case, the hypothesis itself is subverted by the supposition of a miserable existence of the wicked beyond the grave. In short, the theory is loaded with all the difficulties of rank Universalism, except the bald absurdity of introducing impenitent sinners arbitrarily into heaven; it eliminates them by a more summary process.

Many annihilationists seek to avoid this objection drawn from the indiscriminate punishment of the wicked, by the supposition of a sort of lingering "second death" awaiting them in the other world; thus making the penalty of sin a negative one only in so far as it consists ultimately in an extinction of being, and, in that respect, not susceptible of degrees, but positive with regard to the mode by which that extermination is reached, which they conceive to consist of a series of agonies wearing out the vitality of the soul, and thus graduated, both in duration and intensity, to the demerits of the individual. We cannot discover that Mr. Hudson distinctly avows this theory, but as it might be urged as an offset to our argument above, he is entitled to whatever advantage may be found in it. To our mind this solution of the fate of the lost is clogged with additional difficulties. In the first place, even this gradation of suffering must act with great inequality and disproportion to the moral character of the sinner, for if the suffering be of a physical character, or rather, (since it is of the soul that we are principally speaking,) if it come from some external influence, in the nature of an infliction, its very intensity would the sooner destroy the being, and in any case, as the power of endurance is a fixed and limited term in the equation, the severity of the pain would always be inversely to its time, and the product of the two would thus, in every case, be equal; if, on the other hand, the penalty be a moral one, consisting in the

pangs of conscience or the like, the greatest offenders, usually being those having the least susceptibility of moral feeling, would suffer the least anguish, and scarcely experience destruction at all from any inconvenience of this nature. In the second place, the soul, by its very nature, is incapable of such a "dying by inches" as this theory supposes; being an indivisible unit, it cannot suffer loss by attrition under any process however severe; pain has no tendency to destroy its essence, nor even to impair its fundamental powers; nothing but the same Almighty fiat that first called it into being can ever deprive it of existence. Again: if this arbitrary exercise of Omnipotence must at last be resorted to in order to extinguish the soul, then the previous agony which it undergoes is not only fruitless of any purpose, but seems like the wanton torture of a criminal before execution; nor can it avail to render the punishment of individuals commensurate with their guilt, for it bears no adequate proportion to the great final act of indiscriminate annihilation, if this latter be really penal at all; indeed, this theory, while professing to ignore the pains of hell, actually concedes their necessity as the penalty of sin in another world, and superadds another doom beyond them. Lastly, such a cessation of being, both as regards the gradual stages of dissolution, and the *coup de grace* by which we must suppose it eventually to end, is inconsistent with all that we know of the soul's condition in the future world, a destiny so fixed and final from the moment of the sentence at the day of judgment, as to admit neither of a lingering nor an abrupt transition to the very opposite of entity, at any subsequent epoch in its duration.

Immortality is pre-eminently a doctrine of revelation; the heathen world, with its utmost stretch of reasoning, failed to gain more than an inkling of its truth, and even this was probably due to the effects of popular tradition that had come down from primeval religion. But dim as was the light of antiquity, it was sufficient to point out a scene of retribution for sin in the future world; and all mythological systems have embodied the idea of a Tartarus no less than of an Elysium. It appears that the speculations of unassisted human reason have rather tended to obscure and bewilder the belief of a future state than to confirm it; and hence the philosophies of ancient and modern times have always exhibited more of skepticism than the mass of men have entertained. As Christians, we all acknowledge that the Bible contains the only clear and authoritative voice on this momentous question. We doubt whether abstract reasoning has ever furnished even collateral proof of the immortality of the soul. The argument of Drew and others, drawn from its immateriality, is especially a failure. It amounts to this: that the

soul, being immaterial, is indivisible, and therefore indestructible. But for this very reason, if at all, it is liable to perish: matter, however minutely divided or greatly changed in form, is incapable, so far as we know, of destruction, except by infinite power; but the soul, being a unit, and ethereal in its substance, might, for aught in analogy to the contrary, drop from existence with the cessation of the organism that apparently called it into being, or perhaps only developed it as a peculiar relation of physical elements. If, on the contrary, the soul could be shown to be material, it would have a tangibility of character much more likely, in the eye of simple reason, to give it permanence of existence. The ancients, accordingly, scarcely doubted the eternity of matter, but only of their own souls. All reliable information, therefore, respecting the future state of the human spirit, whether good or bad, must be sought in the Holy Scriptures; and here the author of the present treatise ought to have come, in the first instance, for light, rather than to have first puzzled himself with philosophical abstrusities on points where reason is incompetent to decide. Difficulties of a scientific, experimental, or exegetical character, we admit, may often properly be decided by argumentation, aside from the declarations of Scripture; or, if in any wise theological, rather supplementary to it; but the distinction between the destiny of the good and bad, if ascertainable at all, must be clearly fixed in the sacred pages. To this test, we are therefore glad that the author at last appeals, in an extended and critical manner; but it is evidently with a temper already biased by the foregoing speculations, anxious to ascertain whether the force of Scripture texts bearing upon the point at issue, may not be explained away, so as not to offer material obstruction to the theory proposed, rather than with a frank unprepossessed desire to seek the spontaneous utterance of the Divine oracles.

We have room to notice but a few of these passages, as handled by the author, and shall select, as the first specimen of his line of argumentation, one that is acknowledged by himself to be the most important and oftenest referred to in this controversy. "These shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." Matt. xxv, 46. Waiving any advantage that might be taken from an equivocal sense of the term "everlasting," (for that would have been equally fatal to the "endless" existence of the righteous,) the author, in commenting on this passage, first accepts the rendering "punishment" as a just equivalent of the original, and then seeks, by a copious but ingeniously selected array of citations, to show that it may refer to any penal infliction, even of a privative character; and concludes by insisting upon the con-

trast with "life" in the parallel clause, as showing that it refers to a simple and literal extinction from being, or *death* of the soul itself, as well as of the body. By this method of special pleading, the whole distinctive force of the text, so far as relates to this doctrine, is frittered away, (as any passage may be upon whatever special point,) and the whole at last reduced to this frigid meaning: *These shall forever be blotted out of being, but the righteous shall possess immortal blessedness.* But it does not appear to have struck the writer, how ill adapted is the language employed, if meant to teach the annihilation of the wicked, and what a capital opportunity was neglected by our Saviour to be explicit on this doctrine if true. What more natural than for him to have used the term "death," a perfect antethesis to "life," and one sometimes employed singly in the Scriptures, if that was what he meant. But "punishment," thus absolutely placed, cannot, after all, by any fair exegesis, be made equivalent to a negative privation of being; it evidently refers to some positive infliction, some suffering that corresponds to the idea of human punishment. The word itself, κόλασις, is expressive of the application of force, as in scourging, buffeting, or maiming; it alludes literally to the clipping or *pruning* of trees and vines, and is used tropically of correction, especially by personal *chastisement.* (See Robinson's *Lexicon of the N. T.*, s. v.) In the New Testament it only occurs elsewhere in 1 John iv, 18, where it is spoken figuratively of mental agony induced by fear, and is rendered "torment;" and the kindred verb κολάζω is used in Acts iv, 21, of the "punishing" of the apostles by stripes, by order of the Jewish Sanhedrim. No one, but an advocate of the author's theory, would ever have dreamed of his interpretation. The passage as clearly speaks of a severe infliction of conscious pain as any language that could well have been used. But more, a *place* of punishment, and not a state merely, is clearly intimated by the phrase, "shall go away;" there is to be a hell, as well as a heaven. At least the imagery of the final judgment employed in this entire connection, requires the personal presence and conscious participation of all the parties concerned, and a specific allotment of destiny that must locate its subjects somewhere in the universe, although, as is probable, the terms employed are merely symbolical, the real torment or bliss being within the breast, and consisting mainly of a consciousness of the Divine frown or favor. The idea of a locality of suffering is especially evident in the parallel verse, (41,) where the doom is more explicitly set forth by the terms "depart—into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Now these beings, we know, have not been annihilated; nor could such a fate be couched with

any propriety under this language. Finally, if the author's exegesis be allowed, and a perfect parallel supposed to be intended between the two members of the sentence, so that "life" in one shall answer to "death" in the other; then it follows, either that as simple cessation of being is predicated of the bad, so mere continuance of existence is promised to the good; or if these terms be taken, as the author allows, in the Jewish sense of the blessings attendant upon life and the reverse, then the endless happiness of the righteous is still asserted to have its counterpart in the unending misery of the wicked. There is no escape from the alternative; the fate of the lost is linked by an explicit contrast with the destiny of the good, and there is the same warrant for the woe of the one as for the bliss of the other.

Passing by the other proof-texts adduced by the author, and held by him as insufficient to sustain the doctrine in question, (for we do not think he has been particularly happy in selecting the most forcible or pertinent ones,) we propose to examine a few others which he appears to have overlooked, or not to have thought worth considering, but which to our mind seem quite conclusively to teach the endless being of the wicked in a state of misery. The apostle Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, after having drawn a graphic picture of the enormities of the Gentile world, (chap. i,) proceeds (in chap. ii) to bring home the penalty of equally great sins upon the self-righteous Jew, who was ready to concede the justice of the punishment denounced upon the Gentile. The whole passage is a series of arguments and appeals based upon the admitted tenet in question. "We are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things; and thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?" (verses 2, 3.) Now what "judgment" is the writer speaking of? That is the very thing we want to ascertain. According to Mr. Hudson's theory, it ought to be final extinction from being. Let us see, as we read on. "But after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thyself wrath, against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his deeds," (verses 5, 6.) Here the "judgment" is represented as *accumulating* (an idea inapplicable to annihilation) against a fixed period, when it is to be "revealed" by actual infliction. The next clause clearly states the nature of the final award. "To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honor and immortality, *eternal life;* but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, *indignation and*

wrath, TRIBULATION AND ANGUISH, UPON EVERY SOUL OF MAN THAT DOETH EVIL, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honor, and peace to every man that worketh good," (verses 7–10.) Here is a multiplication of terms, all expressive of the idea of *pain* or suffering as the future lot of the wicked, which no artifice of dialectics can obscure or explain away. If the apostle meant anything at all by them, and did not employ terms entirely at random, he must have intended to convey this meaning. We see, too, the same antithesis between the destiny of the good and the bad, as in the passage examined above; "tribulation and anguish" are set over against "eternal life," for even *eternal death* was too weak a term to contain the intense allotment of the lost. Nor is there here any opportunity to refer the language to any temporal or social calamity about to await the guilty in the present life, such as the destruction of Jerusalem, etc.; for the warning is addressed to a supposed inhabitant of Rome, and is moreover extended to "every soul of man that doeth evil." Finally, as if to exclude all ambiguity, and render it certain that he was alluding to the awards of eternity, the apostle adds, at the conclusion of the whole asseveration of the impending "judgment," the explicit statement, "In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel," (ver. 16.) That positive and conscious suffering after "the day of judgment" is here spoken of, can admit of no reasonable doubt. That it is also to be unending in its character, arises not only from the nature of the case, but is amply set forth in other passages of Scripture, which speak of its duration.

But why should we multiply passages on this subject? One, if explicit, is as good as a score. It appears to be impossible even for inspiration so to frame its statements in human language as not to be liable to be perverted and misinterpreted by human ingenuity. For instance, the parable of the rich man and Lazarus would seem to be conclusive on the question of the future suffering of the wicked. But according to Mr. Hudson, it "simply denotes that there can be no improvement of the condition of those who die out of Christ. Aside from this, it proves nothing beyond the judgment. It belongs to the intermediate state." And thus the entire penalty due to sin is shifted or rather confined to the interval between death and the final judgment. Truly, if this be so, the wicked have cause to look forward to that awful day with anticipations rather of desire than of dread, for it will be the signal for their release from the most frightful agonies, albeit by the alternative of non-existence. We doubt whether any would not prefer the latter, as the least of two evils.

Connected with this point, the author has a chapter on the relations of the soul to the body, in which he displays, as everywhere else, a great degree of shrewd analysis and extensive examination of theories, rather than a broad and deep power of deduction. Some of his speculations on this topic are exceedingly ingenious and plausible. His discussions also exhibit considerable learning, without much solidity or balance of scholarship. His conclusion is a singular form of *materialism*—a system which he formally discards and denounces. He regards the body as the "externalization" of the soul, its outward development, and requisite to its complete subsistence; so that it is only necessary for the Almighty utterly and forever to blot the body out of being, in order effectually to extinguish the soul, for all the intents and purposes of existence. Why, then, he is compelled to ask, at the close, why are the unjust also to experience a resurrection of the body, seeing they are immediately to be destroyed altogether? The question is certainly very natural. The author disposes of the seeming difficulty of this useless miracle, amounting, under the circumstances, to a wanton act of tantalization, after his own fashion. He finds its analogy in the death of damaged seeds by the spontaneous effort of germination! as if there were any basis here for a comparison involving a moral issue. To come to a more direct vindication, he thinks that the redemption procured by Christ may avail so far, even to the unbelieving, as to quicken their souls and thereby their bodies into a temporary life. "Even bad men in Christendom are familiar with moral sentiments, great truths of humanity, which the heathenish intellect has not conceived. May not such truths, as food to the souls even of those who do not cleave to him who is the Truth and the Life, cause death itself to be divided, as the proper effect and token of redemption?" Sheer transcendentalism. We look for a more positive and Divine cause of the resurrection, whether of the just or unjust; and we demand a more consistent and worthy purpose for it too. If the body is not to be the vehicle of more perfect bliss or misery, we must regard its resuscitation as nugatory; if it is only raised that it may be at once destroyed, we can only conceive of the act as one of solemn trifling.

The author devotes two long chapters to "the historical argument" for his theory, in which he boldly attempts to show that it has been substantially held by the wisest, best, and most reliable, not only among ancient philosophers, but even of the early Church fathers; and that it was distinctly repudiated by none, unless by the Pharisees and similar errorists. Now, if it were worth while, we would be tempted to undertake a defense of these maligned Phari-

sees, inasmuch as, for aught that appears to the contrary, their *doctrines* were generally correct; it was their practice which the Saviour so often condemned. But we should scarcely have been prepared for so hardy an attempt on the part of our author, as that of deriving confirmation of his theory from other than very dubious ancient writers, whether Christian or otherwise, did we not know that precisely the same claim has been advanced, and maintained with more or less plausibility and learned array of citations, by almost every form of false doctrine in vogue in the Church. Moreover, if the annihilation of the wicked can be harmonized with the statements of Christ and his apostles—and Mr. Hudson, as we have seen, contends for no less than this—it matters little what other authorities may or may not be in favor of it. We therefore turn over this whole elaborate portion of his book to others more competent or disposed to sift it; believing, for our own part, that scarcely any doctrine is so absurd that it might not derive some support from heathen philosophers and even Church fathers. We say this without designing to disparage the author's laborious researches into the history of the subject, which really appear to have been quite extensive, or meaning to reflect upon the value of such references to earlier opinions on controversial subjects in general; but simply to show the unreliable character of conclusions drawn from such investigations when pursued for a partisan purpose, or to bolster up a favorite system.

The remaining chapters of the book are occupied with several collateral and consequential considerations, intended to exhibit the superiority of the theory advocated in meeting the various problems and practical demands of ethics and Christianity. The space to which we have limited this article will permit us only to name the titles of these chapters, which are on "the philosophy of error," "the harmony of Christian doctrine," "the paradoxes of penalty," "the missionary spirit," and "the highest good." They include numerous subordinate topics of much interest, and their discussion gives completeness and symmetry to the main views advanced throughout the volume. Taken as a whole, it is by far the most complete treatise of its kind that we have met with, and we should not be surprised to find its positions extensively adopted by the adherents of that shifting system of belief termed Universalism, with which it exhibits many striking features of brotherhood.

In concluding these remarks, we observe that the odium of Dualism cast by the author upon the doctrine of endless evil in the person of the lost, is not just. The imputation would be correct only in case evil were represented as an original self-producing principle,

independent of the Creator. But here it is the offspring of one of his creatures, and therefore the product of an arrangement which, for certain unknown reasons, he has himself permitted. It is in the same sense that the prophet Isaiah, in refutation of this very reprobated doctrine of Dualism as held by the Persians, whom he represents by Cyrus, says of Jehovah that "he creates light and darkness, good and evil." Now, to our mind, there is no greater intrinsic difficulty in admitting the perpetual existence of evil, in this permitted (or indeed in any) form, than in its temporary continuance. It is always and utterly abhorrent to the Divine nature, and if he can allow it for a moment, why not for a long time, or forever, if he see fit? That he has seen fit to permit its existence and introduction among angels and men, is certain; why, we cannot, at present, perhaps we shall never discover. The author quotes with approbation Neander's sentiment, that sin is *per se* unaccountable, abnormal; and that if any final cause could be assigned for it, it would that moment cease to be sin, because it would become reasonable. A similar remark might be made of its continuance; at least we may say that our faculties are equally incompetent to comprehend the Divine method of adjusting its perpetuity to his economy. Now in advance, were we as uncertain of the fact of sin, as we now are of its future being, we should doubtless deem the idea equally incompatible with the Divine attributes; but we are sure that sin does exist; the most hardy rationalist cannot deny the stubborn palpable fact; and this should teach mankind humility and caution in pronouncing upon the reasonableness of its endless continuance. Were we at liberty to construct our own theology, and frame the universe according to it, we should doubtless fashion it very differently from the actual about us, and we might pride ourselves greatly upon our skill; but a wiser, because a broader induction would teach us to prefer the scheme which God has effected, whatever difficulties may appear for the present to beset it. The immortal work of Butler has long ago effectually met, on analogical grounds, the central difficulty that has driven our author into the theory of the final destruction of the wicked. The present treatise is calculated to take a strong hold of the Christian mind, not only from its plausibility, but especially from the general and deep-seated feeling of reluctance felt in the pious heart to realize the everlasting misery of so many fellow-beings, perhaps among them several intimate friends or dear relatives. But this tenderness may be misplaced, and should rather be called an amiable weakness than a holy sympathy. Do we love our nearest kindred better than God who made us all, or Christ who died for them as well as for us? Let us remember He is to be the

final Judge, and will award exact justice. Could we behold and realize sin in its full turpitude, so far from pitying it, we should be unable to look upon it otherwise than with horror. The revelations of the last day will no doubt clear up whatever of mystery now envelops this awful subject; and vindicate the Divine severity, even in the eyes of those who shall be its hapless victims.

Art. VI.—BÉRANGER.

Œuvres Complètes de Béranger. Paris: 1857.

"A man may be sair mistaen about mony things," says the Ettrick Shepherd, "such as yepics, and tragedies, and tales, and even lang-set elegies about the death o' great public characters, and hymns, and odds, and the like, but he canna be mistaen about a sang." It has been customary in most of the monarchical governments of continental Europe, to teach all young noblemen, and even every one who lays any claim to gentle blood, to spurn Béranger's songs, so long had the old minstrel been tuning his harp to republican strains. Monarchs have by no means been the last to learn the power of song, and a loyal policeman is never more on duty than when he hears at dead of night the distant sound of some chorus, which the royal band has never been known to perform in the public promenade. Poor Béranger never wished any man put in prison on his account, if for no other reason than that he knew what it was to live on prison fare; but no doubt some of his stirring songs have done what he has often wept over, and no living man can divine a tithe of their destiny. Old Homer little thought that those legends which he sang as he wandered through the towns of Asia Minor, would be at once the most glorious legacy of his language to the world, and the pride of many a succeeding people. The *Marseillaise* may lead more republican Frenchmen to victory than it has done, and the future biographer of "Yankee Doodle" may have more to say of it than that it figured largely, in its own wonder-working way, on Bunker Hill and on the plains of Mexico.

Pierre-Jean de Béranger was born at Paris, August 17, 1780. His mother and father separated, *à la Française*, a short time after their marriage, and his paternal grandfather took charge of him until he was nine years old. He was then sent to Peronne, under the

care of an aunt who lived there and kept an inn. She sent him to school, a Republican one too, and the old lady was sorry enough when she heard that her little nephew could make a better revolutionary speech than any other boy in school. She was a Catholic and loved her king, both of which facts made it the darkest day she ever groped through when the Revolution closed the church doors in Péronne. One day at this early age he was found reading one of the most pernicious of Voltaire's books, and when the name of Voltaire is mentioned it summons to our sight that host of harpies which infected so many innocent hearts in France with the poison of infidelity at the close of the last century, and which made the nation what it now is, the offspring of Catholicism, Voltaire-atheism, and Rousseau-socialism. There can be no doubt that the books of the arch-atheist exerted great influence on Béranger's mind in his early life; and what is saddest of all, that influence is still in force.

From the school Béranger went into a printing-office, and while an apprentice there he composed an edition of André Chénier Here he showed his talent for poetry. His employer became interested in him, and taught him the principles of prosody, with other higher branches of the French language. It was the kindness of that publisher which first made him feel that he was a poet. His muse began to show him the most dazzling visions of a great name. In fact, his whole future life was one gilded romance. Alas for the dreams of youth! but what would ninety-nine hundreths of the great men ever have done without them? Carlyle says it is the true mark of a genius (we forget the exact phraseology) that he does not know his greatness. Admit it sometimes, but not in Béranger's case. Every action of his at this period of his life proves that he knew and felt his innate power. He could not rest until he was back in Paris, where his hand and heart might do something for Republicanism. Soon we find him there railing at the extravagant manners and effeminacy of the Directory in the "Hermaphrodites." The story was no exaggeration. He had told the bold, simple truth, and for that reason the piece never saw the light on the French stage. The love of truth was one of the strongest instincts of his nature, and he despised with a cordial hatred that extravagance and luxury which made France bleed at that day—and not much less so at this—from every pore.

Imagine him now a young man, with his hands tied by the restrictions of the police and real grinding poverty. A sudden change in the king's favor had left his father without a franc, although that father was a cringer and a courtier. The young poet loved Paris. It was his first home, and the wool cockades of 1789—the Republi-

cans were too democratic to wear silk ones—were still in his memory. The bell of the Hôtel de Ville was still sounding in his ears, and the chords of his heart were still vibrating to the harmonies of the *Marseillaise.* Well they might, for, young as he was, he was one of that mighty throng which filled the Faubourg de St. Antoine on that ever-memorable July day, and his own eyes had seen the old Bastille in the throes of dissolution, black as it was with the smoke of centuries, and vocal with the groans and sighs of thousands of dead and forgotten human beings. The scene had pictured itself on the child's mind. The outlines of the picture grew larger, and the colors more terribly vivid, as his mind strengthened and his sympathy for his fellow-beings enlarged. It was his first lesson in Republicanism, and he not only learned it well, but he never forgot it. Nearly fifty years afterward, when he was a prisoner in La Force, he sang that triumph of the people with all the fervor of youth:

> Pour un captif, souvenir plein de charmes!
> J'étais bien jeune; on criait: Vengons-nous!
> A la Bastille! aux armes! vite aux armes!
> Marchands, bourgeois, artizans, couraient tous.
> Je vois pâlir et la femme et la fille;
> Le canon gronde aux rappels du tambour.
> Victoire au peuple! il a pris la Bastille!
> Un beau soleil a fêté ce grand jour.

How little those lines smell of the damp air that lurks within the gloomy walls of an old French prison! Much less can you see through them the gray hairs of old age, or the dimmed eye, or the palsied hand that penned them.

He was without any money in Paris, and for all he loved the city so much he was on the point of emigrating to Egypt. At that time Egypt was attracting thousands of young Frenchmen to its shores, owing to Bonaparte's victories there, and Béranger shared the furor. He did not expect to make songs for French emigrants to sing along the banks of the Nile, nor did he expect to turn soldier, but he wanted the common necessities of life, for these were leaving him one by one in Paris. He consulted M. Parseval-Grandmaison on his proposed emigration, but he dissuaded him. So the young poet, to get bread to eat and clothes to wear, turned waiter in a hotel. In the mean time he paid great attention to the study of La Fontaine and Molière, so much so that a member of the critic species has accused him of only being a reflection of those two great masters in French literature. His taste kept constantly changing in regard to the particular branch of poetry he was to adopt. He had written the "Hermaphrodites" for the stage, and he traversed the whole way from the comedy to the ballad, from these to dithyrambics,

and thence to the ode, before at last attempting the proud height of epic poetry in "Clovis." But all the world knows he never made that his dwelling-place, and from the epic he has ascended or descended, just as you please, to the region of song. There he was destined to live and there he died, and, although the temperature was anything but pleasant at times in the world around him, he never left that spot; for the tempests that were wrecking navies and leveling forests never wrung the vines that climbed by his door-side from their support, nor despoiled a single one of his flowers of its beauty or fragrance. It was at the time when he was almost despairing that he sent some of his favorite songs to a number of the leading men of the day, in hope of receiving some favor from them. He did it, little as you would have thought it, but his need was his only apology. But he did not state to them his real wants, though the mere sending of his songs implied as much. No one noticed him save Lucien Buonaparte, the brother of the First Consul. Said Lucien to him in reply: "I hope no need will ever persecute you in your labors; I will supply your wants, fear nothing." This happened in 1803. Afterward, when Napoleon was an exile in Elba, and Lucien had fled to Italy, the latter did not forget Béranger. "Do not cease to cultivate your talent," he writes to him; "by labor you will become an ornament to our Parnassus. Pay strict attention to your rhythm; be bold, but, above all, be elegant." In that same letter came something which relieved those wants that good advice cannot always reach.

One day he showed Lucien's letters to M. Arnault, a member of the University. M. Arnault recommended him to M. Fontanes, and he took him immediately under his patronage, making him his confidential copyist, *commis expéditionnaire*. One day the president of the University heard some one singing the "Roi d'Yvetôt," and on instituting a search for the song, he found it, and ran with it to Napoleon, who was now emperor. "Do you know the tune?" asked the emperor; and the president whistled Béranger's song to him. One evening, not long afterward, when all his courtiers were around him, he hummed the chorus at intervals for hours:

> "Oh! oh! oh! oh! ah! ah! ah! ah!
> Quel bon petit roi c'etait là
> La, la.

The song needs a word of explanation, because it was a daring thing and a direct thrust at the emperor. Yvetôt is a little town in Normandy, and all the inhabitants are engaged in manufacturing cotton lace goods. They are a community to themselves, and are rough and rustic. The town referred to in the song represents the

French people, and the "*bon petit roi*" stands for the hero of Marengo and Austerlitz. It was a severe satire on the emperor, and he felt it too; but Béranger lived to see the day when his satires were turned into elegies for the man who had crowned France with so many laurel wreaths. In 1813 he was received as a member of the *Caveau*, a singing club formed of members of the liberal party. Two years after this the battle of Waterloo was fought, and the allies were the masters of Paris. At a banquet given to the aides-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, Béranger happened to be present, and thus he boasted the glories of French valor:

"Notre gloire est sans seconde
Français, où sont nos riveaux?
* * * *
Redoutons l'anglomanie,
Elle a déjà gâté tout;
N'allons point en Germanie
Chercher les règles du goût.
* * * *
Mes amis, mes amis,
Soyons de notre pays."

No man but Béranger would have dared to drink such a toast as that in the presence of his enemies. It was only a few years before that he sneaked about Paris, shunning the very shadow of a policeman, and trembling at the sight of a uniform, for fear of falling a victim to the conscription in the wars of Napoleon. To be a soldier! never did word sound more fearful to mortal ear than that to his. And yet he would sing songs under the very nose of a monarch, without trembling for his situation, if by chance he had one, and hurl sarcasms at such enemies as could, at any moment, banish him to a Pacific island or shut him up to die in a secret dungeon. He did not love money; that accounts for his conduct to some extent; the blank may be filled by his hatred of all kinds of tyranny, and his love of France. From the moment he heard of the defeat at Waterloo, he loved to think of Napoleon. He forgot the emperor, but thought of the unfortunate hero with a twofold zeal. From that day forth Béranger joyed in the remembrance of him, and the waves that beat against the coral-belted St. Helena have never sounded a sadder requiem to the glory of France and her greatest hero, than the heart-sprung dirges of her greatest lyric poet.

The circumstance of his joining the *Caveau* determined his success. He is no longer the obscure author of songs that grow dusty in the book-stall on the Quai de Voltaire, but the man whose name is uttered with respect and love by every liberty-loving

Frenchman. After the second Restoration in 1815 his reputation was completely established. He always considered the vices and excesses of the Bourbons disgraceful to his country, and he took no trouble to conceal his dislike of the profligate royal line. In 1815 appeared the first edition of his songs. They spread like wildfire. His situation as copyist was well-nigh taken from him. In 1821 he published some additional songs, and they cost him three months' imprisonment, with a fine of five hundred francs. In 1828 the third edition of his "Chansons" could be seen in almost every book-stall throughout the kingdom. In that edition were "Le Sacre de Charles le Simple," and "Genotocracie," and these subjected him to nine months' imprisonment, with a fine of ten thousand francs. But his friends paid the fine, and their frequent visits and kind offices converted his prison into a palace. He was proud of his name and songs, and no narrow cell in St. Pélagie ever held a gayer heart. The Bourbons often tried to bribe him, but they never succeeded. He was always poor, and no period of his life found his heart longing for wealth. It was always his alternative to be in prison or in an office under the crown. He chose the former, and during the reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. he was three times fined and imprisoned. But he went still further in keeping a safe distance from office, and in 1848, when his own party held the reins, he refused to ride with them. He had frequent and earnest offers to take a seat in the National Assembly, but he rejected them all. His reply was, *Pas encore*—not yet; and that was the reply he had been making to royal and republican offers for half a century.

It is certain that before he died he repented the republican fanaticism that had so often manifested itself in the Champs Elysées and in the court of the Palais Royal. Not long before his death he wrote a letter to M. Morin, an old office-holder under the Republic. In referring to Napoleon, said he: "You know how many blessings he has lavished upon France; all parties have their faults, but those we have most reason to lament are the enormous faults of the Republicans." These were the sober thoughts of his old age. He was long in conceiving them, but he did it notwithstanding.

The book whose title stands at the head of this sketch is all that will prolong his fame. It contains his most cherished thoughts and feelings, and yet the volume is so small that you can almost carry it in your vest pocket with your pencil, penknife, and toothpick. "Le Vieux Drapeau" is perhaps the finest specimen of his patriotic productions. The closing lines contain a world of feeling:

"Viens, mon drapeau, viens, mon espoir!
C'est à toi d'essuyer mes larmes.
D'un guerrier qui verse des pleurs
Le ciel entendra la prière:
Oui, je secouerai la poussière
Qui ternit tes nobles couleurs."

The authority of translations is not unfrequently questionable, but to transfer a song from one language to another is like transplanting the olive and magnolia to the coast of Labrador or Greenland. Think of translating "Yankee Doodle" or "Hail Columbia" into throat-breaking Russian or cackling Chinese. There have been many English versions of "Mon Habit," but in no case has as much justice been done to "The Old Coat," as a translation in the Illustrated London News, a short time after the wearer's death. In fact it is more a paraphrase than a translation; we only give a portion of it:

"Never, my coat, hast thou been found
Bending thy shoulders to the ground,
From any upstart 'lord' or 'grace'
To beg a pension or a place.
If but for that, old as thou art,
Thou and the poet should not part,
Poor coat.

Poor though we be, my good old friend,
No gold shall bribe our backs to bend:
Honest amid temptations past,
We will be honest to the last;
For more I prize thy virtuous rags
Than all the lace a courtier brags.
And while I live and have a heart
Thou and the poet shall not part,
Poor coat.

His muse could suffer no kind of hypocrisy, and she was always full of feeling and humanity. But she had another trait of character, and that was wit. Béranger may have encouraged his natural propensity for it from his early reading of Voltaire, but you can discover in none of his songs that sneer with which Voltaire always argued against the truth and essence of religion. A writer in the *Revue de Paris*, speaking of him after he died, says: "Béranger comprised the Christian in doing good and keeping poor." Frenchmen are as anxious to make him a good Christian as the Germans are in trying to manufacture Goethe into one. The difficulty will be as great in the one case as in the other. He abused the pope, and so did Eugene Sue; one proof, if we could find no other, that abusing the pope does not constitute the true Christian. But the writer of the "Wandering Jew" does not deserve to stand beside the author of the

"Chansons," for Béranger, in heart and life, could count his goodness by miles, and it would be telling more than the truth to say that Sue could count his by barleycorns. He was a Deist as near as his religion can be guessed at. His social ideas came from the author of "Emile." Many of his songs partake of a licentious character: for them let him have his deserts. They do not give evidence of genius, as many others of his songs, and they reverse, in a great measure, Mark Antony's opinion of the good and bad actions of men. These songs either died before the poet died or felt the death chillness creeping over them. The good Béranger did is all that gives promise of "living after" him. He is no example to the world of a Christian, and all that can be said in his honor is, that he had a kind and feeling heart, and he wrote good songs. It is not a wonder that he was not religious, when we remember the imperfect canvas and incongruous colors which constituted the picture of French religion in the former half of his life, and which promised but little change during his declining years. The wonder is that he was as good as he was. He made no professions of philanthropy. The most, perhaps, he ever said on the subject was: "When I think of the unfortunate, I wish myself only born to be rich." His love to help the poor and suffering was undoubtedly his greatest virtue, and his whole life was one continued illustration of it. In the preface to the edition of his songs in 1833, he writes: "The happiness of humanity has been the dream of my life." See what he says of his songs: "Mes chansons, c'est moi, * * * *. Le peuple, c'est ma Muse."

Beranger died in July, 1857, the same month, more than half a century ago, which witnessed the taking of the Bastille, when as a lyric poet and republican he was born. During his final illness the empress was very attentive to him. It is said that when she could not visit him personally she sent him little delicacies, which served to soothe, in a great measure, the pangs of sickness and approaching death. When she was a little girl he wrote snatches of poetry to please her childish fancy. "You have taken care of my youth," said she, "and now I will take care of your old age;" and she did it to the last. Immediately after his death was publicly announced, a placard was posted up at the street-corners of Paris, stating that the government would take charge of his burial, because he had expressed in his will that no popular demonstration should take place at his funeral. The placard was signed by the prefect of police. So the soldiers buried Béranger, and the people whom he so much loved had to keep their distance. It was said that he had been dead six days before his death was publicly announced, in

order that the telegraphic wires could be united at the office of the prefect of police, and soldiers could be called in from a distance. The poet of the people was then followed to his long resting-place by one hundred thousand soldiers with loaded muskets. He now sleeps in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, and though there is no royal dust to aristocratize the spot, there sleep around him the greatest and the best who have adorned the pulpit, the forum, and the Parnassus of France. He is worthy a place among them, and his tomb bears the simple inscription, "Béranger." Two months after his burial a number of fresh wreaths hung around his tomb. They were the offerings of affection, and it would be hard to tell who hung them there, so many poor people has he helped in their poverty and distress. It is a beautiful custom in most European countries to lay fresh wreaths day after day on the graves of departed friends. Nor are people employed to do it, as mourners are hired in Holland, but they are the offerings of the heart. Friends pay such homage at the shrine of affection scores of years after those they loved in life have gone back to their mother dust. To lay a wreath upon a friend's grave—it is as evidence that affection lives longer than years; it means that your friend wears a wreath of the unfading leaves that angels have plucked and twined, as a reward from labor and a welcome home. Let those who disbelieve in the endurance of earthly friendship and affection, stand beside one of these graves and learn a lesson of the heart. It is no mean proof that man was not stripped of all his goodness at the fall.

Since France needed a lyric poet so much, it is not likely that she will soon part with him; the less likely since he touched a chord in the heart of the nation. In many of the rustic French cottages you can see on one end of the little mantle-piece a portrait of the first Napoleon, and on the other that of Béranger. Nor are these two portraits more the indices of the peasant's character than of Frenchmen generally. The love of sword and song, it is the greatest part of their enthusiastic nature; and when the old peasant points his palsied hand to one of these portraits, he means it to be an incentive for his grandchild to glory and fame; but when he points to the other he means that to be a lesson of patriotism and kindness of heart. But there is much reason to think that the Anacreon of France has not been unappreciated across the English Channel. In fact the Conservative as well as the Liberal press has teemed with the highest encomiums upon his songs, and the old minstrel of so many vicissitudes has gone to his grave accompanied with the warmest sympathies of many an English heart. But the echoes of those songs have reached farther than across the Channel. They

have come to our own shore, and are more distinctly heard here than anywhere else out of France. The warmest admiration for Béranger, especially since his death, when a great man is always best known, has been expressed in all quarters of our country. Without subscribing in the least to his fanatical or licentious songs, we can indorse the sentiment of some of his patriotic and warm-hearted strains, for that sentiment is our own on both sides of Mason's and Dixon's Line. There can be no question that many scenes in our history, especially during the last quarter of the last century, inspired his muse with some of her noblest flights. What American can forget "Lafayette en Amérique." The French will hereafter love Béranger as the Scotch love their "plough-boy poet." His songs strike the heart and they must be permanent. Years after we are all in the dust, perhaps the poor peasant will be allowed to sing them without looking around in fear of a policeman, and will forget his labor and his poverty while he does it. In some cases they have been the war-trumpet; it is to be hoped they will yet be the lyre of peace, whose notes will echo glad tidings and make happy hearts and homes from the vine-clad hills of Provence, that reflect their shadows in the Mediterranean, to the somber forests of Normandy, that skirt the English Channel. If we can reasonably indulge such a hope, then we can the more reasonably breathe the prayer which we have learned from the Roman Catholics: May he rest in peace.

Art. VII.—THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF 1857.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

There was a time when, from almost heathenish darkness, the Christian Church broke forth into the light of evangelical truth and freedom, when bursting the sepulcher in which she had been entombed for centuries, she arose in the power of her risen Saviour and shook off her dust. In that time the great watchword was, How shall the sinner become just before God? Justification by faith alone was then the criterion of true, living Christianity. It is still so, but not in the same sense and degree. Essential as this great fundamental doctrine of the Gospel will always be to the very being of the Church, it is not now the only and pre-eminent lever which she has to use in bringing the world to Christ.

In every age the Church of Christ has a new mission to execute, and is characterized by a new watchword, by a new seal of her Divine calling. The Reformation of the sixteenth century had for her watchword, "*Justification by faith.*" The mission of the succeeding century was, to exhibit the various truths of Divine revelation in their systematic connection as an organic whole. It was *the age of Protestant orthodoxy.* The glorious badge of the eighteenth century was, *the work of the Holy Spirit* in the regeneration of every believer, and the Divine attestation of that Spirit to the believer's adoption into the family of God.

And what is to be the watchword, the badge, the peculiar mission of the Church in the nineteenth century? She dare not lack any of the former sacred commissions, but she has a new one; it is, *the union of all Christians in the conversion of the world to God.* It is the great truth, that as the individual Christian must have a living union with the head of the body, Christ, so the whole Christian Church must become fully conscious of herself as one body, and manifest herself to others as one body, whose different members perform various functions, while the same blood runs through all parts, the same spirit animates all the members, and one and the same head guides all the motions of the body. The prismatic colors, which reflect the rays of the one great sun of the Gospel, shall no more divide Christians, but be looked upon with as much delight as the beautifully blending colors of the rainbow, or the variegated precious stones in the breastplate of Aaron. In short, the mission of our age is, by an extension of our intellectual horizon, and still more by an enlargement of our hearts, to exhibit to the world the essential unity of the Church: the unity of the Spirit, which is well compatible with the greatest variety of form; a unity of faith which worketh by love, each branch of the Church furnishing its quota for the conquest of the world, the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth. Have we not a pledge of this glorious work in the catholicity of spirit which characterizes the great awakening of this year, with its union meetings, in which no sectarian distinctions are allowed to appear, and in which Christians of all names labor side by side in their Master's vineyard?

The highest development of the kingdom of Christ on earth, the millennial period in the history of the militant Church, the great Church historian, Neander, has fitly denominated the age of St. John, the beloved disciple. "Now abide faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity." May not what our Lord said of John, "I will that he tarry till I come," imply, besides

its primary meaning, this: that the spirit which characterizes the inspired writings of John, shall in all ages constitute the very essence of Christianity, and that it shall more universally and prominently pervade the Christian Church in its millennial glory, preparing the followers of Christ for his appearance, and enabling them to say with one accord: "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." St. John is the only evangelist who has recorded the cheering prophecy of the one fold and the one Shepherd, and the intercessory prayer of our great High Priest, which he commenced on earth and continues in heaven even unto the end of his mediatorial office. In that prayer, which our blessed Lord offered up not only for his apostles, but for all which should believe on him through their word, we hear him say: "I pray, that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, *that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.*" And again: "I in them and thou in me, that they may be perfect in one, *that the world may know that thou hast sent me.*"

Fitly did the ancient Christian painters symbolize St. John as an eagle. Did not his spirit soar far above the narrow dales, where the eye beholds in too great projection this and another church steeple, up into those heights around the throne of the Lamb, where nothing is seen but the smoke of the incense of prayers, ascending from every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and mingling into one pillar of praise and glory? While Paul and Peter seem affected by the differences between Hebrew and Gentile Christians, St. John appears unconscious of such difference. He sees only Christians, who "know that they have passed from death unto life, because they love the brethren." "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God; and every one that loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him."

The primitive Christian Church in Jerusalem exhibited the unity for which Christ prayed, and is both a type and pledge of what the Church will be, when grown up to a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. We read in the Acts: "The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; and they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers. And all that believed were together and had all things common. And they continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people."

This consciousness of unity remained with the Church of Christ

for the three first centuries, and made the primitive Christians not only invulnerable to all the attacks of Jews and Gentiles, but enabled them to overturn the proudest empire of the world, and extorted from her bitterest enemies the cry of admiration—"Behold how these Christians love one another!"

But alas! the enemy of Him who had sowed good seed in his field, came and sowed tares among the wheat. A great apostasy took place; a wicked power arose in the Church, claiming to be her head, and making a counterfeit of the unity for which Christ had prayed, making void the word of God by human tradition, destroying the unity of the Spirit, and substituting in its stead a forced uniformity of ceremonies, boasting to be the one holy Roman Catholic Church, persecuting and driving into the wilderness the true spouse of Christ.

The blessed Reformation of the sixteenth century exposed the counterfeit unity of Romanism in all its hideousness, and laid the foundation for the true unity of Christians, by making the word of God the only rule of faith and practice, and acknowledging Jesus Christ as their only head, their only Lord and Master. But is it not strange, that so great and so manifold were the differences between Protestant Christians, though professing to be guided by the same Spirit of truth, and to draw peace, and life, and salvation from the same fountain of grace, that their discords with each other became the great stumbling-block of an unbelieving world, and the taunting boast of popery? Is it not strange, that upward of three centuries had to pass away before evangelical Protestants began to understand that their differences are accidental and unessential; that they refer not to the saving facts of Divine revelation, but to speculative comments upon these facts, having their origin in the difference of individuality, of mental capacity, of temperament, education, and other such circumstances, yea, in the very nature of man as a finite being? Is it not strange, that not before the middle of the nineteenth century some portions of the Church of Christ begin properly to understand the nature of that unity for which Christ prayed so earnestly, and upon which he makes the conversion of the world to depend? And how long will it be before the whole Christian Church will carry out this unity into practice?

It was John Wesley, in every respect far before his age, who first proposed to make the union which really exists, even when unacknowledged, in some measure *visible* and *tangible;* and he proposed it on the right basis. In 1764 he sent a circular to about fifty ministers of different evangelical denominations, asking them to pledge themselves that they would acknowledge and treat each

other as brothers in the Lord, notwithstanding their differences. He says in the circular:

"I do not ask a union in opinions. They might agree or disagree, touching absolute decrees on the one hand and perfection on the other. Not a union in expressions. These may still speak of the imputed righteousness, and those of the merits of Christ. Not a union with regard to outward order. Some may still remain quite regular, some quite irregular, and some partly regular. But these things being as they are, as each is persuaded in his own mind, is it not a most desirable thing that we should love as brethren? Think well of and honor one another? Wish all good, all grace, all gifts, all success to each other? Readily believe good of each other, as readily as we once believed evil? Speak respectfully, honorably, kindly of each other; defend each other's character; speak all the good we can of each other; recommend one another where we have influence, and each help the other in his work?

"This is the union which I have long sought after, and is it not the duty of every one of us so to do? Would it not be far better for ourselves? Would it not be better for the poor, blind world, robbing them of their sport, O, they cannot agree among themselves? Would it not be better for the whole work of God, which would then deepen and widen on every side?

"'But it will never be, it is utterly impossible.' Certainly it is with men. Who imagines that it can be effected by any human power? All nature is against it; every infirmity, every wrong temper and passion, love of honor and praise, of power, of pre-eminence, anger, resentment, pride, long contracted habit and prejudice lurking in ten thousand forms. The devil and all his angels are against it. For if this takes place, how shall his kingdom stand? All the world, all that know not God are against it, though they may seem to favor it for a season. But surely with God all things are possible, 'therefore, all things are possible to him that believeth;' and this union is proposed only to them that believe, and show their faith by their works."

Thus wrote John Wesley in 1764. His appeal was not then heeded. But nearly a century later, in 1845, another attempt for Christian union was made upon exactly the same basis. Some earnest, zealous Christians in Scotland issued a circular, in which they say: "Our age seems especially to demand that unity of Christians for which the Saviour prayed, and which he designates as the principal agency in the conversion of the world. The call for union has been heard from every part of Christendom. The need of it is felt as it has never been before. To what causes shall we ascribe this universal and unanimous desire after true Christian union? We think (1.) to the threatening aggressions of popery. (2.) To the prevalence of Infidelity. (3.) To the necessities of the heathen world. (4.) To the condition of Protestantism itself. But who, what kind of persons shall unite to form this alliance? What are the uniting doctrines of parties differing so much from each other as the different Protestant denominations do? If we cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question, the world will not believe us when we tell them there is such a thing as Christian union."

In answer to this circular, a large number of Christians assembled at Liverpool, representing some twenty different Church organizations. They came together with the purpose to ascertain how far they were united in the articles of their faith, and for what purposes or objects they could unite with each other. The result of the first convention, which lasted several days, was the confident conviction, that the different so-called evangelical denominations held in common all the fundamental articles of evangelical Christianity. Another convention was called together, to meet August 19, 1846, in London. There were assembled about one thousand brethren from England and America. A few of them were from the continent of Europe. They formed the Evangelical Alliance upon the following principles. *In the first place*, they asserted expressly that their object was not to make but to manifest and declare the unity between all Bible Christians. They did not claim to be a new ecclesiastical organization, nor a confederation of Christian Churches, but simply of Christian individuals, each of whom acted on his own responsibility. *Secondly.* By forming this alliance the members disclaimed to give up any principle or doctrine peculiar to their own respective denomination, or the right to refute opposite principles or doctrines, only so that it be done in the spirit of love, which acknowledges the difference to be among brethren. *Thirdly.* They asserted their unity in the essential articles of the Christian faith, by acknowledging the following nine points:

1. The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.
2. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of persons therein.
3. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall.
4. The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of redemption for sinners of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign.
5. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
6. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.
7. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.
8. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper.
9. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked.

They added to the above articles the distinct declaration: *First.* That this brief summary is not to be regarded, in any formal or ecclesiastical sense, as a creed or confession; nor the adoption of it, as involving an assumption of the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian brotherhood, but simply as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Evangelical Alliance. *Secondly.* That the selection of certain tenets, with the omission of others, is not to be held as implying that the former constitute the whole body of important truths, or that the latter are unimportant. *Finally.* They declared the objects or purposes for which this alliance was formed to be the following:

1. To show the world that, with all their variety in minor matters, evangelical Christians have the true and genuine catholicity, in contradistinction to the false and forced uniformity of the Romish Church.

2. To keep this unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace; to avoid all bitterness, and clamor, and evil speaking, in matters of religious difference between each other.

3. To unite our efforts against infidelity, and popery, and sin, and error of every kind; to pray with and for each other; to aid our suffering and persecuted brethren in Roman Catholic countries, and to collect reports concerning the state of the kingdom of Christ in every part of the world.

Do not the character and objects of the Evangelical Alliance recommend themselves to the judgment and conscience of every enlightened and earnest Christian? The meetings held in Liverpool and London for Christian union will occupy some of the brightest pages of ecclesiastical history; they promised much for the future, and if they had produced no other effect than the gathering of evangelical Christians from all countries in the city of Berlin during the month of September, 1857, the Church of Christ would have sufficient ground to praise God for the formation of the Evangelical Alliance. Nowhere else needed the principles of the Evangelical Alliance so much to be asserted, nowhere else were they less understood, and nowhere else did they meet with a greater opposition than in Protestant Germany. And yet, paradoxical as it may appear, at no time were those principles more profoundly expounded and more irrefutably defended than in Berlin; and when once fairly rooted, nowhere else will they bring an earlier and richer harvest than in Germany.

Before proceeding to sketch the Berlin Conference, we wish to prepare the reader, by a few remarks, for a proper estimate of its heart-cheering and glorious significance. In the first place, great as

the gathering was at the previous meetings of the Evangelical Alliance, it could hardly be called a *universal* representation of Evangelical Christendom, while the mother of the Reformation and the fountain of Protestant theology, Germany, had no part in it. That she entered, in 1857, into the Evangelical Confederation, with an overwhelming majority of her most distinguished divines, professors, and pastors, makes us exclaim, "What has God wrought!" Within the memory of many yet living, the orthodox Professor Knapp, at Halle, who had seven hundred theological students, wrote to a Moravian brother: "The Lord answered my prayer to give me one scholar that believes in Christ." Not many years ago Dr. Tholuck had to complain: "The professed ministry of Christ has destroyed the temple of their Lord. The doctors of divinity, clad in their official robes, with violent hands have torn the Lord Jesus from his throne, and placed in his stead a phantom, which they call reason." But thanks be to God, "they are dead which sought the young child's life." The Spirit of the Lord swept again through the length and breadth of the land of the Reformation, and the dry dead bones that had been buried for half a century in the sand of a lifeless orthodoxy, and for another half century in the dark caverns of infidelity, were brought to life. Rationalism is now totally overthrown and put to shame and confusion, not only by the theological but by the philosophical schools of Germany. From the cathedra and the pulpit, from popular and learned literature, from universities and common schools, even from some ecclesiastical consistories and royal courts, streams of living water are proceeding, refreshing many thirsty souls, and promising to change the wilderness into a garden of the Lord. Frederic the Great, Voltaire's companion, had called a theologian an animal without reason, and behold! his descendant invites the evangelical Christians of all countries to hold a conference in his capital, attends that conference in person, and desires, individually, to shake hands with the members of the Alliance in his own palace. Well did the president of the Alliance, in addressing the king, remark: "His majesty had seen many imposing armies, but never one like the present—an army not arrayed in ordinary military attire, but ready to fight the battles of the King of kings with the sword of the Spirit, the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation." Truly a little one became a thousand, and a small one a strong nation. The Lord hastened it. What a marvelous change!

And was it not an equally wonderful working of Providence, that just at a period when the newly awakened Evangelical Church of Germany was in imminent peril of being shipwrecked *on the rocks of*

confessional strife, and of losing her new spiritual life again in expecting salvation from the dead letter of old creeds, from ceremonies and sacraments, and from priestly absolution; when Lutherans began again to anathematize their Reformed brethren, and refused to sit down with them at the Lord's table; when true evangelical religion was threatened, not only by the direct aggressions of the Romish Propaganda, but also by the leaven of Protestant High Churchism; was it not a gracious interference of Providence, we ask, that at this critical period such a demonstration of true Protestant principles as the Berlin Conference took place? How great a sensation and effect that demonstration made upon Germany, we may conceive from the bitter tone in which the High-Church party, whose organ, we regret to say, is Dr. Hengstenberg's Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, speaks of the Evangelical Alliance. In describing a session of the Conference the writer discourses as follows:

"Now the foreigners get the floor, Americans and Scotchmen, all of them schismatics. They speak full of fire and vigor in English. In every syllable of their address, in every accent of their voluble tongue, in every motion of their excited countenances, exultation and triumph speaks, as if they would say to us, Your Lutheran Church is also nothing but a sect, a denomination at the side of other denominations. You have now acknowledged it by a matter of fact. We have as much truth as the high tories of your capital. Evangelical truth is nothing but the conglomeration of a hundred heresies. It was the proud consciousness of having now at last torn the distinguishing diploma of evangelical orthodoxy from the trembling hands of the Lutheran Church, that caused the joyful enthusiam of these foreigners."

Such language, without comment, shows sufficiently how much the Evangelical Alliance was needed in Germany. Closely connected with this consideration is the momentous influence of the alliance in favor of *religious liberty,* in which respect Protestant Germany is yet so far behind the times. Never before was the right of religious worship, according to every one's conscience, so boldly asserted and so powerfully defended on German soil, as it was done by the members of the alliance in the very hearing of the King of Prussia. It is true, religious liberty had been claimed in Germany through the whole period of the reign of Rationalism, but it was only a religious liberty in favor of infidelity, and on the ground of indifferentism to all religion. The Evangelical Alliance, for the first time, advocated the freedom of worship on the Scriptural ground that man is justified by faith; that without faith it is impossible to please God; that such faith is matter of conscience; that Protestantism rests, therefore, upon the personal moral responsibility of the individual. From this stand-point the Evangelical Alliance gave a clear testimony against every species of intolerance which state Churches are more or less guilty of, and urged, more strongly than had ever been

done before in Germany, the independence of religion from the state. And this was not the least cause why the High-Church party denounced the Alliance so bitterly. It was one of the reasons which induced Mr. Von Stahl, a principal leader of that party, to give in his resignation as a member of the Prussian consistory, when the king unequivocally pronounced in favor of the Alliance.

Finally, the Berlin Conference is not only of great practical importance on account of its powerful testimony against Protestant intolerance, but also on account of the actual aid she promised to the *oppressed Protestants* in Roman Catholic countries, which promise she is well able to fulfill. And lastly, though not least, the Berlin Conference is of great significance, because she opened the way for a future *closer union between English and German theology*, and between English and German Christians. But all this you will much better apprehend when you hear what was said and done in Berlin.

Let us, therefore, go there and see who are assembled in that spacious old Garrison Church, and what they are doing there. The assembly consists of 1254 regularly enrolled members, 979 are from the different parts of Germany, 1 from Spain, 12 from France, 2 from Italy, 7 from Austria, 11 from Switzerland, 10 from Holland, 4 from Belgium, 166 from Great Britain, 11 from Denmark, 2 from Sweden, 12 from Prussia, 2 from Turkey, 2 from Greece, in all from Europe, 1222; from Asia 3, from Africa 3, from Australia 3, and from America 23. Of the members there were 29 Professors of Universities, 689 ministers, 90 teachers, 12 military officers, 85 government civil officers, 349 private laymen.

The meeting was to last from the 9th to the 17th of September. According to the order laid down, the first service was held at the Garrison Church, the use of which was expressly granted by the king for the whole session of the Alliance. On Wednesday evening, at 5 P.M., the service was commenced with Mendelssohn's One Hundredth Psalm, performed by the royal cathedral choir. In order to facilitate the congregational singing, the melodies to be sung were printed, with the words arranged for the occasion, in German, French, and English. The services on Wednesday evening were purely devotional, prayer being offered in the three languages.

On Thursday morning at ten o'clock the service was commenced with prayer, after which the Rev. Dr. Krummacher, court chaplain at Potsdam, and so well known by his writings, proceeded with his address of welcome:

"Welcome," he exclaimed, "reverend gentlemen, beloved brethren, from East and West, from North and South, welcome under the pro-

tecting wings of the Prussian eagle, but thrice welcome in the name of Him of whom the royal bard sings: 'How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings!' Have we not to-day a foretaste of what we shall once enjoy together with all God's children around his shining throne? Such a scene as this has never been seen on German soil. True we have had our blessed Church days; but in them we had no representation from a Bunyan, the Baptist, who pointed to us the way to heaven; no representation from Wesley and Whitefield, the fathers of Methodism, who blew the mighty trumpet when death reigned on every side, and the Church presented the appearance of a mausoleum; no representation from men like Chalmers, the witness with the tongue of fire, the founder of the Free Church of Scotland. To-day these men of God, with their spirit and their successors, are in the midst of us; the old partition walls are fallen; the fire of brotherly love melted the old rusty fetters away; the communion of saints appears visibly. Far above all the denominational standards we see waving the great imperial banner of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the inscription: 'One faith, one hope, one God and Father of us all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all.' The words of the Psalmist are this day fulfilled with us: 'It shall be said of Zion, this man and that man was born there. The Highest shall establish her. All my well-springs are in thee.'"

This is a specimen of the spirit and eloquence of the address. He proceeded then to state, that the meeting had not been assembled without encountering great opposition, even from men who were highly esteemed by the German Church as champions and leaders in the great struggle against infidelity. The objections from them were threefold: *first*, that there was no inward truth in the proposed evangelical union; it was a mere sham. He refuted this objection by a beautiful delineation of those doctrines from which no real Christian would be willing to dissent. The unity that deserved the name of "sham" was that of a mechanical ecclesiastical despotism, a mere lip confession, an attachment in word and letter to the symbol of a dead orthodoxy. The *second* objection was, that the movement was not suitable to the present age, and especially unsuitable to the tendencies of the German people. He asserted the direct contrary. "What so seasonable as the union of all who professed the truth, against the antichristianity and the pseudo-Christianity, now prevailing so widely in every land? What so seasonable as the united prayer of all true Christians for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Church of Christ, so much divided against herself? What so seasonable as an energetic pro-

test against the miserable scholastic theological disputes about the subtleties of the Christian faith, with which German Christians were becoming nauseated? What so seasonable as a protest against the attempt to revive the narrow-mindedness and cold-heartedness of the seventeenth century, which regarded all sympathy and friendly intercourse between the disciples of Luther and Calvin and Zwingle as an apostasy from the Christian faith. What so seasonable as an energetic protest against the attempt to introduce human mediation into the Protestant Church, to turn the Church of the Bible into a Church of sacraments. There might be some truth in the objection to which he had referred, if it was designed by the present movement to tear asunder the chain of historical connection subsisting between the present generation of German Christians and their forefathers, from the Reformation downward; to introduce in their midst by violent means institutions and views which belong to other lands; to Anglicize or Gallicize, or Americanize the Church in Germany. This, however, was not the object of the movement, and ought not to be. Still there should be an interchange of the gifts and graces peculiar to the different nations and denominations; hence he welcomed the fire of *France*, the martyr spirit of *Italy*, the world-subduing, apostolical courage of *England*, which was satisfied with nothing short of bringing the whole human race to the cross of Christ; the doctrinal completeness, morality, and purity of *Scotland;* the sobriety of *Holland;* the reverence toward the inspired letter of the Bible which characterized the *Americans*. Give us, ye *Methodists*, of your ardent zeal of enlisting every single individual for the service of Christ; give us, ye *Presbyterians*, of your willingness to contribute; ye *Baptists*, of your Church order; ye *Episcopalians*, of your reverence for the Church as a Divine institution; ye *Moravians*, of your large-heartedness and readiness to see in every Christian a brother and a friend. As to the *third* argument against the alliance, that it had no practical aim, if that were so, why attack it with such zeal and earnestness? Why use so much eloquence against that which was about to fail by its own imbecility, and vanish, as it was said, like water? Yes, it would vanish like water; but like the waters of the Nile, which when they retreated left the seeds of fertility behind. He prayed, in conclusion, that the great Head of the Church might be present among them to fill the house with his glory, as aforetime he filled the temple at Jerusalem, and that all hearts might fall prostrate before him, giving him alone the glory and praise."

After Doctor Krummacher's address, salutations from different Churches, nations, and individuals, were presented; we have room only for two, which will most interest our readers.

The honorable J. A. Wright, our minister at the court of Berlin, said: "He rejoiced to unite his voice with that of the Christians of the Old World, and to express his thankfulness at what he witnessed at the meeting of the Alliance. Little did he suppose that he should ever see in Berlin the mingling of men from different nations of the earth, promulgating the one doctrine of faith in Christ. As a layman he had sought to give his voice and influence for the cause of Christ; and if there was one principle in which he had any faith, it was a reliance upon the book of God, without note or comment, circulated among the masses of the people. This was the only safe foundation for the state, the Church, and the family. He could not sit down without saying how much he had admired in Germany the love of family and home which universally prevailed; for he had no faith in any system of Christianity that did not take the great promise of God to Abraham, that in him all the *families* of the earth should be blessed."

When Mr. Wright sat down, Bishop Simpson was called upon, and presenting the introductory letter and credentials, which Bishops Waugh and Morris had given to the writer of this article, said: "He desired to bring to the meeting the cordial greetings of America and of American Methodism. He had been delighted to be present on that occasion, and in listening to the address of Doctor Krummacher, he had almost fancied that he had heard the voice of Luther again on the earth. Americans, so far as he understood their feelings, rejoiced in that Christian alliance, an alliance not of creed and organization, but an alliance in heart and Christian activity. It reminded him of the little streams rising in the great mountains, which, though they could slake the thirst of the weary, could never carry the treasures of commerce to the world, till they blended in one mighty river. The American national organization was somewhat analogous to the Christian alliance; they had individual states, each independent, but united into one great national confederation. America, too, has a kind of alliance in itself, composed of all races in the world, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, mingling into one people, and he believed their prayer from one ocean to the other, from valley to mountain-top, was that the song might yet be sung that Christians everywhere were one in Christ. As Methodists, his community loved the name of Luther, for from him Wesley derived much of his theology."

The afternoon session of the first day was also of an introductory nature. Professor Jacobi, of Halle, had been appointed to lecture on the character of this meeting of evangelical Christians, compared with the ecclesiastical councils and convocations of former

times. It was a very learned discourse. He showed how the ancient Church councils consisted only of clergymen, to the exclusion of the laity, and exercised an imperious authority over the conscience of the individual, to which the latter was obliged to submit against his conviction and better knowledge. The idea of the true Church consisting of all true believers, each of whom had the same right of private judgment, was not conceived before the Reformation; its basis was justification by faith. Inseparably connected with it were the distinction between the visible and invisible Church, and the universal priesthood of Christians. The Evangelical Alliance was the first ecclesiastical council that consistently carried out these premises; it would not weaken the authority of any existing creed, but aimed to subordinate the different creeds to a higher unity, which would enable all true Christians to combine their strength against their common enemies.

Professor Jacobi was followed by Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, the celebrated author of the History of the Reformation, a tall, majestic old gentleman. Though a Frenchman he addressed the audience in good German, with great simplicity and cordiality. After some introductory remarks, he said the Evangelical Alliance aimed at true catholicity, placing it in the mystical body of Christ, which had four bonds of union—the atonement of Christ, the word of God, the Holy Spirit, and the Lord's Supper. In conclusion, he said: "Now, honored and beloved German friends, since in the Evangelical Alliance so many strong bonds of union are to be found, let us be brethren with all Christ's brethren, and to all such stretch out our hands. There is need for this. Our age shows mighty signs of changes which are approaching. 'Upon earth distress of nations, with perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring,' says our Lord. Now it is a glorious sign of the times, that hundreds are here gathered together, not only from all European, but also from all other lands, with one voice to bear witness to their union in the living truths of salvation. Christ is in the midst of us, we are here in him, and he in us. As he has given the command of unity, so will he also give the fulfillment. It was said to me, the Evangelical Alliance has few adherents in Germany. I could not believe it. This large assembly testifies to the contrary. The idea of the Alliance is exalted, holy, divine, and Germany has perceptions for great ideas. She would be false to herself if she refused to stretch forth her hand to all who are Christ's. Germany began the great Reformation. She has an ecumenical, perpetual vocation. May she never forego her birthright. The Lord has many members in his body; and only to adduce two, the Anglo-Saxon and German races, both

have their work to accomplish in this world. I wonder at the learning of the one, at the activity of the other. Let us not divide them. The eye cannot say, I need not the ear; the hand must not say, I need not the foot. Let us in God's kingdom make use of all energies. Christ has prepared for us in heaven an eternal joy; we on earth must prepare for him the joy of fulfilling his heart's desire: 'I pray that they may be one in me.' From every land, from all ends of the world, let us with one heart exclaim: 'Glory to God in the highest! Peace, peace, peace on earth! and good-will toward men!'"

Art. VIII.—NOTT'S LECTURES ON TEMPERANCE.

Lectures on Temperance. By Eliphalet Nott, D.D., LL.D., President of Union College. With an Introduction, by Tayler Lewis, LL.D., Professor of Greek in Union College. Edited by Amasa McCoy, late Editor of the Prohibitionist. (pp. 341. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 115 Nassau-street. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. Chicago: S. C. Briggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1857.)

In taking up the Bible for an examination of its bearings on the temperance reformation, we perceive that its *first* teaching on this subject is Temperance in its broadest sense, which is, the proper regulation of all the appetites and passions.

"But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Gal. v, 22, 23. As Paul "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled." Acts xxiv, 25. This temperance implies moderation in food, in apparel, in the use of all our powers. This view would imply that we should be moderate in the use of wine, just as we would be in the use of bread and water, but nothing more. This, some say, is the temperance of the Bible. Such, indeed, is the doctrine of the Bible with regard to all useful, necessary, and perfectly innocent enjoyments; temperance is their moderate and rightful use.

2. The Bible, secondly, teaches something more than this; it marks as sinful that use of alcoholic liquors which produces a certain effect called drunkenness. "Be not deceived; neither fornicators, . . . nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God." 1 Cor. vi, 9, 10. Does the Bible approve that which intoxicates, but condemn to hell the poor wretch who is destroyed by it? Does the Bible condemn the thief, and yet approve

stealing? Or does it permit men to covet if they will only not steal? When Ahab coveted the vineyard of Naboth, he was, in his heart, cherishing the incipient crime. The man who indulges in that drink which will intoxicate, is just so far violating the Divine command as that drink tends to induce drunkenness. Absolute drunkenness causes stupefaction, and a consequent forgetfulness of the duties we owe to society and to God. But before this state is attained, before the individual has lost the control of his faculties, there is an undue stimulation of the appetites and the passions which leads to sin. Now, if the Bible condemns drunkenness as sinful, it includes in the condemnation those incitements to sin which appear before intoxication ends in bestiality. The Bible, by its prohibition, marks the bound between right and wrong. Now if, as facts prove, a great proportion of those who use alcoholic drinks become drunkards, the use of these liquors, even in moderate quantities, is a sin forbidden by the Bible. It is forbidden, not because such liquors are sweet, or sour, or are made from the juice of the grape, the date; or the apple, but simply because they intoxicate. Therefore we must conclude that *the Bible, in forbidding the sin of drunkenness, also forbids such a use of alcoholic liquors as naturally and inevitably leads to that sin.*

3. The Bible insists on total abstinence from intoxicating wines, on the very ground of their intoxicating qualities. This doctrine, as we have shown under the previous position, is implied in the Bible teaching with regard to drunkenness; but we now propose to show that express precept exists with regard to the intoxicating element. "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his color in the cup, *when* it moveth itself aright; at the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder." Prov. xxiii, 31, 32. Here, in the last clause, the effect of intoxicating wine is plainly described: "It biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder." No one dare contend that unfermented wine will do this. But the fermenting power producing alcohol is more particularly specified; it is red, (or, more accurately, groweth red;) "it *moveth itself* aright." These verbs, in the Hebrew, are, if possible, still more expressive, being in the Hithpael, which signifies *reflexive action;* as, hith-kad-daish, to sanctify one's self, or, as in the text quoted, hith-hal-laich, to move one's self, or itself.*

"Wine *is* a mocker, strong drink *is* raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." Prov. xx, 1. "The nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad." Jer. li, 7. But abstinence is commanded, on account of these intoxicating

* Rodiger's Gesenius' Hebrew Gr., p. 117.

qualities. "Look not thou upon the wine." "How long wilt thou be drunken? Put away thy wine from thee." 1 Sam. i, 14. "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess, but be filled with the Spirit." Eph. v, 18.

It might possibly be objected, that the Scriptures approve wine precisely on account of its intoxicating qualities. We deny this, except in case of its medicinal use. "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish." Prov. xxxi, 6. "But," says one, "is not this very exhilarating quality approved, when the Psalmist speaks of 'wine *that* maketh glad the heart of man.' (Psa. civ, 15.) And is not wine that 'which cheereth God and man?'" Judges ix, 13. *Exhilaration* is a very different term from *gladness*; the one expresses the natural consequences of intoxication, the other an innocent satisfaction. But the meaning of both these passages is determined by Psa. iv. 7: "Thou hast put gladness in my heart more than in the time *that* their corn and their wine increased." The same word, שִׂמְּחָה, *sahmagh, cheereth, maketh glad,* and *gladness,* is used in all of these passages; the only difference being that, in Psalm iv, the word takes the form of a noun, in the other two that of a verb. Now the plainest English reader can see, at a glance, that no other joy is intended than that which can be produced by *corn,* as well as by wine. If men can become exhilarated or intoxicated on corn-cake, then very possibly might one show that the exhilarations of alcohol meet with the Divine approval.

Therefore, we come to the conclusion that *the Bible, instead of approving of liquors because of their intoxicating power, for this very reason condemns them.*

4. The Bible discriminates in speaking of wine and other liquors, giving its approval to them in proportion as they are free from the intoxicating element. ". . . The new wine is found in the cluster, and *one* saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing *is* in it . . ." Isaiah lxv, 3. "Come, buy wine and milk without money, and without price." Isaiah lv, 1. "Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine *which* I have mingled." Proverbs ix, 5. Probably most of our readers can remember when they were told that total abstinence is fanatical, and contrary to the Scriptures; that wine is good, and to take a little is not only right, but a duty; and that it is wicked to refuse *a blessing of God* to any man. Even an ordinary reader of the Scriptures can see that this mode of interpretation causes them to contradict themselves. "Come, drink of the wine. . ." "Look not on the wine." "Come, buy wine and milk." "Put away thy wine from thee." "The new wine is found in the cluster; . . . a blessing is in it." "For at the last it biteth like a serpent." "Wine is a

mocker." "Give wine to him that is of a heavy heart." "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink." The true explanation of these difficulties is found in the fact that *wine* (יין, yayin, *οινος*, oinos, vinum) is a *generic* term, including the unintoxicating as well as the intoxicating wine.

Dr. Kitto observes: "Yayin, in Bible use, is a very general term, including every species of wine made from grapes, (*οινος αμπελινος*,) though in later ages it became extended in its application to wine made from other substances." Again: "*Οινος*, the Greek generic term for wine, from the Hebrew *yayin*."

Therefore it would not be fair for either side in this controversy to insist, when the term wine is used in the Bible, that the kind of wine which they approve is intended. But, inasmuch as the Bible condemns drunkenness, and speaks in terms of reprobation of wine that intoxicates, we ought to believe, when it speaks approvingly of wine, that it intends pure, unintoxicating wine, until it is proved otherwise.

The study of the Greek and the Hebrew terms employed in the Scriptures, though not indispensable, adds to the force of this argument. *Tirosh*, תירוש, new wine, we find approved, or spoken of without condemnation, some thirty-seven times, and mentioned doubtfully but once. This term signifies the juice of the grape first expressed, and hence most free from the intoxicating element. A good example of the distinction between *tirosh* and *yayin*, is found in Micah vi, 15. "Thou shalt sow, but thou shalt not reap; thou shalt tread the olives, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil; and (tirosh) sweet wine, but shalt not drink (yayin) wine;" that is: "Thou shalt tread *tirosh*, or *the cluster*, or *new wine*, but shalt not drink *yayin*, or *old wine* from it." The primary meaning of this word is seen from the fact that it is frequently used with corn, and other fruits of the earth. Genesis xxvii, 28. This would be proper in speaking of grapes in the cluster, or of the fresh juice of the grape. Hosea iv, 11, may be an exception, and constitute a secondary meaning, but does not overthrow the rule. From a learned pamphlet, embracing three sermons on "Bible Temperance," by Joseph M'Carrol, D.D., I take the following language: "From these statements it appears that fermentation commences spontaneously, *as soon as* the juice is expressed and exposed to the air, in a moderate temperature, and therefore that unfermented wine is a nonentity."*

Probably my truly learned and excellent friend, has greatly modified his views on this subject since 1841. It will be evident, however, that his remarks do not at all embarrass this argument, since

* Bible Temperance, p. 29, note.

we have not conducted it on the exclusive ground that no wine was intoxicating, while his own view is only maintained by the assumption of a position which has already been shown to be untenable, namely, that all ancient wines were intoxicating. The objection here stated is fully answered, in accordance with the views expressed in this paper, by the learned and acute Dr. Tayler Lewis, in his introduction to Dr. Nott's Lectures. "In modern, as well as in ancient times, practical moral results furnish better rules than any chemical tests. It was not anciently, as it is not even now, a question of alcohol as determined by grains, but a higher question, a question of *intoxication* as an admitted evil state. The wine that did not intoxicate, and was not used to intoxicate, or *sought to intoxicate*, was good; a blessing was in it. The wine that did intoxicate, and *was sought for that purpose*, was bad; it was pronounced a woe and a curse."*

Ausis, sweet wine, is mentioned four or five times approvingly.

Shemarim is mentioned three times, and is sometimes translated dregs, because *shahmar* signifies to keep, preserve, guard. In Isaiah xxv, 6, a passage that seems to have been overlooked, it is rendered "wine on the lees," purified by keeping from the air, and well refined, that is, "lees racked off." (Gesenius.) This mode of keeping wine sweet is mentioned Jeremiah xlviii, 11:

> "Moab hath been at ease from his youth,
> And he hath settled upon his lees;
> Nor hath he been drawn off from vessel to vessel,
> Neither hath he gone into captivity:
> Wherefore his taste remaineth in him,
> And his flavor is not changed."

This exposition of Isaiah xxv, 6, is sustained by the Septuagint, and also by the German of Luther. Old wines were not necessarily intoxicating, and even when they were so, were frequently mixed with water, and often were used only to flavor the water.†

Shechar is generally translated strong drink; it is also a generic term, and must have represented a palm wine, which was sweet, and without injury when first made, like our cider. But it fermented sooner and more powerfully than grape juice. Livingstone‡ mentions a kind of palm wine, made by the natives in Africa, that fermented by standing till afternoon, and was very intoxicating. One form of this word is used almost universally to signify drunkenness, against which the thundering rebuke of the word of God is directed, declaring that those who indulge in that vice can never enter

* Introduction to Dr. Nott's Lectures on Temperance, p. xviii.

† See Anthon's Excursus on the Wines of the Ancients—quoted from Henderson.

‡ Travels, p. 445.

heaven. Something may be learned by the number of times these terms are employed with approbation, or disapprobation, but the true law of interpretation is seen, from *the use of these terms in relation to the intoxicating element.* We perceive that approval is full and express where no intoxicating element exists, and that it grows fainter as that element increases, until finally it is lost in condemnation when that element is strongest. These terms are all that are important to this argument; for others employed in the Old Testament, the reader is referred to the table found in the appendix to Dr. Nott's lectures. We find the same law in the use of terms in the New Testament. We discover, indeed, fewer encomiums of wine, probably accounted for by the supposition that the wines of the day were not so pure and harmless as those of earlier times. We have, however, *the fruit of the vine*, Matthew xxvi, 29, *γεννημα της αμπελου*, answering to תירוש, *tirosh;* and *οἶνος*, *oinos*, answering to יין, *yayin*, *wine*, and *σικερα*, *shechar*, שֵׁכָר, *strong drink*, transferred from the Hebrew to designate a peculiar Oriental palm wine. There was also *γλευκος*, or sweet wine, that might also, generally, answer to *tirosh.*

The following passage is referred to in this controversy: "For John the Baptist came neither eating bread, nor drinking wine; and ye say, He hath a devil. The Son of man is come eating and drinking, and ye say, Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." Luke vii, 33, 34. It is said our Saviour must have been a wine-drinker. It may be; but this passage does not prove it. The language is that of an objector, and is supposed to be false, for Jesus adds, "Wisdom is justified of all her children." It does not follow that Jesus drank intoxicating wine, or indeed that he deserved to be called a wine-drinker," *οινοποτης*, any more than it follows that John had a devil, because certain vile men said so.

The marriage at Cana of Galilee, where Jesus turned the water into wine, is alluded to with great confidence, by the foes of total abstinence: but what does it prove? that Jesus made intoxicating wine? No! rather, by analogy, it should be like the new wine, fresh drawn from the grape, the purple fruit which God hangs in his own sunshine and dew. But we are told the governor of the feast called the bridegroom, and said to him: "Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse; *but* thou hast kept the good wine until now." John ii, 10. Stress is laid on the fact that the wine is called *good.* To assert that no wine is good but that which intoxicates, would be begging the question. That it was *good*, in our view, rather proves

its sweetness. And if the feast lasted for a week, as was customary in the East, the quantity of wine was, no doubt, intended to supply a large company for that length of time. Can the denunciations of the Bible thunder against the sinner, while Jesus, the Son of God invites in the way of the sin? "God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man." We cannot close this part of the argument more appropriately than in the eloquent language of Dr. Nott: "And yet, had the process of producing intoxicating wine never been discovered, nor a drop of intoxicating wine produced, the commendations of the vine contained in the Bible would not have been a whit the less intelligible, or pertinent, or proper on that account. And were that discovery lost, the fact of its existence forgotten, and the very law of God, by which it is produced, obliterated from the book of nature, no obliterations would, in consequence, be required from the book of revelation, except only the obliterations of the cautions therein contained in relation to the juice of the grape in form of intoxicating wine; and except, also, the recorded condemnation of that drunkenness that springs from the use of such wine."* Therefore we conclude that the Bible in its praises of wine discriminates justly, approving only of that which is unintoxicating and uninjurious.

5. The intoxicating qualities of the liquors of the present day will determine the sinfulness of their use, and show just precisely where the temperance reform links on to the Bible. The only way in which we can conduct an argument from the Bible either for or against the use, as a beverage, of the intoxicating liquors of the present day, is *by a parallel.* If a parallel case can be proved, then the argument holds, but if not, not. The only point of importance to determine is their intoxicating power, for on this the battle turns. Will any one pretend that the modern *distilled* liquors, which are a refinement of iniquity not known in Old Testament times, are approved by the Bible. As well might one assert that a bed of burning coals is as harmless as a bed of roses. If *gin, brandy,* and *rum* be such a great blessing, if the parallel holds, they may appropriately take the place of the wine mentioned with approval in the Bible. Who could bear to see that beautiful invitation of the prophet thus perverted: "Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters: and he that hath no money, come! buy and eat; yea, buy wine and milk without money and without price?" We can easily perceive what would be RUM "without price"—it would be the paradise of drunkards.

Another consideration worthy to be entertained is this: Can that

* Nott's Lectures on Temperance, p. 156.

which produces so much crime, pauperism, and suffering, be itself innocent, and allied to that cluster spoken of in the Bible, in which a blessing is said to be?

> "There's not a crime
> But takes its proper change out still in crime,
> If once rung on the counter of this world;
> Let sinners look to it."

It is often alleged in defense even of the use of distilled liquors as a beverage, "that the abuse of a thing good in itself, does not afford a valid argument against the right use of it." This objection has been well met by the late Archdeacon Jeffreys of Bombay.* He says:

> "The truth is, that the adage is only true under certain general limitations; and that out of these, so far from being true, it is utterly false and a mischievous fallacy. And the limitations are these: If it be found by experience that in the general practice of the times in which we live, the abuse is only the solitary exception, whereas the right use is the general rule, so that the whole amount of good resulting from its right use exceeds the whole amount of evil resulting from its partial abuse, then the article in question, whatever it be, is fully entitled to the benefit of the adage; and it would not be the absolute and imperative duty of the Christian to give it up on account of its partial abuse. This is precisely the position in which stand all the gifts of Providence, and all the enjoyments of life; for there is not one of them which the wickedness of man does not more or less abuse. But, on the other hand, if it be found by experience that there is something so deceitful and ensnaring in the article itself, or something so peculiarly untoward connected with the use of it in the present age, that the whole amount of crime, and misery, and wretchedness connected with the abuse of it greatly exceeds the whole amount of benefit arising from the right use of it, then the argument becomes a mischievous fallacy; the article in question is not entitled to the benefit of it, and it becomes the duty of every good man to get rid of it."

Judging the distilled liquors of the present day, and indeed the whole modern liquor traffic, on these grounds, we must deny their parallel with the wines approved in the Bible. Indeed, when we consider the drugged wines of the present day, the strychnine whisky, the base adulterations from the infernal vaults of our great and corrupt cities, we feel more than justified in classing the intoxicating liquors of the present day with the wine which is a mocker, and that biteth like a serpent. He that drinks them "shall be as he that lieth down in the midst of the sea, or as he that lieth upon the top of a mast." "So extensively was adulteration practiced in France, that the Rev. Dr. Baird stated that certain persons appointed by government to test the purity of liquors by tasting, were compelled to resign to escape from death by poisoning." Therefore the temperance reform, in denouncing the intoxicating

* Nott's Temperance Lectures, App., p. 338.

element, as well as the poisonous adulterations of our modern liquors, is sustained by the Bible.

6. The Old Testament Scriptures represent total abstinence from all wines and from intoxicating drinks to be the duty *of some persons;* and they also represent total abstinence to be necessary according to the danger from the intoxicating element.

Just here, where the modern temperance reform is accused of departing most widely from the Bible, it links on to it again, with a hold which nothing can break. It has been said that the Koran and the modern total abstinence men are more strict than the Bible.* We deny it. The Bible enjoined upon Nazarites a temperance more strict than any to be found in the Koran: it is also more clear in its discriminations, and contains more terrible denunciations of the intoxicating element. I know the Scriptures do not speak of alcohol in scientific phrase, because they are a comprehensive guide for all ages, but they are just as clear and authoritative on this subject as if they contained the by-laws of a modern temperance society.

(1.) Nazarites were required to abstain from all wine and even from grapes. Numbers vi, 2, 3.

(2.) The priests were commanded not to drink wine or strong drink when they went into the tabernacle of the congregation to minister before the Lord. Leviticus x, 9.

According as the office was sacred it was guarded the more strictly against all danger from the intoxicating element. What shall we say of those ministers of Christ who endeavor to draw inspiration from the decanter? The greatest uninspired orator was a strict abstainer from wine. Judging from Paul's advice to Timothy, to use a little wine medicinally, total abstinence from all that intoxicates was the general apostolical practice.

(3.) The children of Jonadab, the son of Rechab, abstained from wine, in obedience to the command of their father. And because of this total abstinence the God of Israel promised, saying: "Jonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me forever." Jeremiah xxxv, 19. This is a commendation of their temperance as well as of their filial obedience, for the prophet would not have bestowed on them the approval of God, for obeying their father in a *wrong* or *fanatical* command.

(4.) Total abstinence is recommended as *the Bible* remedy for intemperance This is fairly inferred from the three previous positions. We perceive that the converted drunkard has to abandon his cups. Conversion leads to total abstinence. Eli said to Hannah, "How long wilt thou be drunken? put away thy wine

* Bible Temperance, p. 19.

from thee." Let it be observed, we affirm that this law is revealed in the Bible; but we believe the prevalent tyranny of alcohol in our day makes it more generally applicable. The following declaration of Paul is accepted by many as the only basis of the temperance cause: "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor *anything* whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." Romans xiv, 21. We doubt the pertinency of this text to the point it is brought to prove. We think the true explanation is, that the flesh and wine spoken of was such as might have been eaten without harm to the body, but having been offered to idols, could not be used without offending the scruples of some weak brother. We would not deny that we may rightfully put in this plea of holy charity for our cause, but we should not, for this, abandon a stronger position which we may rightfully hold. Let us not remain in the trenches when we may occupy the Malakoff. I would ask, in the name of God and of humanity, if we are to be put off with the plea of charity, when souls are slaughtered by thousands. This is not a brother made weak, or caused to stumble by a habit innocent in us, but multitudes murdered outright by connivance with the demon of rum. Are Christians at liberty to stand aloof from this great reform, and say to their brethren, Go on! your conduct is praiseworthy, you can take that course if you like, but I am under no obligation to follow? If this be true, then the rules of most evangelical Churches excluding rum-dealers and guzzling professors, are unnecessarily strict and extra-scriptural. But the Churches are right, for the growing prevalence of intemperance renders total abstinence a proper test of Christian discipleship. Some might be able innocently to press and drink the grape juice of their own vineyard; but this would constitute the exception and not the rule. We may view the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the light of these great principles. (1.) The pure unintoxicating grape juice (*γεννημα της αμπελου*) is most proper for use at the Lord's Supper. (2.) The best wine of commerce *may* be used by Christians sacramentally, because, thus used, it will not intoxicate. For the sake of the tempted and the weak, unfermented wine is better. (3.) Wine diluted with water would be proper, since such was the common drink of the ancients, and might have been used by Jesus at the last supper. The intoxicating element affords no virtue, but rather vitiates the Divine appointment.

7. We may see the bearing of this argument on the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic. It is a matter of some consequence that drunkenness was subject to penalty under the Jewish theocratic law; that is, when the parents shall come forward and say, "This our

son *is* stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, *he is* a glutton and a drunkard, . . . all the men of his city shall stone him." Deuteronomy xxi, 20. "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that puttest thy bottle to *him*, and makest *him* drunken also." If the drunkard is subject to civil penalties, and ultimately consigned to perdition, what should be the sentence pronounced on the drunkard maker? And what will be the doom of him who has snatched the key of heaven from another, and thrown it into a fiery ocean?

Having thus, as we believe, given the outlines of a true Bible temperance, let us turn to the examination of the book whose title stands at the head of this article. This volume we believe to be the first in which a successful attempt is made to set forth the temperance of the Bible in its scientific form. By scientific form I mean the statement of the doctrine just as it is brought out by the true laws of interpretation, in such a way as can be understood, and as will harmonize the Bible with itself. Dr. Nott was really in advance of the age when he wrote these admirable lectures. No better proof is needed that this book leads the sentiment of our times, than the fact of its republication with such success, after so many years.

We may be permitted, however, to suggest a few corrections to the publishers for the next edition. On page 56, Numbers xxviii, should be Numbers xviii. On page 57, Genesis xlviii, should be Jeremiah xlviii. In the same sentence, *fall* should be printed *fail*, and wine-press wine-presses. On page 57, Isaiah xxvii, 2, Hemer should be written instead of *yayin*. On page 59, transpose "thou not." On page 79, Joel i, 5, y for k, in awake. On page 80, 1 Chronicles xxvii, 27, "wine-sellers" should be "wine cellars. Perhaps, however, the difference is so slight it is hardly worth noticing. On page 48, *note*, "Accum or Culinary Poisons," query Accum *on* Culinary Poisons. In the table, page 85, Jeremiah xli, 7, should be Jeremiah li, 7. On page 86, Genesis xliv, 11, should be Genesis xlix, 11; Deuteronomy xxviii, 30, should be Deuteronomy xxviii, 39; Isaiah xxxvi, 15, should be Isaiah xxxvi, 17. In the table in the appendix, page 292, Proverbs xxxi, 44, should be Proverbs xxxi, 4. In the same table, page 294, Isaiah i, 22, seems to have got into the wrong place. *Sobhe* is improperly quoted as used with *disapprobation*, in connection with *dross*. The passage reads, "Thy silver is become dross, thy wine (*sobhe*) mixed with water." This is a parallelism, in which wine answers to silver, in representing the virtue of the people, and dross to water in representing their vice or depravity. The table, however, is generally so accurate that this error

must have been overlooked. We should be glad of space for further quotation from this excellent work, but we must refer to the book itself. Like Dr. Nott's Lectures to Young Men, it deserves to be in every family and in every library.

The temperance reform has suffered many reverses. It has to contend with appetite, interest, and error. "This vine-stock is the very vilest tyrant, at once an oppressor, a flatterer, and a hypocrite. The first draughts of his blood are sweetly relishing; but one drop incessantly entices another after it; they succeed each other like a necklace of pearls which one fears to pull apart."* But there is a noble band of champions in this cause, Lyman Beecher, Eliphalet Nott, Edward C. Delavan, Neal Dow, and others, whose renowned and venerable names were not born to die. Let us not be discouraged, although God suffers our efforts for oppressed humanity for a while to be thwarted. *δει δε τους αγαθους ανδρας εγχειρειν μεν απασιν αει τοις καλοις, την αγαθην προβαλλομενους ελπιδα, φερειν δ' ὅ τι αν ὁ θεος διδῷ γενναιως.* These words of Demosthenes might express a Christian's faith: "Good men must needs glory always in every good cause, throwing out to steady them a generous hope, resolved to endure whatever Providence may send magnanimously." The importance of the Bible to the final success of temperance should be more generally recognized. The sword of the Spirit should not be left to slumber in its scabbard, as if we distrusted its power. As sure as the truth of God can never fail, our cause must succeed. But we cannot afford to rest now. We must work on, and fight on, until the spirit vender shall close up forever the last temple of fashionable death. Our work will only then be done, when we hear the coming of the millennial car of the Son of God. Then may we lay our armor by, and, safe from the clang of battle, rest in perpetual peace. Then may we feel content to see the star of temperance fade into the golden day of heaven.

Art. IX.—THE RELATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO HUMANITARIAN EFFORT.

There was a stupendous power in the early forms of paganism, to mold and control the minds of men. The deities of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, though partaking of the rude and ferocious characteristics of their worshipers, developing mainly the passions

* Goethe.

of the brute man, and, by their bloodthirsty rites, extinguishing all emotions of mercy or sympathy in the human breast, had yet a stalwart energy inherent in them, which made those nations the incarnations of manly power and vigor.

While this brute force led to the commission of hideous crimes of lust and murder, yet, in the hands of Him "who is wonderful in working," it was turned to the furtherance of his great designs in the progress and development of the human race. The colossal temples of Nineveh, the vast structures of Babylon, the pyramids, columns, temples, and sphinxes which line the banks of the Nile, all evince the energizing influence of their early faith on nations whose deities were the impersonations of mere physical power.

Ages later, the intellectual development of the race had so far progressed, that the brutal and bloodthirsty deities of the earlier times were distasteful to the refined worshipers of Greece and Rome. Baal, Moloch, Saturn, the Titans, Hercules, Odin, and Thor were not the gods to whom they were disposed to pay homage; their preference was for the intriguing Jupiter, the graceful Apollo, the adroit Mercury, the skillful Vulcan, or the commerce-loving Neptune; and to these they added a host of female deities, whose various offices demonstrated the advancing culture and refinement of the race, and gave sad evidence, also, of its increasing depravity.

Under the sway of the earlier deities men had gathered into communities and nations, had carried on wars, and developed the mechanic arts necessary for their successful prosecution, had erected rude dwellings, and massive but uncouth temples, had made some advances toward the invention of letters, and, amid bloodshed and carnage, had left to the ages that followed, evidences so ample and profound of their robust vigor and energy, that only the fires of the final conflagration shall be able utterly to obliterate them.

The generations of the second era of paganism had lost something of the *physical* power of their ancestors, but *intellectual* supremacy was the controlling idea of their religion, and it was to some development of this, that every sentiment incarnated in their Pantheon tended. Wonderful was the potency of this idea. Under the plastic hands of the architects of Greece and Rome grew temples and shrines, whose beauty transcended all previous creations of genius, and which three thousand years of intellectual culture have not enabled the moderns to surpass. The sculptor and painter, alike inspired with the hope of an immortality of fame, developed from the marble or depicted upon the canvas, forms whose majestic grandeur, or exquisite loveliness, have defied the skill of all sub-

sequent time to equal. In the very dawn of letters their poets depicted, with such graphic power, the passions and emotions of the human heart, that their compositions yet form some of our finest models.

Nor were they wanting in statesmanship. Throwing aside the stern and irresponsible despotisms of the earlier ages, they tried in turn every form of government with which our earth has been blessed or cursed; now rejoicing in a patriarchy, anon changing to an oligarchy; at one time placing all power in the hands of the people, and thus inaugurating, in its widest sense, a democracy; at another, by carefully contrived checks and balances, assimilating closely to modern ideas of a republican government; trying by turns presidents, governors, kings, and emperors; a limited and an absolute monarchy, an irresponsible dictatorship, and a government of consuls, tribunes, and censors.

Philosophers and moralists were not lacking among them; and knowing, as we do, the general looseness of morals and manners, we cannot but be astonished at the lofty tone of purity, and the almost inspired character of the precepts which fell from the lips of their wise men; precepts whose influence has been felt in every subsequent age.

But the time had come when paganism, as a vital principle in the development of humanity, must die. Its force was expended; it had accomplished something of good, but much more of evil in the world's history; the few truths it had drawn from the traditions of the early worship of Jehovah, though mingled with numberless errors, had aided it in maintaining its hold upon the human heart and conscience; a purer faith, divested of these errors, and introducing new and grand truths of whose existence paganism had never dreamed, but which were of vital importance to the race, was henceforth to sway mankind. The mission of paganism was ended. As a scheme of philosophy, not less than as a system of religion, it had failed, because it had recognized man only in the mass. The *individual* was not at all the object of its consideration; all had reference to the nation, the state, the city; it was the whole people, or at least the whole patrician portion of them, and not any particular individual, which law and religion alike regarded. Suffering, sorrow, disease, or misfortune, affecting the individual, excited no sympathy in the community, evoked no aid from neighbors or friends. As a corollary from this principle, the rights of the weak were not regarded, either in law or in fact. No Roman or Greek code, enacted prior to the Christian era, recognizes the legal rights of woman, of the sick, of the insane, the blind, the deaf-mute,

or the idiot; indeed there exist no known provisions for the protection of either of these classes, of any importance, prior to the Code Justinian, A.D. 529.

Did a stranger sink with disease in the streets of Rome or Athens, there was no hospital to which he might be borne, no tender hand to cool his fevered brow, or administer to his parched lips the refreshing draught. Did he writhe with anguish, the passers-by coolly told him that he should bear with fortitude the ills sent by the gods, or, perchance, if tinctured with the Pythagorean philosophy, comforted him with the hope that in some future transmigration he might appear on earth with a more healthful body. Were thousands of soldiers slain in a war of conquest, the state reared a column to the memory of its brave warriors, not as individuals, but as a portion of the army; and no thought was given to the widows or orphans left to suffer by their untimely death. Was a citizen seized with insanity, he was suffered to roam through the streets, or if troublesome put to death; unless for state reasons his life might be valuable to the community. Thus Augustus Cæsar was treated successfully for melancholy, while thousands of the insane populace were drowned or hurled from the Tarpeian rock.

Did a mother weep over her deformed, deaf, blind, or idiot child; she was urged to destroy its life; the state had no place for such helpless incumbrances; and besides, if destroyed in infancy, its return to earth in a more perfect form was probable. Bitter were the epithets of scorn heaped upon the parents who permitted so useless a progeny to live.

There was no organization intended for the relief of human suffering, or the alleviation of human misery. Of the thirty thousand gods of Greece, two only presided over the physical ills of humanity; and the priests and devotees of these acknowledged their interposition only by sacrifices and votive offerings, and not by any ministrations to the suffering or unfortunate. There were, indeed, physicans both in Greece and Rome, and some of them, like Hippocrates and Galen, eminent in their profession; but it was the rich, not the poor, who were benefited by their skill.

We have said that the mission of paganism was ended. Its death-throes, indeed, extended over the succeeding centuries; but He before whom its pomp and pageantry were to fall, at whose voice the Dodonæan oracle was dumb, and the nymphs and dryads bewailed that "great Pan was dead," had come. Along the plains of Galilee, amid the hills of Judea, and in the streets of Jerusalem, walked a man in humble garb, and of quiet demeanor, yet possess-

ing a power which, by a word, overthrew systems of idolatry which had existed for thirty centuries.

Would you know that potent word? It was LOVE; not the EROS of the Greek, even in its best sense; nor yet the CUPID of the Roman; not the earthly, base-born passion which alone the world had yet recognized; but the Divine, heavenly emotion which embraced in its sympathies every son and daughter of Adam. It was His mission to earth, as the God-man, to impart this Divine love to the human family; to exhibit it in all its phases in his earthly life, his sufferings and death, and in the way of salvation opened by his atonement for the guilty and erring.

Of this glorious atonement we have not here to speak; angelic minds, or the quickened and beatified intellects of the just made perfect, are alone adequate to such a theme; but on his life, example, and influence we may dwell; and in reviewing these, we shall find that while his mission to earth had for its highest object the redemption of the immortal spirit, he inaugurated also the relief of the bodily sufferings of man. Throughout his ministry he left no tear undried, no sorrow unalleviated, but his own. To the sick, he gave health; to the blind, sight; to the deaf, hearing; to the dumb, speech; to the lunatic, reason; to the paralytic, the use of his limbs; to the dying, life; and to the dead, a resurrection. The poor, the neglected, the outcast, were the objects of his special sympathy and regard; the humblest beggar on his dunghill, was in his view as worthy of his love as the monarch on his throne; the cripple Lazarus as the high priest in his official robes.

In man, however humble and degraded, he saw only a being destined to an immortality, either of life and glory, or of wretchedness and woe; and hence every act, every suffering, every defect of a creature awaiting such an existence, was worthy of sympathy, of care, of relief.

The influence of a mighty intellect or a great heart is never lost on the world. Though there be left to the ages that follow no written record of its wondrous deeds, or its noble and generous thoughts, yet their influence shall be transmitted by tradition from the hearts that were purified and elevated by their contact with it. So when He came whose mighty heart throbbed with the purest sympathy for human suffering, and propounded doctrines at war with the cold and selfish maxims of paganism, they found their echo in every human heart, and their reverberations have been heard along the centuries, till, like the thunder peals in the Alps, they have gathered strength from each reverberation, and their latest echo is the aggregation of all that have preceded it.

The principle of love and sympathy for our fellow-men enunciated by Him who "spoke as never man spoke," needed not to be inscribed on the page of Revelation to exert its influence on the race. It appealed to all that the fall has left in us that is just and noble; and when the disciples of Christ, from their very first organization as a Christian Church, began to manifest their solicitude for the welfare of the sick, the afflicted, the deformed, the blind, the deaf, and the insane, their conduct stood in such marked contrast with that of their pagan neighbors, and their good deeds were so worthy of praise, that even their persecutors were compelled to bear unwilling testimony to the purity of their character.

During the apostolic age, the miracles which attested the Divine power conferred on the ministers of Christ, were mostly such as relieved human defects, disease, or suffering; and after the holiness of the Christian character, and the elevation of Christian principle, had obviated the necessity of such testimony, the care of the sick, charity to the poor, and the relief of physical suffering and sorrow, were reckoned among the established duties of the Christian Church.

The appointment of deacons and deaconesses who should give special attention to these classes, the early endowment of hospitals for the sick, the care of the orphaned, and the universal recognition of the privilege and duty of almsgiving, all indicate the influence of our Saviour's teachings on the early Church.

When, at the commencement of the fourth century, Christianity had ejected paganism from political supremacy, and the first Christian emperor sat on the throne of the Cæsars, the same benign spirit still pervaded the Christian body. The gladiatorial shows, those schools in which the hard and cruel Roman had educated his taste for bloodshed and torture, were abolished, the slaves were redeemed from their thralldom, even at the sacrifice of all the revenues of many of the churches, and the Empress Helena set the noble example of establishing hospitals for the sick and insane.

As the Dark Ages drew on, and the Scandinavian hordes, with an imperfect civilization and a Christianity in which Odin and Thor had as conspicuous a place as the Divine Redeemer, precipitated themselves on the sunny plains of Southern Europe, and the Tartar tribes, with crescent borne aloft, carried fire and sword to the very gates of Constantinople, and enforced the faith of Islam on the tributaries of the Eastern empire, Christian sympathy slumbered; but though the war-trump sounded almost constantly among the nations of Christendom, and he who remained at home from the fierce contest with the infidel for the possession of the Holy Sepulcher, was often summoned to flesh his sword in the battles of con-

tending creeds; though the deeds of bloody persecution more than once excited the inquiry, whether the emotion of humanity had not died out of the hearts of men, yet there were evidences that the Divine love still possessed power on earth. Along the track of the Crusades, and even in the Holy City, when it had been rescued from the hands of the Moslem, hospitals were reared, where high-born maidens wiped the death-dews from the soldier's brow, and chanted in his dying ear that noble prayer for heavenly succor, the *Dies Iræ*.

In the principal cities of Italy and France, and in Constantinople, Christian fraternities were organized, the brethren of which visited and watched with the sick, administered consolation to the dying, and followed, "with solemn step and slow," the dead to his last resting-place.

The insane, hitherto permitted for the most part to go whither their mad fancies prompted, were gathered in houses of mercy or grace, as they were called; and if the mercy to these afflicted ones was but slight, severe beatings being considered the most effectual means of exorcising the devils with which it was believed they were possessed, it was yet a mercy to community that they should be restrained from the violence which had previously made them a terror to their neighbors.*

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries are comparatively barren of incidents which would indicate the activity of the principle of Christian benevolence. The Roman pontiff aspired to rule both earth and heaven; the monastic orders, weak, selfish, vain, proud, and quarrelsome, slaves of their own passions and lusts, had but the name of Christians, while possessing none of the spirit of Christ; the nations of Christendom were ignorant, degraded, and almost wholly given to sensualism and brutality. At no period since the Christian era had Christianity so fearfully degenerated, and approached so near to the paganism it had overthrown. Yet even in this period of gloom there shines out occasionally a deed of Christian charity,

* No view of the Dark Ages from the humanitarian stand-point would be either complete or satisfactory, which should neglect to make at least a passing allusion to the influence of feudalism and chivalry. Both, in their humane aspects, seem to have been outgrowths of Christianity, resulting from its influence upon the Teutonic mind. The sense of the mutual dependence of the strong and the weak, and the lofty reverence for woman, which had in all ages been characteristic of the Teuton, intensified by the combination of Christianity and superstition, which he had accepted as the true faith, led to a fealty on the part of the feudal retainers which atones for many of the faults of the system; and induced in the true knight the manifestation of some of the most heroic and noble traits of character which have ever graced Christian manhood.

which, though it cannot much illumine the darkness, yet prevents it from becoming total and universal.

Such was the reception of the insane at Gheel, a village of Belgium, which, though commenced at an earlier date, yet had not attained to much notoriety till the twelfth century. Though connected with some pretended miracles, the restoration of hundreds of the insane here was attributable only to a quiet simple life, kind treatment, and abundant exercise and labor in the open air. Of a similar character were the efforts for the recovery of the same class by the monks of the Pyrenees in the fifteenth century. While in France, Italy, Spain, and Germany, these "souls smitten of God," as the Pyrenean fathers reverently termed them, were subjected to cruelties the thought of which makes us shudder, these simple-minded monks, in their mountain retreats, sought by gentle means, and by the soothing influence of pure air and daily labor, to bring back the wandering mind from its vagaries, and restore reason to its throne. Prayer, and the reading of God's word, were also among the curative means they adopted, and it does not surprise us to learn that their success was wonderful. In that age insanity would have been a boon to be coveted, could it have brought the sufferer to the monks of the Pyrenees. The spirit which led Oliver de la Trau, near the close of the eleventh century, to found the order of Hospitallers, who, in the three following centuries, established, throughout Southern Europe, numerous hospitals for orphans and foundlings, and thus gave to these previously neglected little ones tender nurture and instruction; and the thoughtful care which led Louis IX., better known as Saint Louis, the best of the descendents of Hugh Capet, to found, in 1260, the "*Hospice des Quinze Vingts*, or Asylum for the Three Hundred," intended for that number of poor blind men and their families, are other instances of the existence of the spirit of Christian benevolence, even in this period of selfishness and heartlessness.

The humanitarian tendencies of the fourteeth and fifteenth centuries were confined almost entirely to the establishment of endowed schools and universities. In Great Britain, the University of Glasgow, King's College, Aberdeen, Sion College, Winchester, and Eton, were founded during this period; and on the Continent, the fourteenth century witnessed the organization of eight of the great universities, including those of Vienna, Leipsic, and Heidelberg.

Beneath the intellectual stagnation and selfishness which existed at this period, and which had been accumulating for centuries, causes were at work which were soon to produce unexpected and startling results. The minds of the people had been interested and

awakened by the stirring events of the Crusades, and now, as the palmer's staff stood idly by the wall, and the Damascus blade rusted in its scabbard, they looked eagerly for the coming of some new event which should change the current of their thoughts, and fill the aching void in their hearts. This restless tendency of the masses is exemplified in the excitement which spread over Southern Europe at the appearance of the dancing mania, which occurred in the latter part of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, (A. D. 1364–1418.) The prophecies and denunciations which proceeded from the lips of these demoniacs, were listened to with the deepest interest by the people, and believed to be revelations from God; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the secular authorities could control them, or convince them that these supposed revelations were merely the ravings of madmen.

The "coming events" had, indeed, "cast their shadows before;" a new era was about to dawn on man, an era of intellectual and moral activity such as the world had not yet seen; a new power was to be introduced, whose influence for good and evil on the generations to come no man might measure. The ART OF PRINTING, delayed for long ages, was brought into existence just when the quickened intellect of man demanded a more rapid and extensive power of expression. Humble were its beginnings in the fifteenth century, and small its capacities; but in our own time it has become the mightiest of human inventions, and though in the hands of the enemies of the cross it has been powerful for evil, yet the Christian looks upon it as the agent which, under God, shall be more powerful than any other in subjugating this fallen world to the dominion of his Son.

Under this new influence light began to spread; the ability to read and write, heretofore considered as the exclusive privilege of the monk, the priest, and the noble, was now claimed as the birthright of even the humblest peasant. Nor were the earnest minds thus aroused from the slumber of ages, to be satisfied with monkish legends, fabulous lives of the saints, or tales of Amadis de Gaul, and the other knights of chivalry. The little treatise of Thomas à Kempis, "*De Imitatione Christi*," was read with eagerness, and translated into most of the languages of Europe. The desire awakened in the hearts of the people to know more of Christ, and more of the Scriptures untrammeled by the preacher's gloss, or the monk's paraphrase and perversion, was becoming too intense to admit of denial.

It was when the discovery of America had added to the intense excitement which pervaded Europe, and the world was all agape to

know what further wondrous events were about to dawn upon it, that God called forth the monk of Erfurth to be his champion; a man whose sonorous voice drowned the thunders of the Vatican, whose bold challenging of hoary error, powerful advocacy of the right of private judgment, and hearty sympathy with reform, fitted him pre-eminently to be a "king of men." Bold, fearless, coarse at times, perhaps, but thoroughly honest, recognizing the importance of his mission, and never flinching from the results of his positions, Luther leaped into the arena of conflict, and contended almost single-handed against the Roman pontiff, before whose terrible anathema the most powerful monarchs of Europe had quailed. They trusted in their own prowess, he in the arm of Jehovah; they contended for earthly power for their own liberation from the galling yoke of the despotic pope; he for freedom of thought, the rights of conscience, the supremacy of truth; they yielded, he conquered; and mind, released from its thralldom, rose, like the uncaged eagle, to its own lofty empyrean. From that hour humanity resumed its sway over the hearts of men; and though in the struggles that followed hundreds of thousands of brave hearts perished by the assassin's knife, or underwent death at the stake or on the gallows, yet with every year the Divine principle of love—love to our brother whom we have seen, as the most convincing evidence of our love to the God whom we have not seen—permeated more thoroughly the human heart. The two great opposing forces of Christendom, Protestantism and popery, came often into conflict, and bloody as was their strife, each learned in the contest that deeds of humanity were the most palpable proofs of the purity of their Christianity; and even where much of error remained, both in doctrine and practice, the seeds of charity still sprung up among the tares and bore fruit. The first development of this spirit of benevolence exhibited itself in efforts for the more general diffusion of knowledge. Hitherto education had been the privilege of the rich; henceforth it was to be the right of the poor; God's word, hitherto sealed up from the masses in a dead language, was henceforth to be spread before them in their own vernacular, and the humblest peasant, under his own roof-tree, was to hear of the wonderful works of Jehovah. Under the fostering care of Luther, Calvin, Zwinglius, and Melancthon, schools for the poor were established, and universities, on a scale of liberality before unknown, were opened, to which the poor scholar might resort, and where such privileges and assistance were granted as placed an education within the reach of all.

The great English schools of Westminster, Rugby, and Harrow belong to this period, as does also one of far greater interest than these

—the Christ Church Hospital School, better known as the "Blue Coat School," which had its origin in the zeal of Bishop Ridley for the instruction of the children of the poor, and in the piety and benevolence of the boy-king, Edward VI. The success of this noble institution led George Heriot, a native of Edinburgh, though then residing in London, to leave a bequest for the foundation of a similar school in his native city; a bequest so ample, and so wisely guarded, that at this day more than three thousand of the children of that city are enjoying its advantages.

The zeal of the Protestants for education awakened a spirit of emulation on the part of the Catholics, and numerous institutions of learning were founded by the disciples of Loyola and the monastic orders, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It has been a marked characteristic of Romanism, and one suggestive of its affinities with paganism, that its operations of benevolence are always carried on by associations, and as a duty to which those performing these acts have been trained, rather than from the spontaneous desire of usefulness upon which Protestants have always relied. We shall not pause here to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of this system, but merely allude to it, as explanatory of the organizations so greatly multiplied at the period of which we are speaking, and most of which still exist.

Vincent de Paul, a man justly regarded by Catholics as one of the noblest philanthropists, whose name has added luster to their ecclesiastical annals, in addition to his other labors for the benefit of his fellow-men, labors not without some taint of bigotry, founded the order of Sisters of Charity, whose exertions in the cause of female education, and in the care of the sick, are so well known. Their success in their vocation as teachers, led to the subsequent organization of the Ursulines, Sisters of Mercy, and other religious orders, who have devoted themselves exclusively to female education. Some fifty years later, Jean Baptist de la Salle, a canon of Rheims, abandoned his chances of Church preferment to devote himself to the education of the poor. He founded, in 1681, the Institute of Brothers of the Christian Schools, an order now extending through all Catholic countries, and having the supervision of the educational interests of the Church. While we would do no injustice to the memory of such men as Vincent de Paul and De la Salle, we cannot forget that Protestantism has produced philanthropists whose charities have been as abundant, their zeal as fervent, their faith as strong, and their love for their fellow-men as ardent as any saint of the Romish calendar.

Of one of these, the gifted yet simple-hearted Franke, a few

words may not be inappropriate. Endowed with extraordinary abilities and eloquence, few men have possessed a higher reputation either in the pulpit or the professor's chair; yet he willingly abandoned both to devote himself to the education and support of the children of the poor. He was himself without property, but no man ever possessed a larger measure of faith in God; and when the little ones came to him and pleaded for instruction and sustenance, he received them and called on God for aid, with the most childlike confidence that his prayer would be heard; and it was heard; our heavenly Father never turned away such a suppliant. The means came as fast as they were needed, and between 1695 and 1709, he had established at Halle four schools for different classes of pupils, a school for teachers, a house for widows, a Bible press for furnishing the Scriptures at a cheap rate, a library for his schools, an apothecary shop for furnishing medicine to the poor, and a book establishment. The "Hallische Waisenhaus," as his institution is called, is the largest educational establishment in Europe; nearly four thousand children attend it daily, and tens of thousands of the German youth have received their education there. Yet the fund from which sprung this vast pile of buildings, which have disseminated throughout Europe far more of good than has issued from all its palaces, was a little more than four dollars!

During the seventeenth century, or rather, near the close of the sixteenth, the first efforts were made to instruct the deaf and dumb, by Pedro Ponce de Leon, a Benedictine monk of Barcelona, Spain. Up to this period they had been regarded and pronounced by Roman pontiffs incapable of instruction, and morally irresponsible. Ponce de Leon instructed but few pupils, but his success prompted Sibscota, Dalgarno, Wallis, and Holder, in England, during the seventeenth century, to attempt the same work. The efforts thus made were, however, isolated, and did not lead to the maintenance of any permanent schools for their instruction, or to any general result. The age was not yet fully imbued with the spirit of humanity.

The gathering of the insane into hospitals was more general during this period than at any time previous. The great English Bethlehem Hospital, from whence is derived the term bedlam, so often applied to hospitals for the insane, had its origin in 1547, and many of the continental hospitals date from the latter part of the sixteenth century. The treatment was not yet to be commended, for it was deemed necessary, as in the time of Sir Thomas More, on the accession of a paroxysm of excitement, to "stripe the patient till he waxed weary;" but thoughtful men were investigating the phenomena

of mental disease more carefully than ever before, and their labors were, in after times, productive of good.

This was the era of the organization of foundling hospitals; institutions which originated, undoubtedly, from the benevolent design of mitigating the evils which fell upon helpless infancy from the prevalence of licentiousness; but which many good men regard as having increased the very evils they were intended to prevent or meliorate.

It is, however, in the period which has elapsed since the commencement of the eighteenth century, that the progress of humanitarian effort has been most rapid and glorious. The principles of the Reformation had taken deep root, and like a goodly cedar, their branches expanded on every side, and their leaves, like those of the tree of life, were for the healing of the nations. The orphan school of Franke, at Halle, had reared among its pupils a Count Zinzendorff, the founder of the Moravians or Hernhutters, who, by a simple and godly life, a stern abnegation of self and all selfish gratifications, and an earnest practical piety, exemplified a type of Christianity more nearly apostolic than had appeared hitherto in modern times; The wilderness of the New World, where, a century before, savage beasts and still more savage men roamed at will, now bloomed like the garden of the Lord, and its devoted ministers were endeavoring to lead the rude Indian to Christ. The Moravian missionaries, in the service of their Divine Master, penetrated the wigwam of the Western savage, and the snow-hut of the Esquimaux; and though long years of toil passed before their hearts were gladdened by the first convert, they labored on patiently and uncomplainingly. The noble-hearted and generous Oglethorpe, fired with zeal by Franke's example, determined to establish, in his new colony of Georgia, an orphan-house which should rival that at Halle, and having enlisted Whitefield in the work, sent him across the Atlantic to aid in establishing it. The orphan-house project proved a failure; but Whitefield's zeal and devotion awakened in the Churches of America a fervor which is not yet extinguished.

It was at this period, also, that the Wesleys, driven from the Established Church by its apathy and deadness, organized their followers into a compact body, which, acting as the light artillery of God's sacramental host, has carried intelligence and Christianity along the frontiers of civilization.

The society of Friends, abandoning the vagaries which had led some of their earlier leaders into wild and unwarrantable excesses, both of doctrine and practice, distinguished themselves by those deeds of active yet unostentatious benevolence which have made the name of Quaker and philanthropist practically synonymous.

In the Catholic Church, the followers of Loyola, desirous of demonstrating that there was in the Catholic faith a higher philanthropy than Protestantism could boast, constantly sought out new fields of benevolence, and either occupied them themselves, or stimulated some of the monastic orders to do so. They had already, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, encircled the globe with their missions. China, India, Japan, the Coast of Mozambique, and Western Africa, from the Bight of Benin to the boundaries of Benguela, Brazil, Chili, Peru, Colombia, Central America, California, Florida, Louisiana, Illinois, and Canada, each had a corps of active, intriguing, restless priests, exerting often a favorable influence over the natives of these countries, but often, also, seeking the opportunity to control and influence their rulers, and to govern the nations they came professedly to Christianize. In the eighteenth century their sphere of missionary operations was still more enlarged, and although China and Japan had expelled their priests, and their missions in Western Africa were already tottering to decay, yet it was with a proud humility that they reported the success of their labors. "See," says one of their bishops, writing from San Salvador, in Western Africa, "Ethiopia stretch forth her hands to God!" A century has passed, and the magnificent cathedrals which lined that western coast are all in ruins; the palaces of the African bishops have crumbled to decay, and the rank vegetation of the tropical clime has made those populous streets a forest; the descendants of the once professedly Christian population of Loando still inhabit the land of their fathers, but there is not, on all the continent of Africa, a nation more hopelessly pagan than they. The imposing forms of the Catholic ritual, sustained among them by military force, were abandoned so soon as that force was withdrawn, and as their hearts had never been affected, the return to paganism was as complete as it was speedy.

Of all these missions, so numerous, and reputed so successful, hardly one now remains. In the interior of South America, among some of the simple native tribes, a padre may yet be found occupying one of the great mission farms, and occasionally instructing his docile converts as a return for their labors as herdsmen or tillers of his grounds; but elsewhere the missions are abandoned, and the converts and their descendants have lapsed into heathenism.

In other departments of humanitarian effort, the Catholic Church was not without its eminent worthies in the eighteenth century. The Abbé de l'Epeé, one of the purest and noblest men in her communion, established, in 1755, the first permanent school for deaf-

mutes, and, by the introduction of the sign language, opened to them a new world of thought and intelligence.

Valentin Haüy, a man of gentle and loving spirit, organized, some thirty years later, the first school for the instruction of the blind, and amid the terrors of the French Revolution and the severe privations that followed, struggled on bravely, even depriving himself of necessary food that his children, as he called his blind pupils, might not be scattered.

Other philanthropists, in other lands, entered upon these fields of benevolent effort within a few years after these pioneers. Some, like Heinicke and Braidwood, in the instruction of deaf-mutes, adopting other methods, which subsequent experience has shown to be less successful; others, like Klein in Vienna, and Zeune in Berlin, in the instruction of the blind, following in the footsteps of Haüy, and avowing their indebtedness to him for their plans of instruction.

It is to a countryman of Haüy and De l'Epée that the merit is due of having first relieved the insane from the cruelties which they had so long suffered. In 1792 Philip Pinel, a French physician, to whom the government had assigned the charge of the Bicêtre, one of the great insane hospitals of Paris, entered the cells of that hospital and liberated from chains and confinement fifty-three of the patients, some of whom had been for thirty years in close restraint. The same year William Tuke, a member of the Society of Friends in York, England, took the preliminary measures which led to the establishment of the Retreat for the Insane near York, the first insane hospital in the world established on the principles of non-restraint.

Following, unconsciously perhaps, in the footsteps of the early Church, the Christianity of the eighteenth century assailed the gigantic evils of slavery and the atrocious slave-trade, which for two centuries had torn from the coast of Africa its hapless inhabitants by millions, and had subjected them to the fearful horrors of the middle passage. Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., of Newport, Rhode Island, was one of the earliest and most vigorous assailants of this inhuman traffic, in which the merchants of that town were largely engaged. From the time of his settlement there, in 1770, to his death, he was unsparing in his denunciations of it, and his powerful arguments led to its prohibition in this country after 1808, and to the noble and protracted struggle in the British Parliament (1785–1810) between Granville Sharpe, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Fox on the one side, and the advocates of the traffic on the other. No parliamentary conflict of modern times compares with this in

the ability of the advocates on both sides, the importance of the question discussed, or the pertinacity with which every step of progress was resisted. The right triumphed at length, as it always will when truth and error are engaged in hostile encounter; and though before the final victory was achieved, most of the original champions were numbered with the dead, yet the anti-slavery philanthropists of Great Britain did not relax their efforts till every slave in the empire was free.

To the eighteenth century, also, belongs the origination of the Sunday-school enterprise. The honor of initiating this good work is claimed for several individuals, and apparently with equal authority in each case. It can hardly be doubted that the idea of instructing poor and vagrant children on the Sabbath occurred nearly simultaneously to several individuals in different countries, and that each, in his own circle of influence, was the founder of Sabbath schools. Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, Deacon Fox, of London, the pastor Oberlin, of the Ban de la Roche, San Carlo Borromeo, of Milan, and two or three persons in this country, are among the number who established such schools without any previous knowledge that others had attempted the work. The results of this enterprise in the promotion of intelligence, the cultivation of habits of reading, and, above all, in the inculcation of religious truth, have been beyond the most sanguine hopes of its early friends. Thousands have received in the Sunday school their only instruction in reading, who have afterward become useful and intelligent citizens and active Christians, and the library, now the universal adjunct of the school, furnishes in many cases a larger amount of valuable reading than is otherwise accessible to the laboring classes.

The inauguration of the modern missionary enterprise is, however, the crowning glory of the eighteenth century. We have already adverted to the missions of the Catholic Church, and to their inefficiency as agencies for the diffusion of a pure Christianity. The Moravian missions, to which we have also alluded, were sent forth in the right spirit, and are deserving of all praise for the good they accomplished; but the brethren of Hernhut were but a handful in numbers, and their missionary enterprise, though now justly regarded as a development of Christian philanthropy far in advance of their age, was then considered a piece of spiritual Quixotism, of which no rational Christian would be guilty.

It was not until Clive, by the victory of Plassey, in 1757, had raised the East India Company's possessions in Hindoostan from a petty commercial colony to the rank of an empire, with more than fifty millions of inhabitants, that the condition of the heathen began

to excite the attention and interest of Christians in Great Britain. The existence of Thugism, the fearful massacre of victims at the Juggernaut festival, the horrors of the suttee, the universal prevalence of infanticide, and the exposure of the aged, the sick, and the dying upon the banks of the Ganges, all awakened the desire to teach these poor degraded heathen the way of salvation. At last two dissenting ministers, in whose hearts burned the love of souls, offered themselves for the work. The commercial interest, ever intensely selfish, and then, as now, too groveling in its nature to recognize the principles of humanity, which lie at the very basis of Christianity, rose at once in opposition to the movement. Scorn, contempt, and unqualified denunciation were launched against these humble disciples of Christ by men high in station in the British Parliament: "They were mere renegades from the cobbler's bench, masters of petty handicraft trades, and utterly incapable of coping with the astute and learned Brahmin; besides, the government was under obligation to protect the natives of Hindoostan in the free exercise of their religion. It would never do to interfere with that, and, if necessary, troops must be detailed to secure to them freedom from molestation in their festivals and suttees." Unawed by these denunciations, trusting in the promises of Him whose Divine commission was their only warrant, Carey and Thomas sailed for India, and though forbidden to enter the dominions of the East India Company, found a resting-place at Serampore. Sixty-four years have elapsed since that time; the story of their labors, and toils, and those of their successors, are now a part of the world's history. Of the thousands converted to Christianity through the efforts of Christian missionaries who have followed in their footsteps, we will not speak; but the philanthropist, at least, may be permitted to rejoice that, as a result of missionary effort, the Thugs have been extirpated, the immolation of victims under the wheels of Juggernaut's car prohibited, the suttee abolished, the devotees no longer permitted to torture themselves by swinging on hooks, infanticide checked, and the hideous crocodile deprived of his living prey on the banks of the Ganges; and though now Mohammedanism is making a desperate struggle to recover its lost supremacy over a portion of the peninsula, and Brahmin and Moslem make common cause against the Christianity which both hate, yet the power of caste is broken, and the dominion of the Mogul a thing of the past; the swarthy sons of Hindoostan shall yet yield to the scepter of King Immanuel, and his triumph come the sooner for this outbreak of his foes.

But it is not alone in India that the Christian missionary has planted the standard of the cross. Like the Catholic missions of

the seventeenth century, the modern missionary enterprise has encircled the globe; Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, Australia, Malaysia, and the islands of the sea are dotted with its stations; but, *unlike* those missions, it mingles not with the political affairs of the nations it seeks to benefit; affects no pomp, display, or worldly grandeur, but seeks only to bring men to Christ, and to the Christian philanthropist. There is no more convincing proof of the elevating power of a pure Christianity than the fact that, under its benign influence, the licentious and degraded cannibals of New-Zealand and the Sandwich and Society Islands, have abandoned their depraved and heathenish practices, and taken a respectable rank among the nations of Christendom; that the simple, timid Karen, and the wild and brutal Choctaw and Cherokee tribes, have adopted the habits and customs of civilized life; and that other nations are passing through the transition period of their history, and bid fair soon to take their place among the Christian nations of the world. Already the crescent begins to wane before the cross, and the lands where prophet and apostle once labored and taught, renouncing the faith of Islam, are returning to the doctrines of the Gospel. The changes thus effected are not mere changes of form, the substitution of one superstitious rite for another, rendering a relapse into barbarism inevitable so soon as the outside pressure is withdrawn. The hearts, affections, hopes, and aims of the converts are changed; and in most of the missionary fields, were every American or European missionary withdrawn at once, the native preachers and disciples would go on, more slowly indeed, but steadily, to a higher plane of civilization.

In thus referring to the results of the modern missionary enterprise, we have anticipated, in part, our review of the progress of humanitarian effort since the commencement of the present century; but enough remains to be said of its triumphs in other fields. Intellect was never quickened into such activity as now; the humane teachings of the Saviour were never so fully understood or practiced, the ties of human brotherhood so fully recognized, or the responsibility of man for the welfare of his fellow-man, so thoroughly understood. We have seen within the present century the institutions for the deaf and dumb increased from six or eight to more than two hundred, and through the influence of Sicard in France, Baker in England, and Gallaudet, Clerc, and Peet in this country, their usefulness and sphere of instruction greatly enlarged; institutions for the blind established in every country in Europe, and in more than half the states of our own Union, and the word of God so printed that they may literally "feel after him, if haply they

may find him;" the insane no longer subjected to cruelty and torture, but gathered into hospitals, where, by kind and gentle treatment, agreeable amusements, the solace of books, paintings, and music, and such employment as may withdraw the mind from its sorrows, they may be restored to reason and to society again; the poor idiot and the cretin, long believed to be irresponsible and beyond the pale of human sympathy, through the benevolent labors of Guggenbühl, Seguin, Wilbur, Howe, and others, so far improved as to be fitted to perform the ordinary duties of life, and to tread, though with faltering step, the way of holiness.

War has been deprived of much of its horrors, and its frequency diminished; the great temperance reform, though it has not yet wholly stayed the plague of intoxication, has rendered the traffic in intoxicating drinks disreputable, has rescued its thousands from the drunkard's grave, and has prevented tens of thousands more from entering upon the downward course. The death penalty has been restricted to the highest crimes; the criminal encouraged to attempt a better life; the juvenile offender and the vagrant child rescued from a career of crime, and by careful training transformed into useful and respected citizens; aged and infirm females provided with a home and its comforts; the repentant Magdalen raised from her degradation, and encouraged by a sister's kindness to "go and sin no more."

We grieve that with these triumphs of humanity, we may not also record the downfall of that monster evil, human slavery; but we rejoice to know that its doom is sealed; that in its audacity and reckless disregard of all obligations, human and Divine, may be seen the surest presage of its speedy overthrow.

This progress of philanthropy, this fulfillment of the *new* commandment of our Saviour, should inspire us with the most glowing hopes for the future. The ages to come will develop, in its highest glory, LOVE as the crowning attribute of Divinity. The lineaments of the Divine image, obliterated by the fall, shall reappear in the sons of God, redeemed by a Saviour's blood; and as Christianity shall triumph over the hoary forms of error, man shall cease to be the slave of his appetites and passions, shall better comprehend, and more fully observe the Heaven-appointed laws of his physical nature; and while his sympathies for the whole human brotherhood shall become increasingly active, the objects which now specially excite those sympathies shall constantly decrease, till all over our world, now stained with sin, and abounding in mental, moral, and physical deformity, there shall be found no hardened criminal, no reckless and degraded inebriate, no painted harlot, no beggar clothed in rags,

no deformed, blind, dumb, or crippled sufferer, no raving maniac, no helpless idiot, and no loathsome cretin basking in the sun; but health, holiness, and happiness, shall pervade the earth. For such a period let us pray and hope; its coming may be nearer than we think; eyes already opened to the light of day may see its glorious dawn; for all things portend the speedy fulfillment of the Revelator's vision, and betoken the hastening of that time when the angelic host and the glorified saints shall send up to the throne of God new anthems of praise, as, looking forth from the battlements of heaven, they behold "new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."

Art. X.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—*Lord Palmerston*, than whom, as the Evangelical party believes, no man has ever appointed better bishops; than whom, as the High Churchmen say, no man has ever done more harm to the Church of England, has been succeeded as Prime Minister by *Lord Derby*, who is supposed to sympathize with the Broad Church party. The friends of Dr. Pusey find, however, some consolation in the assurance that there is some good Church influence in the new councils, and that at all events the new Prime Minister will not do them as much harm as Palmerston. Derby has declared himself against the abolition of Church rates, which is desired by a large majority in the House of Commons; against stopping the annual support of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, unless a fixed compensation be granted to it; and for a continuance of the connection between Church and State. "This latter question," says *the Press*, a political organ over which Mr. Disraeli is supposed to have some influence, "is more and more becoming a large question of vital importance, which is no longer looming in the distance. Statesmen do not like to talk of it, or to think of it; for it is a hard and thorny question. But whether they shrink from it or not, the controversy draws nearer and nearer, and it will hardly be possible for the most cautious politicians to avert an open struggle for many years longer. This, this chiefly and solely, is the remaining battle-field between Conservative and Liberal." *The bishops of the Established Church*, though among them well-nigh every shade of opinion in the Church is represented, are unanimously opposed to a revision of the Prayer Book, as moved in the House of Lords by Lord Ebury. This has given particular satisfaction to the High Churchmen, who, on the other hand, are greatly offended at the discussions of the upper house of *the Convocation for Canterbury* on daily Church services, "because the right reverend fathers of the Church discourage the observance of the clearest intentions of the Prayer Book, to say nothing of the warrant of the Holy Scripture." An attempt to carry in the same Convocation a resolution against the "violent infraction of the most solemn rights and privileges of the Church, committed by the new Divorce Act," failed. In *the province of York* the archbishop, as usual, refused to allow to the Convocation any opportunity of proceeding to business, *gravamina* against which procedure were signed by nearly all the members present. The three archdeacons of the Diocese of Oxford, appointed by the bishop a committee to investigate the charges of Romanizing tendencies brought against the *Cuddesdon Theological Seminary*, have negatived the principal charges, though they find "some unfortunate resemblances to the practices of the Roman Church." The long controversy on the admissibility of *Archdeacon Denison's Eucharistic Doctrines* in the Church of England, has been finally settled by a decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, dismissing the

appeal of Mr. Ditcher against the sentence of the Court of Arches. But, terminated in England, it breaks out again in Scotland, where the Bishop of Brechin is charged with un-Protestant views on the same subject by his colleagues of Edinburgh, Argyle, and Glasgow. *The English Methodists* report about six hundred thousand dollars missionary contributions the last year, being an advance on the preceding year. Their number of Church members has likewise increased, and they never stood in an attitude of more strength and dignity before the religious world than at this hour. At a synod of *the English Presbyterians*, held in Manchester, a motion against the use of the organ was carried by a majority of 72 against 62. *The Society of Friends* has diminished in number during the last half century, though the population of Great Britain has more than doubled itself.

The Roman Church.—According to the *Weekly Register* of London, the Roman Church has been joined during the last three months by several other clergymen of the Established Church, and by *Lord Norreys*, eldest son of the Earl of Abingdon. This will place another English earldom under the influence of Rome. On the first of May *Cardinal Wiseman* performed the solemn blessing of four ships at Deptford, the first instance of the blessing of a ship in England since the Reformation. Extraordinary occurrences are reported from the *Irish College in Paris*, an institution which prepares some seventy Irish students for the priesthood, and whose supreme direction is vested in a board of the Irish bishops, representing the entire Irish episcopate. The president, Dr. Miley, has, without charge, trial, or investigation, expelled the two other professors from the institution, and induced the French government, against the wish of the cardinal archbishop of Paris, to serve them with a peremptory order to quit France at once, or else they would be flung into prison for six months. Dr. Miley is said to be jealous of the Irish spiritual direction, and to lean on the secular government. The case will be investigated by a general meeting of the Irish prelacy in June next. In the mean while, to allow the irritation to subside, a vacation has been decreed.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches.—All parties in *Prussia* seem to be aware that the Prince of Prussia delays *a radical change in the Church government* only out of regard for his brother, the king. The resignation of *Dr. Stahl*, as member of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council has not yet been officially accepted, but he takes no longer any part in its transactions. He devotes his time to an elaborate work on the "*Union*," while his celebrated opponent, *Chevalier Bunsen*, has just published the first volume of his long expected translation of the Bible. Some more troubles have followed the proceedings of *the General Synods of Bavaria*; Count Giech, the most influential lay member of the Church and of the general synods, having been indicted by the government for publishing certain views which the royal commissary at the General Synod of Baireuth prevented him, by order of the government, from uttering before the Synod. It appears that the leading men in the Bavarian Church, though highly conservative in all political questions, intend to exert themselves strenuously for a greater independence of the Church. At the *University of Erlangen*, which, together with Rostock and Leipzic, is a literary stronghold of Lutheran High-Churchism, the number of theological students has risen to three hundred and twenty-five, an extraordinary increase, which indicates that the prospects of the High-Churchmen are favorable as far as the clergy are concerned. The Theological Faculty of the same university has passed the resolution that, contrary to its whole past history, and in spite of the fact that Erlangen is the only *Protestant* university of Bavaria, it will henceforth confer the title of D.D. only on members of *the Lutheran Church.* It has recently become known that *Rev. W. Löhe*, the leader of the extremest faction of the Bavarian High-Churchmen, has introduced in his congregation as long as two years ago a rite which substantially is the same as the sacrament of extreme unction in the Church of Rome. The Supreme Consistory of Munich, though generally agreeing with the views of Löhe, has been forced, by public opinion, to forbid this innovation. In the grand-duchy of *Mecklenburg*, where, likewise the restoration of a species of Protestant popery is attempted, a distinguished professor of the Theological Faculty of Rostock, *Dr. Baumgarten*, has been dismissed on account of doctrines which are at variance with some ducal decrees of 1552 and 1602, defining what is to be considered in the country of Mecklen

burg for all time to come, as pure and unchangeable Christianity. In *the electorate of Hesse*, a friend of Dr. Vilmar, well known as one of the ablest and most Romanizing High-Churchmen of Germany, has been appointed one of the three superintendents-general of the Church; but the professors of theology at Marburg who are Low-Church, have brought a law-suit against Dr. Vilmar, who is now their colleague, for having slandered and defamed them in an anonymous pamphlet written for electioneering purposes. In *Austria* nothing is heard of the promised *reorganization of the Hungarian Church*, though nearly a year has elapsed since all the Protestant Synods expressed a desire that a General Synod be called in order to decide, as the only competent authority, on the adoption or rejection of the proposals of the government. In *Tyrol* a Protestant mining society has received, after long negotiations, the right of buying property, but the official Gazette of Vienna remarks that this concession has been only made in order to give to the poor population a better opportunity for gaining their livelihood, and that a general inference, with regard to the right of non-Catholics to buy property in Tyrol, must not be drawn from it. As a concession of greater importance, we consider a recent decree of the Ministry of Public Worship, according to which *the accounts of the Protestant Churches* will no longer be revised by the government, but only by the proper ecclesiastical board.

The Roman Church. — Notwithstanding the extraordinary favors which the Roman Church continues to receive from *the government of Austria*, she is far from being satisfied with the progress of her influence on the people. The whole Catholic population of Austria, amounting to over thirty millions, contributed last year no more than about sixty thousand dollars for Foreign Missions. Nearly each one of the few Catholic organs of Austria has been crippled by the new press laws which have gone into effect on the first of January of the present year, while the anti-Catholic press and literature enjoys, notwithstanding all the gagging, an exuberant growth. *The king of Bavaria* is again accused of appointing bishops of doubtful orthodoxy. As the Catholic press of Germany is not permitted to speak on such subjects, the grievances of the ultramontane party are made public through the columns of the *Univers* of Paris, which, ex. gr., brought recently a thundering article against the candidate nominated by the king for the vacant see of Regensburg. He was accused of living on friendly terms with the family of an uncle who had turned Protestant. But though the opinion of the Univers is not without influence in Rome, the charge was this time not considered sufficient to withhold his ratification, and the obnoxious candidate has, at present, entered upon his episcopal duties. From *Prussia*, *Wirtemberg*, and *Baden*, it is reported that the teachers of the public schools, though they are educated at the expense of the state, and receive from the state their salaries, are becoming too docile to the instruction of the Church. In Wirtemburg they refuse to meet with Protestant colleagues in common teacher's conferences. In Prussia a Conference has excluded a member because he has a Protestant wife; and in Baden one teacher has declared to the superintendent of the state, that he holds himself subject to the orders of the Church, but not to those of the state. In Wirtemberg *the University of Tubingen* has excluded the Faculty of Catholic Theology, because, by the new concordat, it is wholly placed under the superintendence of the bishop; the government, however, has annulled this resolution. In *the Duchy of Nassau*, of whose population (432,039 in 1856) nearly one half is Catholic, the ultramontane party has obtained an unusual success, its candidates for both branches of the Legislature being elected in all the purely Catholic and in most of the mixed districts.

SWITZERLAND.

The Protestant Churches.—The Federal Government continues to order the marching of troops on Sundays. After the example of the Protestant Synod of Berne, the Catholic cantons of Fribourg and Unterwalden have protested against it, though likewise without result. The *Conference of Reformed Church Governments*, for effecting a closer connection between the hitherto independent Churches of the various cantons, was to meet in Zurich toward the close of April. The same subject will be discussed by the next General Assembly of the Reformed Swiss clergy at Aarau. A circular of the committee points to the importance of this question, at a time when the Roman Church is successful also in Switzerland in re-establishing among its members a compacter unity. In Zurich *Dr. Volck-*

mar, who, in a work destined for the people, has repeated the views of Dr. Strauss and his friends on the New Testament, has been appointed, by the Grand Council, Extraordinary Professor in the Theological Faculty. The majority of the Church Council of Zurich have declared themselves opposed to the promotion of Dr. Volckmar, on account of the "bold hypotheses" contained in his book; but as Volckmar has had the right of lecturing before, and as it is only a title, without salary, which it is intended to confer on him, the Church Council has unanimously agreed to desist from further opposition for the present. The Church papers of the Reformed Church complain of the activity of the independent Churches, as the Methodists, Irvingites, and others, and in several places their meetings had been forbidden.

The Roman Church.—The Bishop of St. Gall has addressed a memorial to the Grand Council of the canton, in which he demands that a law of 1835, establishing a common cantonal school for Catholics and Protestants be repealed, as inconsistent with the rights of the Catholic Church. As nearly one half of the members of the Grand Council are ultramontanes, the demand has been rejected only by a majority of a few votes. At the discussion of this question a great majority of the Swiss papers, and all the organs of the Protestant State Churches, pleaded the necessity of reserving to the state a right of veto-ing the publication of ecclesiastical decrees. The *Grand Council of Fribourg*, in which the opposition to the ultramontane majority is reduced to four votes, has resolved to restore to the Jesuits and Redemptorists that portion of their confiscated property which has not yet been sold, and to indemnify them for the rest. The government of Argovia pretends to compel all the priests of the canton, under a penalty of fifty francs, to publish, in their churches, the bans of all mixed marriages, in spite of the prohibition of the bishop; and it is characteristic of European views of Church and state, that the Protestant press finds such a decree entirely proper, though nothing hinders the parties concerned from being married by a Protestant clergyman.

SCANDINAVIA.

Protestantism.—After the rejection of the *Religious Liberty Bill* by the Swedish Diet, the Law Committee of the Diet has drafted another bill, which, while depriving the seceders from the State Church of all civil rights, proposes, as the only change in the actual legislation, the abolition of the penalty of exile for secession from the Lutheran State Church. Even this proposition has been rejected by the nobility and the priesthood, but the general expectation in Sweden is, that the opponents of religious toleration will be beaten in the next Diet. Notwithstanding the continuance of persecution, the *Baptists* make extraordinary progress. In one place, comprising one hundred and thirty families, three fourths of the people have joined them; and in another their number has increased from one hundred and fifty communicants to four hundred.

The Roman Church.—"Our last news from the Northern Missions," says the *Univers*, "is very good. One year since a missionary took up his abode in Iceland. The population of this island has great sympathies for the Catholic priests. The Literary Society of Iceland, of which the King of Denmark is the president, has given a significant proof of it by unanimously electing the apostolic prefect of the Northern Missions, Rev. Stephen Djunkowski, a member. In October two missionaries were stationed at the Faroe Isles, and more recently two others have been sent to Greenland."

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—The harmony between Church and state has remained undisturbed. The Church gladfully receives from the highest officers of the empire the assurance that they, as well as the emperor, value the services of the Church, though it is often intimated that their regard for the Church is entirely dependent on the command of the emperor. This disposition of leading statesmen has been strikingly illustrated by Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers, one of the five generals among whom Louis Napoleon has distributed the military command of France. The Archbishop of Tours and his clergy, having received him at his entrance in Tours with the greatest possible pomp of ecclesiastical ceremonies, and having expressed their joy that the emperor had conferred this eminent mark of confidence on the restorer of the papal authority in Rome, the marshal accepted the compliment, and declared himself to be of those who

believe the cause of order to be inseparably connected with the cause of religion; but added significantly that, in fulfilling his mission, he would know only one call, Long live the emperor; that he would permit only this one call, and that he would be unable to serve two masters at a time. All papers agree, that during Lent the attendance at the Catholic churches throughout France has been considerably larger than any preceding year. The *Journal des Débats* conclusively shows that, in a thousand cases, it is nothing but a fashion that brings men back to the mass, to relics, and indulgences, though it ought not to be denied that this fashion would never have sprung up if it had not been preceded by the real restoration of Romish convictions in a large number of Frenchmen. By the death of *Father Ravignan*, the Roman Church has lost one of her leaders, who, by rare oratorical gifts, joined with undisputed sincerity of conviction, purity of life, and the finest aristocratic manners, has contributed, probably, more than any other priest now living to this remarkable reaction which is still going on. As one of the fruits of this reaction we may consider the increased number of miracles which are again reported as occurring in France, and which in strangeness not rarely equal the tales of the Middle Ages. The belief in the miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary at La Salette has scarcely begun to be shaken among the followers of Rome, when the bare assertion of a young visionary girl, said to be cataleptic, that the Holy Virgin has appeared to her, suffices to draw crowds of five thousand and more pilgrims to the spot of the pretended miracle.

The Protestant Churches.—At Ruffec a number of Protestants had again been fined and imprisoned for having held religious meetings without previous authorization. All of them had suffered in the same way in 1853, and in view of "this incorrigible obstinacy," the government demanded and obtained from the court a severer punishment. During the last year twelve new Protestant churches have been opened in France, ten of which belong to the National and two to the Independent Churches. According to the *Bulletin du Monde Chrétien*, the number of *new Protestant churches* built during the last twelve years amounts to over one hundred. Protestantism, while persecuted by the government and the Roman Church, often receives marks of regard from the intelligent classes of the French people. The Town Council of Brest has contributed twenty thousand francs for the erection of a new Protestant church. By the death of the *Rev. C. Cook*, the Wesleyan Conference of France has lost its president, and French Protestantism at large one of its most active and most respected apostles.

ITALY.

The Roman Church.—The government of *Sardinia* has been enabled, by a favorable decision of the Court of Cassation, to pursue with greater eagerness than before the suppression of all the convents which heretofore had frequently succeeded, with the assistance of the Provincial Courts, in evading the provisions of the law. In *Rome* a new jubilee has been celebrated, with numerous indulgences for all its participants, but even the reports of the Catholic papers seem to admit that it has never before been a more signal failure. On the other hand the translation of the Bible by Diodati has been found in many families, and the parish priests of the city have been directed by the government to search for it more carefully, and to confiscate all the copies they find. In *Tuscany* a society of liberal members of the nobility and of literary men has been formed, to counteract the endeavors of the ultramontane party for the conclusion of a new concordat. They intended to publish, under the title *Biblioteca civile*, a series of works on the tendencies of the ultramontane party. Of the first volume, "An Apology for the ecclesiastical laws promulgated under Leopold I," no less than fifteen hundred copies were sold in the first two weeks. The government, however, has suppressed the undertaking, and commenced a suit against the directors. But for the sake of peace, it has also forbidden the circulation of the *Armonia*, the clerical paper of Sardinia.

Protestantism.—In Courvoyer, in *Sardinia*, where about a year ago a new Protestant congregation was formed, consisting entirely of former members of the Roman Church, the Protestant minister has been served, at the instigation of the priests, with an order of the court to quit preaching; but it is confidently hoped that the government will protect the cause of religious liberty. In *Tuscany* the rigor of the government against Protestants is said to have a little abated.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—Here, as well as in Constantinople and Athens, the efforts of Rome to call forth a movement in favor of a corporate union of the Greek Church with the Roman Catholic, attract some attention. In Petersburg, a work has been recently published by Wostokoff, "On the Relation of the Roman Church to other Christian Denominations, and to the Human Race," and in Athens a "Review of the Works of the Jesuit Gagarin on a Union," (Ἐπίκρισις τῶν περὶ ἑνώσεως λόγων τοῦ Ἰησουίτου Γάγαριν.)

Protestantism.—According to an article on Russian Protestantism in the *Christian Advocate and Journal* of May 13, to which we refer our readers for more ample information, the *Russian Bible Society*, which, under Nicholas, was suppressed, is again in very active and successful operation. Emperor Alexander II. himself, after a first donation of twenty-five thousand rubles, has subscribed a yearly contribution of ten thousand rubles. Since its re-establishment the Bible Society has distributed more than a million copies of the Scriptures in twenty different dialects. In 1856 it had sold sixteen thousand copies in thirteen dialects. The *Theological Faculty of the University of Dorpat*, which holds nearly the same High-Church views as the Lutheran Faculties of Erlangen, Leipsic, and Rostock, in Germany, has announced that it will soon commence the publication of a journal devoted to theological science. The leading Protestant periodical of Russia, edited by Dr. Berkholz of Riga, calls the attention of the Lutheran Church, the most numerous Protestant denomination in Russia, to the great spiritual wants of the *Protestants of East Siberia*, where, upon a territory as large as the United States, only one Protestant clergyman and two Protestant churches are found.

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—*The insurrection of the Christian tribes* in European Turkey has been partly quelled through the interference of the foreign embassadors and consuls, by granting the demands of the Christians, who have received from the grand powers of Europe new promises of patronage, and from the Turks promises of a fair dispensation of justice. Among the Turks the cause of religious toleration continues to make hopeful progress. Recent examples of converted Mussulmans seem to indicate that the penalty of death for leaving the Islam has been altogether abandoned, and from Marash it is reported that the pasha of that city called on the missionaries in a very friendly manner; a thing, perhaps, never done before in all Turkey. The authority of Mohammed is shaken not only by the preaching of the Christian missionaries, but also by the springing up of new sects among the Mussulmans. *La Presse d'Orient*, the French paper of Constantinople, mentions a new sect established by a dervish who blasphemed the Koran, and pretended to be a new prophet. He had already collected from ten to twelve thousand adherents, and ruled the district by terror, when the beys of the district rose against him, captured him, and delivered him up to the pasha.

The Oriental Churches.—*Russian influence* is again growing in the East. Official papers of the Russian Government declare it a mission of Russia to restore to the Greek Church of Turkey her former splendor and power. In many places the Greek clergy receive large subsidies from Russia, and in Jerusalem a Russian archbishop has taken up his permanent abode, in order to superintend various religious institutions, and to tighten the bonds between the Russian and Turkish branches of the Church. Such endeavors are not made in vain, for in Bucharest, Damascus, and several other places, religious festivals have been used by the Greek clergy and people to make grand demonstrations of their attachment to Russia. The intelligence received at Constantinople of the formation of several new societies for effecting a union between Rome and the Greek Church, has produced an extraordinary excitement. *The Patriarch* has issued a decree, forbidding all members of the Greek Church to send their children to schools which have non-Greek teachers. Also the appointment of any teacher not belonging to the Greek Church at a Greek school is forbidden, and those now employed shall be dismissed. A second decree will be issued concerning those who study in foreign countries, especially at one of the Occidental universities. The patriarch, very sensitive of the attacks which many of his decrees have called forth on the part of the press, has obtained from the government a firman forbidding the press to criticise the decrees of the patriarch.

The Roman Church. — According to *La Presse d' Orient*, the Armenian bishop of Aleppo has joined the Church of Rome, and has therefore been banished by an order of the Turkish Government. There were in Jerusalem, during the holy week, about two hundred Roman Catholic pilgrims from Europe and America, including one caravan from France, and one from Austria. This number, larger than that of former years, is said by the *Univers* to have produced an excellent and edifying effect among the schismatics, though it is entirely insignificant if compared with the masses of pilgrims from the Oriental Churches, whose number amounted this year to fifteen thousand.

Protestantism. — New encouraging prospects for Protestantism open among the Kuzzelbach Koords, a tribe of mountaineers which, nominally at least, has been heretofore Mohammedan. A missionary, who is himself a converted Mussulman, has been laboring among them for some time, and there are many indications of an approaching rich harvest. In Bulgaria the prospects are likewise so inviting, that the American Board also will occupy four places. In a brief recapitulation of the work of the American Missions in Turkey, (*Missionary Herald*, May, p. 147,) Mr. Dwight states that more than one hundred and twenty different books and tracts have been translated and printed; among them the Holy Scriptures in the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish languages; that more than thirty evangelical Churches have been formed; besides which there are a large number of places in which Protestants are found, who meet together for worship every Sabbath, though no church has been organized; that the number of Protestants is constantly increasing, though much more slowly than would be the case if the missionaries had the means of employing a larger native agency. It is, therefore, with the deepest pain of heart that the missionaries have recently seen themselves compelled to dismiss several native laborers from want of funds.

Art. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Theological and Literary Journal, April, 1858.—1. The Inspiration of the Scriptures; Objections to it Refuted: 2. Notes on Scripture; Acts, ch. ii and iii: 3. The Glorified and Unglorified Race during the Millennium: 4. Mr. Hudson's Doctrine of a Future Life: 5. God the Supreme Disposer and Moral Governor: 6. Dr. Livingstone's Travels in Africa: 7. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, ch. xliii: 8. Dr. Barclay's City of the Great King: 9. Literary and Critical Notices.

II. Universalist Quarterly and General Review, April, 1858.—8. An Historical Sketch of the Anglican Church: 9. Miracles: 10. The Intolerance of the Puritan Church of New-England: 11. Life: 12. Universalism and the Development of Character: 13. Literary Notices.

III. The Church Review, April, 1858.—1. Mr. Dickinson's Letter: 2. Thomas Crawford: 3. Proposed Liturgy of the German Reformed Church: 4. Parton's Life of Aaron Burr: 5. The Bishop of Tennessee and Church Parties: 6. Dr. Pusey on the Election of Bishops: 7. American Ecclesiastical History: 8. Book Notices: 9. Ecclesiastical Register.

IV. The Southern Baptist Review, January—March, 1858.—1. A Review of Dr. W. B. Johnson's Article on "Unbaptized Evangelists:" 2. Christianity susceptible of Legal Proof: 3. "Avenging the Elect"—(Matt. a Series of Expositions:) 4. How far are Baptists at Liberty to affiliate with Unbaptized Professors of Religion? 5. The Sabbath: 6. "Practical Value of the Bible:

7. On the Communion of Saints: 8. A New and Valuable Series of Historical Papers: 9. "Doulos"—(A Bond Slave or a Hired Servant): 10. Book Notices: 11. Literary Intelligence.

V. The Free-will Baptist Quarterly, April, 1858.—1. Demoniacs: 2. Modern Astronomy—Dudley Leavitt, the late New England Almanac Maker: 3. Morality and Religion: 4. Exposition of Romans VII.: 5. Relation of the Natural Virtues to the Christian Spirit: 6. Thought: 7. Free Communion: 8. Cotemporary Literature.

VI. The Mercersburgh Review, April, 1858.—1. Thoughts on the Church: 2. The New Liturgy: 3. The Calendar, Civil and Ecclesiastical: 4. The Principle of Ecclesiastical Unity: 5. Origin and Progress of Buddhism: 6. Butler's Ancient Philosophy: 7. Recent Publications.

This is truly the most "Churchly" specimen of a Review that we have ever seen. Four of its six articles are expended upon ecclesiastical topics. There is, indeed, much more of Church than of religion. It says so much about the body that it almost ignores the soul. To create a heavenly Church, in its highest sense, by the redemption, is, to be sure, the sum total of Christ's work, and the subject-matter of all religion. But when a refined and "thoughtful mind" goes to brooding and subtilizing over churchly theories, and spends his dreamy days in drawing out a closet *ideal* of an *ecclesia*, we fear he is—*operose nihil agendo*—growing elaborately useless. It would benefit his mental and spiritual health, perhaps his physical, to go out into the open field and commence the real *work* of converting souls to repentance and faith, with some Peter Cartwright for presiding elder.

VII. Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1858.—1. English Translations of the Bible: 2. Sacred Chronology: 3. Geological and Theological Analogies: 4. Essay on Inspiration: 5. The Grounds of Knowledge: 6. Wisdom as a Person in the Book of Proverbs: 7. The Future State: 8. The Science of Etymology: 9. Topography of Jerusalem: 10. Notices of New Publications: 11. Theological and Literary Intelligence.

The eighth article is the third of a series on Etymology, preparatory, we are happy to learn, to a volume soon to be published from the same hand, in that fascinating but yet very unfinished branch of investigation. Mr. Dwight writes, perhaps, a little too rhetorically; but with genuine enthusiasm, and undoubted fundamental erudition. He has gone to the rich fountain-heads, under the guidance of his German masters, especially the three greatest of them all, Grimm, Bopp, and Pott.

The most superficial scholars among us have, by this time, begun to understand that under the light of Comparative Philology, that is, a patient and scientific comparison of the various languages of the earth, Etymology is ceasing to be a mass of laughable whims, and is becoming as truly a precise and positive science as Geology or Chemistry. The revolution from the new to the old is, however, still in mid progress. The science is ascertained; its methods are satisfactorily programmed; but it still needs to be fully possessed, harmoniously arranged, and universally distributed to its various applications.

All the languages of Europe are a family of sisters who never knew their own mutual relationship, until the recovery of their lost mother in Asia, the venerable and wondrous Sanscrit. Be it known, then, to all to whom these

presents shall come, and who did not know it before, we speak (with due degeneracy) the Sanscrit language. Now it was Grimm who discovered the fact that the changes by which one dialect varies into another are not disorderly and capricious, but uniform, and capable of being stated under the formula of rules or law. By this means changes are verified, and certainties are attained. The relative position of languages to each other is decided, and their priorities in time are measured.

As Rome is central in History, so Latin is central in Philology. That noble language (inferior to the Greek, we persist in affirming, Mr. Dwight) is the stand-point from which the Etymologist surveys the vast land of promise. Hence the new vistas opened to the scholar's eye, so far from diminishing his classical enthusiasm, confer new value upon the ancient treasures of classical genius.

Under the guidance of genuine Etymology, Lexicography is to receive new illustration. Webster, in our own language, however excellent in his analysis of the meaning of our words in their present living use, lived too early for a genuine Etymology. The changes made by a late hand in his dictionary are still unsatisfactory; nor can there be any true improvement without a complete renovation in this department of that work.

VIII. The New-Englander, May, 1858.—1. Spiritualism Tested by Science: 2. The Two Powers of the Pope: 3. Aaron Burr: 4. Currency, Banking, and Credit: 5. Barth and Livingstone on Central Africa: 6. Dr. Taylor and his System: 7. Bishop Colenso and Rev. Lewis Grout on Polygamy: 8. Professor Fisher's Historical Discourse—The Church of Christ in Yale College.

The article on "Dr. Taylor and his System" was written by Rev. Dr. Thompson; and from the recent decease of the eminent and excellent man it commemorates, it will attract the attention of readers. It enters but slightly into the details of Dr. Taylor's theology, inasmuch as his works are soon to be given to the public. The picture it draws of the man is pleasing, and, as a tribute from a loving pupil, is appropriate and graceful.

"We must go back more than twenty years, and look upon him in his manly vigor, as with an eye that riveted whomsoever it glanced upon, and a voice that reverberated like a deep-toned bell, and an earnestness that glowed through every feature and fiber of the man, he first stirred our mind with the overwhelming argument and pathos of his sermons, or lifted us up into mid-heaven by the magnificent sweep and attraction of his lectures. An older pupil of his, at our side, insists that to know Dr. Taylor as he was, we should be able to go back forty years, and listen to him as he came fresh from the pulpit of the Center Church to the chair of Theology in Yale College; that only his *first* class can fully appreciate his vigor of thought, his reach of intellect, and his power of inspiring others to tread with him the sublimest mysteries of Divine truth. And one of his latest pupils insists that no one of all his thirty-six classes could ever have known him so fresh, so intimate, so earnest, so clear, so thorough, so profound, as did that little circle who gathered in his parlor to read together his lectures, and then listen to his exposition. There could be no higher tribute to the intellectual and moral greatness of the teacher, than these rival claims of pupils, nearly forty years apart, each to have known him best, and to have loved him most. No bust or picture can ever compare with the likeness cherished in these living hearts." Pp. 374, 375.

"Although he had not cultivated the mere graces of oratory, the beauty and dignity of his person, and the richness and power of his voice, required few of the accessories of art in public speaking. Jet black hair set back from the fore-

head and curling about the neck, an eye so dark that its flashes were like lightning from a cloud, and yet soft as summer showers, a brow suggestive of capacity and of thought, lips that seemed to catch their expression from the truths he uttered, tones that rolled like the bass of an organ or quivered like the notes of a lute, with the depth and variety of thought and emotion, a countenance so open that one could read in it all the sincerity, the earnestness, and the affectionateness of the speaker's soul—these were the natural and fit accessories of one who personified, as nearly as any man of our time, the union of strength and of tenderness in the Gospel." P. 376.

"The effect of such sermons, especially of sermons upon the doctrines of depravity, regeneration, and the sovereignty of God, was to arouse many to thoughtfulness, and some to opposition. In after years Dr. Taylor loved to tell of having 'preached men out of the meeting-house.' One Monday morning a knot of gentlemen gathered in a drug-store, called in the doctor, who was passing, to tell him that 'they were getting plasters to cure the sores of sermon-burns he had given them the day before.' Great revivals attested the power of such preaching to convince and persuade; revivals in which many of the most intelligent, moral, and influential persons in the community were hopefully converted to Christ. The quiet and solemnity of these seasons of revival showed that the work, while extensive and powerful, was one of intelligent conviction, and not a mere emotional excitement. Such scenes disciplined the mind and heart of the preacher in that system of evangelical doctrine whose fruits were so abundant and so precious. It was from *that* discipline, superinduced upon his native logical habit, his apt training in metaphysics and theology, and his severely philosophical method of sermonizing, that Dr. Taylor, at the age of thirty-six, came to the new chair of Didactic Theology in Yale College. He never lost the impulse of those ten years of pastoral labor. He kept alive his interest in preaching by supplying vacant pulpits in and around New-Haven; and he shaped his lectures and his whole system, in his own thoughts and in the thoughts of his students, for the one grand end of converting sinners to Christ." Pp. 377, 378.

These are parts of a genial portraiture. But when Dr. Thompson compares one of the theological discoveries of Dr. T. with the detection of the law of gravitation, and claims for it that "hereafter the students of mental science will acknowledge him as the Newton of this science," we think the enthusiasm of a reverent pupil must be a large apology for so glaring a hyperbole. This Newtonian discovery in Theology Dr. Thompson calls "the certainty of action with power to the contrary." We suppose it may be stated as the doctrine, that *the will does always choose for the highest motive, though it always possesses the power of choosing otherwise.* It is the third of the theories of will specified in our notice of Isaac Taylor's "World of Mind" in our last number. It is simply Hume and Brown's theory of "invariable succession" applied to the will. The *power-otherwise* is purely a verbiage. The *invariable sequency of highest motive and volition* possesses the validity of an absolute law, capable of universal statement; and so annihilates all *diverse power* as a basis of responsibility. While Dr. Taylor's theory is obliged to cancel the most graveling of Edwards's arguments in favor of *invariable succession*, alias *necessity*, he gains no compensation by presenting—his real object—a more satisfactory theory of responsibility. Dr. Taylor's terse reply to the statement, "They can if they will," namely, "Yes, and they can, too, if they won't," is good Arminianism.

Dr. Taylor's view of the natural ability of men to repent independently of Divine aid, together with the assertion, however verbal, of the *alternative power* of will, when brought into practical use in dealing with sinners by other hands, has produced, and still does produce, some most melancholy results. Conversion

is made a very slight matter. It costs no more effort than the signing of your name or the toss of a coin. Choose, and it is done; and the mere conscious recognition of the fact that you have chosen, is the decisive evidence that you are converted, and are a Christian. Christians so made, and so authenticated, are very easily unmade, and the sooner they are so the better.

But a truce with strictures. Peaceful is the end, and blessed is the memory of the just. We await with interest the publication of Dr. Taylor's works, and cheerfully accord that Yale may long and reverently cherish the treasure of his fame.

IX. The Southern Presbyterian Review, April, 1858.—1. The Relation of Baptized Children to the Church: 2. Review of Cummings's Theory Respecting the Conversion of the World: 3. The Trinity of the Godhead the Doctrine of the Scriptures: 4. The Burden of Egypt: 5. Review of Reports to the Legislature of South Carolina on the Revival of the Slave-Trade: 6. Correspondence —A Standard Edition of the English Bible: 7. Critical Notices.

The *Southern Presbyterian Review* is a periodical of marked ability. It has few superiors in theological scholarship, in eloquent style of language, or in graceful dignity of tone. The isolated position of South Carolina mind, and distant denominational differences, have secluded the names of men like Dr. Thornwell and Dr. Thomas Smyth from much of our notice.

The article which would most readily attract the attention of our readers into whose hands this Review might come, is that upon the *Revival of the Slave-Trade*, from the pen of Rev. Dr. John B. Adger. He writes in a composed and graceful style, like a conscious master of the ground, who feels secure of his audience. We have somehow an inkling that General Taylor, in his celebrated phrase, "all the world and the—*rest of mankind*," by some unconscious instinct of powerful common sense, superadded the last apparently superfluous phrase in order to take in South Carolina. South Carolina is so unique and specifical in her entirety and subordinate quiddities; she has so peculiar a set of instincts, axioms, moralities, chivalries, and logies of her own, that when you have brought "all the world" into the category, it still remains to say what you will do with South Carolina. Dr. Adger, indeed, expressly assumes that Carolina is in "a mighty conflict with the civilized world," and is anxious that such may be her primal assumptions, and her logical and ethical methods, as that what will prove and stand good nowhere else in the wide world, shall stand in South Carolina.

On the subject of slavery he recognizes that, through all ranks and sections, his state is a unit, and that such unity is a "source of strength." The Southern mind does not "indeed hold that slavery is absolutely and universally the best form of society; or that it should be universally extended, as if society were condemnable without it; but it is best for Carolina. It exists; it is liked by both master and slave; it constitutes "the happiest society in the world." So framed is the negro's whole nature to his place, that in it he is happiest; and of all men the negro's truest friend is not the rough Northman, but the soft slaveholder. All this is said with a classic placidity of style, never momently disturbed, save when thought of the monster abolitionist awakens a passing spasm. It is the first of all first truths with Dr. Adger and South Car-

olina, that the disapprovers of slavery are "enemies," "fanatics," and every other naughty thing which dignity of style will permit a scholarly gentleman like himself to apply to anything. There are thousands, he thinks, of Northern anti-slavery men, who, by a visit to South Carolina, could in three days be convinced, either by the adoption of South Carolina logic and ethics, we suppose, or by seeing South Carolina as she is, to become good pro-slavery men.

All this seems to us very effeminate. To talk of human ownership and the human auction-block being a good institution anywhere, even though the talker be Dr. Adger, is a crime and an infamy. For the South to prattle of the happiness of the slave at home, while demanding the enactment of stringent fugitive slave laws to keep him home, as well as their most ruthless execution, at a large expense to the general government, appears, out of South Carolina, a most palpable contradiction. Dr. Adger's assertion that the slaveholder is the truest friend of the slave, because the manhood of the latter is completely eradicated from his nature by inwrought subjection, is itself an unmanliness. The assumption that the Northern friends of freedom, and their brethren the world over, are "fanatics," "enemies," and madmen, is, in substance, the assumption made by despots, their apologists and conscience-keepers, in all lands and all ages. And we can assure Dr. Adger, that to such characters, and to the apologies, sophisms, and subserviences, the "judgment of history" of which he speaks is not very favorable. Freedom, not slavedom, holds the pen of history. And upon all special pleaders for slavery, dear Dr. Adger, "the judgment of history," and the judgment of God are that they are practically if not intentionally the enemies of human nature.

We are not the enemy of the South. We are far truer friends to the South than Dr. Adger and his masters, whose cruelty is darkening the South with crime, cursing it with poverty, and blasting it with barrenness. The puerile statement that sensible men of the North need only to come to South Carolina to be convinced that slavery there is right, is refuted by facts patent to all the world. We do not need to go to Spain to know how miserable the Inquisition has made her. We need not go to Utah to be sure that Mormondom is no paradise. We need not go to Constantinople to learn that the Turk is fanatically Mohammedan. No more need we go to South Carolina to learn that her auction-blocks, her black seamen imprisonments, her summary Lynch law, her abrogated marriage contract, her "mighty conflict with the whole civilized world," her Calhouns, Wade Hamptons, Preston Brookses, and Keitts are all very indesirable institutions.

We have thus far contemplated Dr. Adger in the fearful character which melancholy circumstances have assigned him, namely, *as an apologist for slavery.* We hasten now to present him in a more favorable office, to which the elements of his nature evidently prompt him, namely, as the defender of humanity, and the opponent of the reopening of the slave-trade. The reopening of the slave-trade is, as our readers are aware, becoming a topic with Southern politicians. Our strong impression is, that it is destined to take its place in the programme of principles of the great pro-slavery party which has for years ruled our country. Those who are ready to style this impression *visionary*, must not forget how many of the ultra *visions* of pro-slaveryism have,

at the beck of the slave power controlling our national administration, become *realities.* Such an extravagant *vision* once was Texas annexation. A re-enforced fugitive slave law was once a *vision.* The "constitution carrying slavery with it" was a *vision* until it became a plank of the Cincinnati platform. The Dred Scott Decision and the Lecompton Constitution are *realities* wilder than any vision extant, outside the brains that produced them. The omens now are that the Northern sustainers of slavery will have a new burden to carry, weighty enough to break an iron spine. So merciless a master is the slave power to its Northern allies. It dashes friends and friendships from its side by its ruthless demands for subservient support beyond all power of servility. It packs on the weights without stint, exacts endurance without flinch, and sees its friends struck down in its service without a relaxation, a thank-you, or a tear. Let the Northern underwriters for the oligarchy know that expensive and crushing is the bill they will be called upon to foot. They are to be victimized, not by the friends of freedom, but by the remorseless wheel of the Juggernaut they worship. Meanwhile let the faith of the friends of freedom be firm, and their action bold. Slavedom is mad with the madness of destruction. What her opponents could not do, she is doing for herself. And her madness, like the wickedness of the Amorites, is nearly full. Our unwilling country has striven, with desperation, not to see the despotic purposes of the dark power; she can be blind no longer. She will arise in her might; she will assert her ancient self; she will assign to slavery the bounds it cannot pass, destroy its supremacy, and reduce its advocates to insignificance and silence.

The article of Dr. Adger is founded upon the proceedings of the governor and Legislature of that state. His excellency in his message recommended the reopening of the slave-trade. Two reports by a committee, favorable and adverse severally, were presented to the Legislature. The article takes grounds against the governor and the affirmative report.

The affirmative argument is a very simple one. For want of a sufficiency of negro slaves, vast areas of Southern land are left uncultivated. Southern cotton is not cheap enough to destroy all competition in the market of the world; Southern slaves are not numerous enough to fill our territories and exclude free labor from future states. *Give us negroes enough and we can fill our states with population, command the cotton market of the world, cover the virgin continent with slave states, and* RULE THE WHOLE WITH ABSOLUTE SWAY. Such is the programme. Such is the platform on which Southern pro-slavery men and Northern submissionists are called to stand. We rejoice to see it brought to an unequivocal and unconcealable issue. Let it be nobly faced; and let us see who here at the North will still bow the craven knee.

The reply to the programme might be also very briefly stated. The whole scheme is simply *a process of gigantic Africanization of the Southern states,* and as far as possible *of the entire continent.* It proposes, therefore, as a whole, one of the most barbarizing inundations recorded in history. Short of this result it would be the parent of an Iliad of evils, but fail of its intentional aims.

Elegantly, but somewhat feebly, Dr. Adger argues this view somewhat in detail. It is plain that the moral and scholarly opposition of men like him will

be as inefficient as the opposition of the mass of moral and scholarly mind of the North has long been against the reckless power of politicians, commercialists, and foreign immigrants. We present a few extracts.

The following extract touches the ethics of kidnapping and the middle passage, in a spirit of Christian humanity:

"This leads us to remark that by far the greatest fault we have to find with the Report applies to its general *tone* in regard to the moral and religious aspects of the question. Not only does it make light of all objections to the slave-trade on such grounds as its inhumanity and injustice, speaking of the cruel wars of the interior, and the forced separation of the captives from children or parents as 'supposed evils,' (p. 41,) but it broadly asserts that 'it is now conceded throughout the Southern states that the slave-trade does not violate the principles either of humanity or justice.' (P. 39.) It also affirms that 'no element of morals or religion enters into the question whether South Carolina needs a further importation of slaves from Africa. It stands recorded in our statutes, that we have no scruples of this sort. And the undivided opinion of South Carolina is, that the importation of negroes from Africa, and their being made to cultivate our soil under the equitable laws which control and protect our commonwealth, would violate no law of God, nor any principle of justice.' (P. 20.) We regret, exceedingly, that the majority should have been led, in the earnestness of argument, and in their patriotic zeal, to make such strong statements. That they are far too strong is sufficiently manifest in the history of these very Reports. Their being laid on the table, without discussion, and ordered to be printed together for distribution, shows that there was *something* in them, respecting which the opinion of South Carolina was not undivided. One part certainly of that 'something' is this very point of the immorality of the slave-trade. Our people do, undoubtedly, make the distinction which Governor Adams and the majority repudiate, between slavery and the slave-trade. As respects even the *former*, public sentiment among us is better than some of our laws, and makes some of these laws *a dead letter*, because they were suitable only to the barbarous character of our slave population at the time they were made. But as respects *the latter*, public sentiment among us regards certain features, which appear to be inseparable from it, with horror. Those 'wars, to which the trade undoubtedly gives rise in Africa,' and also those 'involuntary separations of the negro from his relatives,' are not estimated as mere 'supposed' evils. Those 'involuntary separations,' when they occur among our slaves here, our community does not regard with anything like indifference. There is not one member of this majority, we are sure, who so regards them; or who would, for any reason short of imperious necessity or else flagrant crime, consent to such a separation among his own slaves! And though we all know that our slavery has made the negro, in respect to his social feelings, a very far superior being to what the negro is in Africa, still we all know, and we all feel, that there, also, he is a man, and that though a very degraded savage, the mother, at least, loves her child!" Pp. 113, 114.

The following extract queries whether the slave-trade will cheapen cotton:

"The Report admits that the reopening of this trade would cheapen laborers, but denies that this is the same thing as to cheapen labor, and so cheapen cotton. The increase of labor would not be proportionate to the increase of laborers, because of the manifest inferiority of what would be imported. Not only the specified number, deemed necessary to be added to our laborers, must be imported, but an additional number to give the additional amount of labor demanded. Add to this a still further additional number to compensate for the deterioration in character and efficiency, on the part of our own educated and civilized negroes, to be certainly produced by the introduction among them of many thousands of idle, slovenly, insubordinate barbarians. The net profits of this deteriorated slave labor would therefore be less than of slave labor as at present among us; for a plantation of slaves would eat, drink, and wear as much after as before the revival of the slave-trade, and the cost of medical advice would be as great as ever. The actual running expense, then, of growing a certain amount of

cotton would be greater, and the net profits (which are all that benefit a people who produce to export) would be two degrees less. Thus, the reopening of the slave-trade would not cheapen cotton. But it would reduce the value of our slaves, according to the plain and fundamental doctrine of political economy, that when a certain quantity of any article is in the market, the natural effect of introducing an additional quantity of the same is to diminish its previous value. Thus, if to the 400,000 slaves which we now have in this state, 100,000 more from Africa were added, the loss in market value of the 400,000 would be many hundreds of thousands of dollars. And then as soon as the demand for labor should be supplied, there would inevitably ensue an instantaneous and a vast depression, till the extreme point were reached where capital invested in the trade would yield no greater return than if invested in any other branch of commerce. The Report then discusses at some length the question who would benefit by cheap cotton; shows that the price of our great staple is not much higher than we may reasonably demand, the price of everything else in the commercial world having risen also through a combination of causes, some real, some fictitious and transitory; that the increase of a few cents in the pound is a matter of no great importance to the manufacturer, the prime cost of the article being only a small portion of the price he imposes on his customers for the manufactured goods; that the objection to slave-cotton with the vast majority of Europe is really from their apprehension as to the stability of slavery, their prevalent idea being that Southern society slumbers on a volcano; that England and France can never deprive us of our monopoly; and that not only is no great evil impending over us which a reduction in the price of cotton could avert, but that if the price were reduced it would be the British manufacturer alone who would reap the benefit." P. 118.

The following demolishes a small appeal to the "poor white folks:"

"The third argument is, that to reopen the trade will be for the advantage of the poor non-slaveholder. This is, of all arguments, the weakest. The poor man, who holds no slaves, has no source of wealth but his own labor; and the effect of this trade, it is maintained, will be to cheapen labor. If it cheapen the labor that is to be bought, it will also, in like proportion, cheapen the labor that is to buy. It would be hard to show how this can benefit the poor man that holds no slaves." P. 120.

The following explains how many negroes must be imported to reduce the price of slave staples one half, and then could not do it:

"The first objection arises from the number of Africans it will require. The end proposed is to reduce the price of slave staples, say to one half. Then you must double the amount of labor, which is now, say four million slaves, by importing four millions of negroes from Africa. But you must add something to make up for their want of efficiency. Three American negroes are certainly equal to four Africans; the number, then, to be imported will be four thirds of four millions. But the value of one four millions will be reduced by contamination at least one fourth, which will require an additional importation of four thirds of one million, making the whole number required, in order to double our labor, equal to four thirds of four millions added to four thirds of one million. But labor is but one element of price. To reduce the price of slave produce, the slave-trade must affect the cost also of land and transportation. Now, allow that land and transportation contribute two fifths to price, and leave for labor the other three fifths. The reduction upon this two fifths of the price (which two fifths equal, of course, two thirds of the labor element) will call for an additional importation of two thirds of four millions of American slaves, equal to four thirds of two thirds of four millions of African slaves. The grand total, therefore, of importation to accomplish a reduction of one half in the price of slave staples, will thus be four thirds of four millions *plus* four thirds of one million, *plus* four thirds of two thirds of four millions, equal to ten and two ninths millions! Those who are surprised at the result must remember that political problems involve more than one condition, and are not to be solved by simple

arithmetic. The calculus would be a much more suitable instrument for investigation. The project, of course, never could go so far. Long before it could reach this point the market of slaves would be glutted; slave labor worthless—nay, an incubus; cotton down to five or six cents; the English manufacturer bloated with wealth; the planter not able to buy provisions or clothing for his slaves." P. 120.

In conclusion, we believe that a path of unsurpassed prosperity and unsullied honor lies before the South, if she only has the grace to pursue it. We have indicated it in a previous number. It is freedom. Let her renounce the slave system as a permanent institute; let her open her soil to the millions of free intelligent laborers. Her market can thereby be maintained; her lands can rise to an unparalleled value; her direct commerce with Europe can be opened; and her superior influence in the government can be more safely admitted than when it brings not only a sectional predominance, but national despotism in behalf of domestic servitude.

II.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1858.—1. The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its Nature and Proof: 2. The American Bible Society and its New Standard Edition of the English Version: 3. Negro Citizenship: 4. Dr. Pusey and the Church in the United States: 5. Imputation, a Fact of Revelation: 6. Should the Bible be Retranslated? 7. The Controversy with Rome.—Alford on 2 Thessalonians ii, 1–12: 8. Results and Prospects of Missions in India: 9. Critical Notices.

II. The National Review, April, 1858.—1. Merope: a Tragedy: 2. Strauss's Life of Ulrich von Hutten: 3. Recent Contributions to the Study of Latin Literature: 4. Swedenborgiana: 5. The Old English Nobility: 6. Religion and Society; Paley and Channing: 7. Earl Grey on Reform: 8. The Waverley Novels: 9. Louis Napoleon at Home and Abroad.

III. The Christian Remembrancer, April, 1858. — 1. The Education of the Middle Classes: 2. Social Aspects of Imperial Rome: 3. Buckle's Civilization in England: 4. Personal Details and Incidents of the Indian Mutiny: 5. Harvey's Edition of S. Irenæus: 6. Female Occupation and Influence: 7. The Eucharistic Controversy in Scotland.

IV. The British Quarterly Review, April, 1858.—1. Froude's History of England: 2. Gustave Planche and French Fine Art Criticism: 3. Credit, Currency, and Banking: 4. The Moral Discipline of Children: 5. Professor Powell's Christianity without Judaism: 6. Residence above the Clouds—The Peak of Teneriffe: 7. Horace Walpole: 8. Cowper's Analecta Nicæna: 9. Commerce with India, Past and Present: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

V. The North British Review, May, 1858. — 1. Philosophy of History—Niebuhr and Sir G. C. Lewis: 2. Professor Owen's Works: 3. Gothic Architecture—Present and Future: 4. The Scottish Universities—Defects and Remedies: 5. Physical Geography of the Sea: 6. Parliamentary Government and Representation: 7. Dugald Stewart: 8. Patristic Theology and its Apologists: 9. Rifle Practice: 10. Poems by Coventry Patmore: 11. Recent Publications.

VI. The Edinburgh Review, April, 1858. — 1. Annals of California: 2. The Eastern Church: 3. Thiers's History of the Consulate and the Empire: 4. The Railways of Great Britain: 5. Edgar Allan Poe: 6. Speeches of Lord Brougham: 7. Buckle's History of Civilization in England: 8. The Conquest of Oude: 9. The Second Derby Ministry.

VII. THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1858.—1. Boswell—Early Life of Johnson: 2. Fictions of Bohemia: 3. Italian Tours and Tourists: 4. The Progress of English Agriculture: 5. Michael Angelo: 6. Public Speaking: 7. Personal Narratives of the Siege of Lucknow: 8. France and the late Ministry.

VII. THE LONDON REVIEW, April, 1858.—1. Christianity in India: 2. Atkinson's Travels in Siberia, Tartary, etc.: 3. The Bank Charter, and Commercial Credit: 4. Pioneers of American Methodism: 5. French Versions of Chaucer and Gay: 6. Darling's Bibliography: 7. Lady Travelers in Norway: 8. The Risen Saviour—Works on the Forty Days: 9. Births, Marriages, and Deaths: 10. The Danubian Principalities.

By a change of title, very acceptable to its American friends, the *London Quarterly Review* is now the *London Review.*

The first article, that on CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA, from the pen of Mr. Arthur we presume, gives an account of the attempts to Christianize, from the semi-mythical mission of the Apostle Thomas to the present day. The chief interest of the article, however, is centered on that part of the subject included in the period of English occupation; and the interest must be acknowledged to possess a painful and mortifying character.

English politicians in India have followed the policy of sacrificing Christianity and courting heathenism, in order to conciliate the Hindoos to their own supremacy. For more than thirty years after the first conquest of India, not an English missionary appeared in India. At the close of that period, William Carey, a shoemaker, who by zealous study qualified himself for an eminent ministry, not being allowed to sail as a missionary to India under the British flag, went in a Danish ship. The English Asiatic government, instead of gaining the esteem of the natives by frankly professing their religion, with the assurance that their religion forbade to propagate it by force or self-interest, really diminished the respect of the Hindoo by ignoring all acknowledgment or practice of Christianity, and so either appearing perfectly irreligious or suspiciously hypocritical. Mr. Chamberlain, the Baptist missionary, having ventured up the Ganges to Hurdwar, was arrested and brought back a prisoner to Calcutta. Dr. Judson from America, the now celebrated missionary, was deported from the Indian shores.

While these outrages were preventing the missionary work, government placed native Christian converts under disabilities. Thus was exhibited the melancholy spectacle of a Christian government, from motives of unhallowed policy, persecuting its own religion! Exclusion from official station, exclusion from the government college in Calcutta, and even imprisonment, were inflicted as penalties on the natives who embraced the Christian faith. But while Christianity was thus discouraged and persecuted, paganism was honored, endowed, and sustained. Lord Clive presented three hundred and seventy pounds to an idol at the great temple of Conjeverum. Decaying temples were repaired. Sacred property was conserved for temple use by the government. Christian officers and soldiers were forced to perform processions in honor of idols. So flagrant were such requirements that Sir Peregrine Maitland preferred to resign rather than comply. "At this moment the government still retains an extensive connection with idolatry. In the *Bombay Guardian* of November 21, 1857, it is stated that 'in the Madras Presidency there are now 8,292 idols and temples receiving from government the annual payment of

£87,678. In the Bombay Presidency there are 26,589 idols and temples under state patronage, receiving grants to the amount of £30,587 10s. For the whole of the company's territories there is annually expended in the support of idolatry, by the servants of the company, the large sum of £171,558.'" From this sad account we draw the one dismal consolation, that political meanness is not confined to our own country. The self-prostration of the American government, civil and ecclesiastical, to conciliate the Juggernaut of American slavery, is quite rivaled by the English servility to the Juggernaut of Indian idolatry. We presume not to graduate the comparative debasement of the parallel flunkeyisms.

There is one relief to the picture. The English government could not wholly disregard the plea that Christianity made for the abolition of the more inhuman parts of Hindoo superstition. Infant murder at the Ganges was forbidden; "the fearful sacrifices at the Goomsmur were put down;" the Thugs were nearly suppressed, and the rite of widow burning was abolished.

One effect of the rebellion has been to bring into full notice the existence of a true Christian element, which has shown itself honorably firm, even to martyrdom for its Christianity, as well as loyalty to the government. The following statistics present a view of Christianity in India:

"Missionary stations		313
Missionaries		395
Native ordained ministers	48	746
Native preachers called catechists	698	
Natives professing the Christian religion		112,191
Communicants		18,410
SCHOOLS.		
Vernacular schools	1,347	
English "	126	
Boarding "	93	
Girls' day "	347	
Girls' boarding "	102	2,015
SCHOLARS.		
In vernacular schools	47,504	
In English "	14,562	
In boarding "	2,414	
Girls' day "	11,519	
Girls' boarding "	2,779	78,778
Bible Societies		8
Tract and Book Societies		15
Translations of the whole Bible		10
Translations of the New Testament		5
Printing establishments		25

The amount contributed in India for missionary purposes, in 1851, was £33,500"

Under a supposition, the writer makes the following statement of the Christianizing plans to which the rebellion has aroused the pious enterprise of England.

"Suppose that during the May meetings of last year the directors of the various missionary societies had met to consult upon the extension of their efforts in India. What would have been thought of one who said, 'We must find a plan to excite such a public interest in the subject, that before next May the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel shall come forward with a proposal to double the number of its missionaries; the Church Missionary Society originate a special

fund, and receive twenty thousand pounds; the London Society propose to send out twenty men in two years, and the Wesleyan ten in one; the Baptist and the Bible Society contemplate extension; and a new society be formed for providing school-masters and school-books in the native languages?' The interest which could not have been raised by a whole host of human agents running to and fro, has been awakened by the echo of a single footstep in the solemn march of Providence." P. 32.

The article (fourth) on the PIONEERS OF AMERICAN METHODISM, selects as specimens, Bishops Asbury, Roberts, Hedding, Bascom, with Finley, Cartwright, and William Taylor, the California street-preacher.

The article opens with a review of the past intercourse between the two bodies of Methodism, and thus notices the visit of our late delegation:

"The visit of the last American deputation, especially, will not soon be forgotten in this country. Three such men have seldom appeared as the representatives of a single Church; and they remained long enough to become known, both in their public and private capacity, to a wide circle of friends; and they have won an abiding place in many English hearts. Bishop Simpson is said to have remarkable administrative talents, which have been exercised with great advantage in the American Church; but in this country he was recognized at once as a preacher of no ordinary gifts. There is something overwhelming in his abundant and vehement eloquence. His mind is keenly sensitive of the profound and various truths which the subject of his ministry brings before him, and his illustrations have a rude grandeur which remind us of the scenery of his native land; but the characteristic of his preaching is intense moral power. He rushes upon the soul with all the weight of his important message. We have seen a vast audience swayed by his address, like the trees in a forest by a strong north wind; and then we have gained some notion of the effect produced in the camp-meetings of America, when some kindred, if not equal, genius, armed with the mightiest of moral truths, hurls them with irresistible force among the crowd. Dr. M'Clintock is a preacher of a different stamp. With much of the same energy of mind and purpose, he adopts a wider platform of discourse, and presses into the service of the sanctuary all the resources of logic and philosophy. For this feature his literary talents and experience will partially account; but in some degree it is characteristic of the American pulpit. Mr. Milburn, the third and uncommissioned member of this party, found in this country a peculiar welcome, prompted by his unusual store of gifts and graces. It needed not the fact of his almost total blindness to enlist the sympathies of English Christians in his behalf. He was the favorite of nature before he became the child of misfortune; his single privation opened the sources of a thousand pure delights; and while years ripened his faculties, and brought 'the philosophic mind,' the blessings of grace were also added to hallow and consummate the gifts of genius. As a pulpit orator, Mr. Milburn is distinguished for the number of his advantages and the range of his powers. His face indicates the utmost sensibility, and harmonizes well with the sweetness of a voice which is capable of expressing peculiar tenderness and concern; but his voice is powerful as well as sweet, and passes with astonishing ease from tones of almost feminine pathos to notes of thrilling energy and power. His attitudes of dignity and grace are not less admirable; and all these advantages are well employed to subserve the chief purpose of a ministry which is distinguished by the largest reasoning, the most beautiful illustration, and the most persuasive appeals. To those who have not had the privilege of hearing Mr. Milburn, the little work, whose title we have given, will furnish a faithful but inadequate idea of his genius. We shall borrow from it, as occasion may require, illustrations of some of the points hereafter to be considered." P. 78.

The following is the reviewer's impression of Bascom:

"Bishop Bascom was the most eloquent orator, perhaps, that has ever appeared among our transatlantic co-religionists. All the finest characteristics of the pioneer band seemed to have combined and culminated in this extraordinary man." P. 96.

William Taylor is discussed at some length, as a model worthy of more study in England than he is likely to receive, at a time when Churchmen and prelates are turning their attention to the spiritual condition of the masses.

Of Hibbard on the Psalms the *London Review* expresses the highest opinion. We take from its notice the following passages:

"This edition of the Book of Psalms we greatly admire, and cordially recommend it to every student of the Holy Scriptures. It is not a Commentary, in the ordinary sense of the word; it is simply a new edition of the English authorized version; but based on a principle which gives it an immeasurable advantage over every other similar work with which we are acquainted." P. 273.

"He has accomplished his task in the most reverent and humble spirit; simply giving the results of long and patient research in the disposition of the several Psalms, adopting the appropriate metrical form, but retaining the authorized version, with its marginal annotations. Of the value of his running introductions we cannot speak too highly. They are, indeed, the distinctive characteristic and highest recommendation of the volume. The light which they shed upon the preacher's critical study of the text is far more important then any one would suppose who was not used to its aid in his studies; and we are doing good service to all young ministers, when we recommend them to make this edition of the Psalms their working companion." P. 274.

The *London Review* sustains a high rank among its older competitors, the Quarterlies of England and Scotland. We cannot but regret, however, its complete adoption of their impersonal character, and stiff mechanical form. No reason for this icy reserve exists which is not founded upon notions of spurious dignity, or adherence to a custom surviving its own original causes and reasons.

Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Sermons for the New Life*, by Horace Bushnell." (12mo., pp. 456. New-York: Charles Scribner. 1858.) Mr. Bushnell is not a pulpit *orator*, but a pulpit *thinker*. His pages and paragraphs furnish the unfoldings of deep, earnest, often recondite religious thought. That thought, through the agency of master mind, invests itself in its own terse, graphic, and most true expression. Sermons more eloquent, in the emotional sense of the word, have often been preached; bolder and more stirring appeals to the popular feeling, or to the common conscience, are sent forth weekly; but our American pulpit has lately furnished no volume presenting so deep a reach of thought in the speaker, or pre-supposing so high a power of moral and intellectual appreciation on the part of the congregation.

We cannot but regret that so much of Mr. Bushnell's thoughts have heretofore been engrossed with dogmatic difficulties with his more orthodox fellow-clergy. The discussions thence arising, however intense and marked by ability, were sectional and transitory. Mr. Bushnell ought to address the Christian world on topics of world-wide interest, commanding a world-wide audience. We know no good reason why Isaac Taylor (whom he somewhat resembles) has spread so much broader a wake over the surface of the public mind, other than lies in the greater breadth and more permanent interest of the topics he has treated.

Mr. Bushnell has a deep insight and a searching power of tracing the relations of great truths to each other. The overmastering trait of his productions is cool, stern, slow, moving *intellect;* yet intellect gently interpenetrated and made malleable by moral feeling. Imagination, too, there is, but none for its own sake. He has no time to spend in mere picture drawing. And yet there is that imagination by the light of which the *thought* shall stand out in its own true beauty, grandeur, deformity, or terror. In a Butler the grandest truths are brown and dry. You have to unclothe them of their homespun apparel, and behold them in themselves, in order to acknowledge the wonder that is in them. But here the truths in whose vast presence our immortal being is ever traveling, stand in their own power. For truths are in themselves grand, beautiful, terrible, and the reverse; and truth is most truly presented when these attributes are made most visible and impressive to the view.

Mr. Bushnell does not, like a Tyng or a Cuyler, approach the popular mind with impulsive appeals to its immediate sensations on exciting but ephemeral topics; nor, like Beecher, thrill and rive the heart of the audience with sudden dartings of intuition felt at once by the common mind as disclosing, by their flash, new depths within its own nature. Hence Mr. Bushnell is not *broadly* popular. He is too reserved, deliberate, sententious, and aloof. His trains are the still workings of rarer thought. Earnest, but not impulsive; deep, not rapid; independent, yet not erratic; reflective, but not occult, he is the preacher for the thoughtful. Most preachers should limit their efforts to the listening congregations within their church. Mr. Bushnell preaches best to the select but wide-spread congregation of the thoughtful world.

(2.) "*Select Discourses*, by ADOLPHE MONOD, KRUMMACHER, THOLUCK, and JULIUS MULLER: Translated from the French and German, with Biographical Notices, and Dr. MONOD'S celebrated Lecture on the Delivery of Sermons. By Rev. H. C. FISH, and Rev. D. W. POOR, D.D. With a fine steel portrait of MONOD." (12mo., pp. 408. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1858.) In the matter of publishing selected sermons of eminent masters in homiletics, Mr. Fish has opened a placer which he works with much skill and continued success. The present volume introduces some of the best specimens of foreign preaching to the English and to the American public. As specimens of eminent talent, eloquence, and piety, these sermons will be read with no inferior interest.

Krummacher is the pulpit Luther of living Germany. His vehement, graphic, homely paragraphs, poured forth from a Herculean frame, with a voice

"as when a lion roareth," obviously embrace a power for an instant, overwhelming effect. His illustrations are pictorial, etched with rough and almost coarse power. Like the great Reformer, he makes spiritual realities stalk before you; he can see the live devil plainly enough to fling an inkstand at him.

In Tholuck we recognize the blended gentleness, poetic sentiment, tinging metaphysics, and deep spirituality of the great deep scholar, who lays by his tomes for an hour to indulge his spiritual emotions, or apply to real life the power of Christian truth.

But richest of all, most truly uniting the profound with the spontaneously popular, is Monod. The German seems to be unalterably subtle; and when he leaves his professor's chair and comes into the pulpit, you feel that he is "the schoolmaster abroad" rather than the preacher at home. But the Frenchman is as genuinely popular and rich as he is scholarly and penetrating. He is not abroad in the chair, and he is truly at home in the pulpit.

We presume that the translations are done with sufficient accuracy, and that the English needs no criticism. But we must be allowed to say that there is no such English word as "*helpmeet.*" Hence we regret to notice the plentiful use of that vulgarism in the translation of Monod's "Mission of Woman;" and especially the very inadvertent note in regard to it on page 20: "This is the rendering of the French for 'helpmeet:' Un aide semblable à lui." Now, first, the text of Monod is no "rendering for helpmeet;" for Monod does not render "helpmeet" or any other English or pseudo-English word at all. His work is not a translation from the English. Second, the term helpmeet is a popular agglutination of the two words *help* and *meet* in the second chapter of Genesis; where woman is impliedly styled a *help* suitable or *meet* for man; for which phrase Monod's French is a sufficient parallel. The French is indeed a precise translation of the Greek *βοηδὸς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ.* Third, the Hebrew phrase, *a help as before him*, expresses the image of a counterpart meeting, fitting, and corresponding to him, and is a most striking conception, given in words of beautiful simplicity. Now the adjective *meet* like the verb *meet*, expresses this precise idea; and in the phrase a help *meet* or *meeting* for him we have both etymologically and conceptually one of the most exquisite hits of translation on record.

(3.) "*Woman:* Her Mission and Life, by Adolphe Monod, D.D., late Minister in Paris, France. Translated from the French. With a biographical sketch of the author, and a portrait from steel." (12mo., pp. 82. Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1858.) This elegant volume is a fine specimen of the eloquence and piety of the French Protestant Church. It will be, as it should be, acceptable to the women of America.

The "biographical sketch," though brief, is interesting. Adolphe Monod was the son of Rev. John Monod, of Paris, was graduated as Bachelor of Letters by the University at Paris, and was trained in theology at Geneva. Having embraced evangelical principles, he was obliged to leave a flourishing Church and begin a new religious enterprise on a private foundation in Paris, in which he was eminently successful. Thence he was called to the professorship of Sacred Eloquence in the Theological Seminary at Montau-

ban. Finally, returning to Paris, he preached with rare effect to great and delighted audiences for eight years, and was then called, in the midst of his usefulness, in 1856, to the glory of his heavenly Master above. He left three surviving brothers, Frederic, William, and Horace, all ministers, "evangelical, faithful, and most highly esteemed brethren." The following is a pleasing picture of Adolphe:

"As a preacher, it would not be asserting too much to say, that Adolphe Monod occupied the first rank in France. Although not a large man, or a man of commanding appearance, he was nevertheless a prince among preachers. His voice is said to have been melody itself, and ever under perfect control. As to his discourses, those which he delivered in large assemblies were almost invariably prepared with great care, written, and committed to memory. And yet his *extemporaneous*, or rather his *unwritten* sermons or lectures were represented as admirable for beauty of style, for clearness of conception, and for adaptation to the occasion.

"Says Dr. Baird, in a letter written several years ago: 'I have no hesitation in saying, that Adolphe Monod is the most finished orator I have heard on the continent. Modest, humble, simple in his appearance and dress, possessing a voice which is music itself, his powerful mind, and vivid but chaste imagination, made their influence felt on the soul of every hearer in a way that is indescribable. The nearest approach to giving a true idea of it would be to say, that his eloquence is of the nature of a *charm* which steals over one, and yet is so subtle that it is not possible to say in what consists its elemental force. It is an eloquence the very opposite of that of the late Dr. Chalmers, which was like a torrent that carries everything away. I have often heard Ravignan, the great Jesuit preacher, in France; and Bautain, by far the best preacher, in my opinion, in the Roman Catholic Church that I have heard, but they were much inferior to Adolphe Monod. If the late Professor Vinet, of Lausanne,' he adds, 'was the *Pascal* of the French Protestants in these days (as he certainly was,) Dr. Adolphe Monod was their *Bossuet*. But Drs. Vinet and Monod were incomparably superior to Pascal and Bossuet as expounders of evangelical truth, which is, after all, the highest glory of the Christian teacher.'

"It is well known that the late Abbé Lacordaire, the Dominican, who was by far the most popular of the Romish priests in France, in his day, remarked to his friends, after hearing him: 'We are all children in comparison with this man.' Besides a strong and vivid intellect, what the French call *onction* was the characteristic of Monod's preaching. He was ineffably impressed himself with the truth he preached, and the earnestness of his soul thrilled every tone and every gesture.

"But great as were Dr. Monod's talents, and fascinating as was his eloquence, these qualities were rivaled by his unfeigned piety, his profound humility, his cordial friendship, his simple and truly Christian manners, the purity of his conversation, and the uniform cheerfulness of his life."

(4.) "*Hymns of the Church Militant.*" (18mo., pp. 640. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1858.) "Simply a book of hymns for private use." Devotion takes her natural form of melody. Is it a proof that our piety is growing more cheerful and joyous, that it seems to grow more and more hymnic? Genius is constantly increasing the wealth of our religious anthology, and increasing taste and fondness are constantly wreathing it into new collections. The Church, through all her sections, is growing, as it were, happy and vocal, as if with a presentiment that more and more joyous days were before her. And it is just here, in the region of holy emotion whence the jet of sacred song springs up, that Christians of opposing names find a blessed point of union. This is a new thought, perhaps; and yet three independent writers were lately engaged in penning it about the same time. It is contained in the January

number of the Princeton Review, and of the Presbyterian Review, and it is thus finely expressed in the Preface of this work:

"And they [our hymns] tell that the Church is one. In prose, one denomination will war with another—war and strive, as some of the disciples did—for a place above the rest. The Church militant is to outward eyes often a Church divided against itself, every banner attacking every other, forgetful that the great standard of the Prince of peace floats over all.

"Yet this is but a difference of head—look here at their hearts. Read Luther and some old Catholic monk side by side; read Wesley and all he ever opposed, or who ever opposed him. They fight still, but it is with themselves, with sin, with unbelief."—P. iv.

"And herein again they are one, 'as sorrowing, yet always rejoicing,' as esteeming 'the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.' With one voice they sing:

'Heavenward the waves I'll breast
Till in heaven I am at rest.'

"Heavenward with Christ, after him. His headship over the Church is wonderfully set forth in their songs. They ever say with the old martyr, 'None but Christ!'"—P. v.

The collector of this elegant volume—who writes herself Anna Warner—has made free use of the best hymnologists of our language; as far as possible resuming the unaltered language of the original writer. Her most copious selections are from Charles Wesley, Montgomery, Watts, and Toplady. The lovers of hymnic devotion will prize her volume.

(5.) "*Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenchaft und Christliches Leben.* Begründet durch Dr. Jul. Muller, Dr. Aug. Neander. Dr. K. J. Nitzsch. Achter Jahrgang." (Berlin, den 26 December. No. 52. 1857.) We have received this single number of the Deutsche Zeitschrift from our friend, W. F. Warren. It consists entire of an essay read by him before Professor Piper's Theological Class, and published, by request of Professor Tholuck, in this paper. The essay is a brief "History of Rationalism in the Theology of New-England." It begins with a picture of the period of high Calvinism prevalent from 1620 to the middle of the eighteenth century. In tracing its decline, first toward rationality, and then toward rationalism, he names Edwards as the starting point. Edwards, he informs his German friends, nearly unknown to Germany as he is, wholly unknown until Professor Stowe uttered his name in Hertzog's Encyclopedia, is a giant; *the* giant of English-American Calvinian Theology. Yet the true father of New Divinity, he says, is President Dwight. From him it branches down to Beecher and Barnes, to Dr. Taylor and Dr. Park. Collateral double offshoots, reactionary in their character, are Universalism, with no eminent and worthy name, and Unitarianism led on by Channing, aided by Ware and Gannett, as one branch; and later, by Theodore Parker and his followers as another branch. The decline and prospective failure of these heterodox off-shoots are described; and credit is given to the Freewill Baptists and Methodists as furnishing a resource for numbers whose dissatifaction with Puritanism might have otherwise led them into heterodoxy. As the result the writer claims that no country in the world, Scotland perhaps excepted, is so permeated with the healthful influences of evangelical truth.

(6.) "*The New-York Pulpit in the Revival of* 1858. A Memorial Volume of Sermons." (12mo., pp. 395. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. London: Trübner & Co. 1858.) "A Memorial Volume" this is called; for that when men at a distance in space or time shall ask, Of what sort was the preaching of the eminent divines in the New-York revival of 1858? this book shall be the answer. It is, in most respects, a suitable answer. These sermons are fair specimens of the best American preaching. They are not such as *were* the English sermons—pulpit dissertations. They are not such as the French—pulpit orations. They are true *sermons*, shaped by trained and able men for the direct effect, and instinct with the earnest intention. The specimens from Methodist divines are, "Incentives to seek companionship with Israel," by Dr. Kennaday; "The Strait Gate," by Dr. M'Clintock; and "The Life Battle," by Dr. J. T. Peck.

We have said that the book was suitable "in most respects." The editor had, we think, a true catholic purpose; but the first sermon, by Dr. Alexander, was unsuitable for the volume. Its professed object is to give a comprehensive view of revival history in past ages; but it studiously ignores all in modern days which is not of the Calvinistic pattern; and nearly all, in this country, not of the true blue Presbyterian hue. We should have no objection to this exclusiveness were Dr. Alexander standing on his own home grounds. A certain writer makes Napoleon to have said, "Beyond European Russia the world ends." With Dr. A. and his class, beyond Calvinism the world ends; all outside is *terra incognita* or non-entity to his peculiar strabismus. We advise the liberal editor to strike out this piece of sectarianism, and substitute as the leader for so catholic a volume the production of some man whose eye can take in the whole horizon of evangelical Christianity.

(7.) "*Biblical Commentary on The New Testament.* By Dr. Hermann Olshausen, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Continued after his death by Dr. John Henry Augustus Ebrard, and Lic. Augustus Wiesinger. Translated from the German for Clark's Foreign and Theological Library. Revised after the latest German edition by A. C. Kendrick, D.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester." Vol. VI. (8vo., pp. 624. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858.) After what we have said in previous numbers of this great work, we need only present the following extract from the editor's Prefatory Note:

"The present volume brings down the Commentary continuously to the close of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It completes, and more than completes, the original plan of the publishers, which was merely to republish the work so far as it had already appeared in English. It embraces in addition to that, Wiesinger's Exposition of the Second Epistle to Timothy and the Epistle to Philemon, translated by the editor. It leaves the Catholic Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude, and the Revelation, which will be comprised in another volume when the German work shall be completed. The editor cannot forbear to add his belief that the present volume will not be found inferior in interest and value to any of its predecessors."

(8.) "*Lights and Shades of Missionary Life;* containing Travels, Sketches, Incidents, and Missionary Efforts, during nine years spent in the region of Lake Superior, by Rev. John H. Pitezel *alias* Wa-zah-wah-

WA-DOONG, or Yellow Beard." (12mo., pp. 431. Cincinnati: Western Book Concern.) The missionary labors here detailed are of a genuine stamp. They were performed in the midst of difficulties, physical and moral. No missionary work is more difficult and arduous than that among our Indian tribes bordering upon the white settlements. The true missionary spirit is also apparent in this volume, uttered in earnest pleadings for the poor Indian. All good men, we believe, when brought into actual contact with this unfortunate class of our fellow-men, have had not only sympathy excited in their behalf, but hope for their improvement. We find such to have been the case with the author of this volume. The assumption that Indian missions have proved a failure is denied as utterly unfounded, while the beneficial effects of Christianity are shown by many facts. The chapters on "Indian Characteristics," and "Plea for Indian Missions," present the author's views and reasons on this point. The last chapter is devoted to the physical features and natural resources of the Lake Superior region. It is undoubtedly destined to wealth and eminence. L.

(9.) "*Notes Practical and Explanatory on the Gospels.* By REV. CHARLES H. HALL." (2 vols., pp. 429, 400. Appleton & Co. 1857.) Making due allowances for the stand-point of the author, this must be pronounced a commentary of more than ordinary excellence. It is frankly intended for an Episcopalian manual, and as such abounds with references to the Prayer Book, the Rubric, and the writings of the great English divines. It has an unnecessarily favorable recognition of the amusement of dancing. It very coolly intimates that the Episcopalian denomination in this country is precluded from the exercise of severe discipline, from the fact that the surrounding Churches will admit their excommunicates. But apart from these peculiarities, there is much learning, pertinence, illustration, vivacity of style, and practical piety in the volumes. Indeed, we have seen no late issue of the press in the form of commentary which is in these respects superior.

(10.) "*Our Little Ones in Heaven.* Edited by the author of the Aimwell Stories." (24mo., pp. 248. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1858.) Everything is valuable according to the want that demands it; and for this little gem there is many a suffering heart will feel an estimation no way proportioned to its minute size or trifling price. The little volume contains, first, a series of arguments in proof of infant salvation; and second, a collection of extracts from the best authors in relation to deceased infants.

(11.) "*Sermons of the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon*, of London. Fourth Series." (12mo., pp. 445. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1858.) Our October number will furnish a full article upon Spurgeon. The present volume appears to be characterized by his usual practical and popular power. It has also some infantile attempts at Theology in the form of starts at Arminianism—a doctrine of which he is probably equally incapable of giving either a refutation or a statement.

(12.) "*Sermons and Addresses* delivered on Special Occasions. By JOHN HARRIS, D.D., late President of New College, London. Second Series." (12mo., pp. 390. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1858.) It is unnecessary for us to commend to the public the merits of an author upon whom the public has so decidedly pronounced as Dr. Harris. His pages are gorgeous with rich imagination and the most sonorous declamation. Indeed we could accuse him of too constant a strain, of too monotonous a flow of eloquence. We tire, as we do in Milton, of *his* very tirelessness; we ask relief and repose. We soon lay him aside, and wait for the hour of high communion before we can again resume him. That he is a true elevator of our tone of thought, is the plentiful experience of thousands of admiring readers. That he is a safe model for the young sermonizer we are not so sure.

(13.) "*The Bow in the Cloud* and *The First Bereavement.* By Rev. JOHN R. MACDUFF, Author of Footsteps of St. Paul." (18mo., pp. 150. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.) Two publications in a single volume. The first is a diary of Scripture consolations, founded upon a text, and expressed with purity and pathos, for every day of the month. The second is addressed to mourners for the first departure of a beloved child. He who has never mourned, or he who rejects the richest of consolations, will alone find this an unacceptable work.

(14.) "*What must I do to be Saved?* By JESSE T. PECK, D.D." (18mo., pp. 192. New-York: Carlton & Porter. 1858.) Here is the pastor's aid in the revival. It is a searching appeal to the inquiring sinner, a directory in the way of salvation, and a counsellor in the work of growth in Christian life. It is written in a strain of attractive eloquence, and should be scattered broadcast, especially among the youthful part of our congregations.

(15.) "*The Living Way;* or, Suggestions and Counsels concerning some of the Privileges and Duties of the Christian Life, by JOHN ATKINSON." (18mo., pp. 139. Carlton & Porter.) This is the production of a young minister of the Newark Conference, and is a practical treatise of piety, written in an attractive style, and intended to promote the fruits of holy life. No Christian should lose the means of spiritual advancement furnished by practical and devotional reading, and for such ends this work may be safely recommended.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(16.) "*History of the Inductive Sciences* from the earliest to the present Time, by WILLIAM WHEWELL, D. D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. The third Edition, with Additions." (In two volumes, pp. 566, 645. Appleton & Co.) To trace the steps by which the human mind, having awakened and taken the true direction, has persisted to erect the present wonderful structure of human physical science is, we could almost say, the most valuable part of human secular history. To trace the *principles* of the human mind, and the systematic *modes* of operation by which these steps have been historically taken,

constitutes a most valuable part of theoretic and practical philosophy. The first of these two tasks Professor Whewell has ably performed in the present two noble volumes, laid by the Appletons upon our table; the second he has performed in his Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, a work not yet republished in this country.

The present work is divided into the three usual chronological parts of history, the Ancient, the Middle, and the Modern. In the ancient history we have a few tentative starts, as often in the wrong as in the right direction, terminating in confessed failure, or what was perhaps worse, the production of a spurious science, "philosophy falsely so called." In the middle period science is "stationary." But a single Book of the work is devoted to this age. That Book treats, in the successive chapters, not of discoveries and advancements, but of "the indistinctness of ideas," "the commentatorial spirit," "the mysticism," "the dogmatism" of the Middle Ages; with but one brief Chapter on the "advancement of the arts." Archbishop Hughes's remark, that the "Dark Ages are so called by Protestants because they are in the dark in regard to them," has point but not truth. The more thorough the exploration, the more complete the proof that these ages, like other regions, were dark simply from want of light. And this position stands wholly unrefuted by the appeals to a few arts that flourished in a few isolated but very important discoveries which accident threw up or groping experiment detected. Unscientific art ever precedes science. Art is constructive action; science is the system constructed; knowledge and construction, principles. Science succeeds art, and her province is to generate those wide generalizations, and inaugurate the system of principles under which whole ranks of applications shall produce new arts. Thus progressing in mutual reactions, art and science are marching on to the millennium of civilization. And herein consists much of the reality of human progress, of which so much in these days is said. The successive advancements of the sciences are like the steps of a geometrical demonstration, along which the human mind once awakened is impelled by its own natural action consecutively to travel, each antecedent suggesting its consequent, until the result is conquered. Since the Progressive Age, in our modern times, has fully set in, the sciences have arisen, like spacious apartments of a great temple. Astronomy, acoustics, optics, thermotics and atmology, electricity, magnetism, galvanism, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, zoology, physiology, comparative anatomy, and geology have developed from the condition of scanty and conjectural knowledge to the grandest of structural sciences, whose foundations and walls are firmly established, but whose edifices are still in a state of advancing completion. So wonderful is nature as she meets us; so wonderful is mind as she meets nature; and so wonderful is the product of the mutual action of nature and mind.

The libraries of our literary institutions, as well of as our of literary men, are incomplete without this work.

(17.) "*Annual of Discovery;* or, Year Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1858, exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoo-

logy, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Together with a List of recent Scientific Publications, a classified List of Patents, Obituaries of eminent Men, Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year 1857, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A.M." (12mo., pp. 419. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858.) This work is an almanac of science, valuable as a reference for the scientific man. It contains several dissertations of much interest, among which may specially be named one by Professor Helmholtz, of Bonn, "On the Interaction of Natural Forces."

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(18.) "*Annals of the American Pulpit;* or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations. With Historical Introductions, by WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D.D." (Volumes III, IV, pp. 631, 829. New-York: Carter & Brothers.) Two solid blocks more of Dr. Sprague's tall monument. The prompt appearance of these volumes, we are gratified to learn, is the result of the unequivocal and cheering success of the first two. The completion of the work on the ample scale first contemplated by its projector, may, therefore, be considered a welcome reality.

In the hope expressed in the preface that "the two volumes now published will not fall below the preceding ones in point of interest," there will be no disappointment. The present issue far excels the previous in interest and attractiveness. We emerge from the monotonous homeliness which unequivocally colored the previous volumes, into a freer variety, a more genial warmth, a richer æsthetical gracefulness. The stern, plain North will do for a change, is delightful for a vacation excursion under the blaze of the dogstar; but let us have free range, too, toward the tropics, and even enjoy the best breezes of the "sunny South." And in the wide area which Presbyterianism has overspread in our country, she has produced the best specimens of her denominational history in pulpit oratory; and some among the best specimens of the eloquent preacher of our American pulpit. We cannot complain of the want of a pulpit orator in the list. Samuel Davies, John M. Mason, and Henry Kollock, are most clearly entitled to that epithet. The most brilliant, perhaps, of them all, Sylvester Larned, (a name to be ranked with Summerfield and Spencer,) beamed but for a moment, to be quenched on earth forever. And then there follow a train of varied qualities, eloquent preachers, practical exhorters, learned theologians, dignified gentlemen, active and useful men, devout Christians, constituting a "goodly fellowship" in whose society it is a pleasure to be seated. There is, also, a variety of marked character, whose portraiture affords opportunity for vivid delineation and spicy anecdote. In fine, we contemplate the great and powerful denomination represented in these valuable volumes, with a cordial acknowledgment how much of what is good and hopeful in our country and the world is due to its learning, its zeal, its ability, and its piety.

(19.) "*Memoir of Captain M. M. Hammond*—Rifle Brigade." (12mo., pp. 372. New-York: Carter & Brothers.) This is a well-written, interesting,

and instructive memoir of a noble man, written by the hand of fraternal affection, and dedicated to a father's love. Captain Hammond belonged to the famous rifle brigade, which so distinguished itself in the Crimean campaign, and was one of the many victims who fell during the siege of Sebastopol. He sleeps in the Crimea, dressed in his warrior's shroud, and these pages preserve his memory for many who knew and loved him. Captain H. lived the life of a soldier, entering the British army at an early age, and finishing his career on the battle-field at the age of thirty-three. He was a brave soldier, and the book introduces us to many of the exciting scenes of a soldier's life; but better still, he was a brave Christian, who, after being early converted, spent the remaining years of his life in doing good, both to the souls and bodies of men, and who, under circumstances usually supposed to be the most unpropitious for a religious life, constantly witnessed a good profession, and died in hope of a glorious immortality. We have in the book before us a well-drawn portrait of a Christian soldier, a man of a noble spirit, well-cultivated mind, and humble, devoted piety, which will furnish many an instructive and encouraging lesson to any who will peruse it, but which we would more especially commend to the young. We trace here the unfolding of a very beautiful character, the influences by which he was brought to yield his heart to the Saviour, and the unwearied and self-denying benevolence which prompted him, without regard to his own ease or comfort, to persevering effort in his Master's service. The memoir is beautifully supplied with extracts from his letters, which not only give us a view of his own experience and Christian growth, but observations on the various scenes through which he passed. An excursion through the principal cities of the United States, made while his company was stationed in Canada, furnished him opportunity for many just and generous remarks on our institutions, which manifest a genial appreciation of all that deserves praise among us. J. W. W.

(20.) "*Father Henson's Story of his own Life.* With an Introduction by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe." (12mo., pp. 212. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. Cleveland: H. P. B. Jewett. 1858.) Josiah Henson has been introduced to the public as the original in whom Mrs. Stowe found many of the traits for her Uncle Tom. Her introduction in effect authenticates the claim, and the character of his narrative fully sustains it. It is written in a style of pure simplicity and genial piety. It interests the attention by its adventures, and touches the "sympathetic source of tears" by its unstudied pathos. The frontispiece presents his outer semblance as a genuine man of the purest African type.

Josiah, like our friend John D. Long, first germinated, (if we rightly locate them,) among the tobacco chivalry of rural Maryland; and his pictures of that class for those days are quite as vivid and not a particle more complimentary. His earliest recollections are of an outraged mother, a mutilated father, and a separation by auction from his parents. Developing into the manliest proportions, (as verified by his engraved outline,) as he grew to manhood, he attained the degree of a "smart nigger." Under the first sermon he ever heard he melted into the tenderest piety. In a few years,

with a good supply of religion, but a scanty stock of theology, he became a Methodist preacher. Then follow details "too numerous to mention;" a drunken and shiftless master cheating him out of his bargain for freedom; a trip to the Louisiana market and an underground railroad, etc. On the shores of the dividing river a friendly guide points him to "free soil;" not under the canopy of our boasted democratic cap of liberty, but beneath the shadow of the British scepter!

Henson's visit to England, his adventure in the World's Fair, his renconter with the queen, his interview with the archbishop, are all unwritten in Uncle Tom, and serve to verify the motto of the work: "Truth stranger than fiction. His chapter on the condition of the colored people of Canada invites particular attention. And this entire book presents for our whole country matter for the most solemn reflection.

(21.) "*Oriental and Western Siberia;* a Narrative of Seven Years' Explorations and Adventures in Siberia, Mongolia, the Kirghis Steppes, Chinese Tartary, and Part of Central Asia, by THOMAS WITLAM ATKINSON; with a Map and numerous Illustrations." (8vo., pp. 533. Harper & Brothers. 1858.) From the luxuriant plains of Central Africa to the sterile steppes of Siberia, distant as is the interval in fact, the transition is made with quick transition in *books*. The scope of Mr. Atkinson's travels is best described in his own language:

"Mine has been a tolerably wide field, extending from Kokhan on the west to the eastern end of the Baikal, and as far south as the Chinese town of Tchin-si, including that immense chain Syanshan, never before seen by any European, as well as a large portion of the western part of the Gobi, over which Genghis Khan marched his wild hordes towards the west—scenes on which no pencil has previously been employed—comprising a distance traversed of about 32,000 versts in carriages, 7,100 in boats, and 20,300 on horseback—in all, 59,400 versts (about 39,500 miles) in the course of seven years. Neither the old Venetian nor the Jesuit priests could have visited these regions, their travels having been far to the south; nor am I aware that they brought back any pictorial representations of the scenes through which they wandered."

Mr. Atkinson traveled under protection of a passport from the Emperor of Russia, by which his journeys were made comparatively safe and easy. His work has, by no means, the moral interest of the travels of Livingstone. He has little to say of man, of government, institutions, or prospects of civilization. His purpose was to see, describe, and sketch the natural scenery of Siberia, (including human figures,) hitherto nearly unknown to Europeans. And this he has done with great faithfulness, vividness, and success. The sketches are numerous of scenes where nature has assumed bold, peculiar, and sometimes very imitative forms. Mr. Atkinson's descriptive style is very graphic and his narrative lively and fresh. His book abounds with interest on every page.

(22.) "*History of Europe from the fall of Napoleon in* 1815, *to the accession of Louis Napoleon in* 1852. By SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, Bart. Vol. III." (8vo., pp. 449. Harper & Brothers. 1858.) The qualities of Sir Archibald Alison as a historian are very patent, and his character fully appreciated by his cotemporary public. A great mastery of his subject renders him reliable as to facts. A great power of language renders him attractive as to style.

But he writes from the stand-point of high toryism, and his animated, well-rounded, oratorical periods, sound much like the sonorous declamations of a great Parliamentary leader, rolled out from the conservative side of the house. His history of the old French Revolution was, to all intents, a magnificent political pamphlet, applying history to prove the great maxim of obstructivism —permit not the first change; for you know not where changes, once commenced, will land you. The history of which this is the third volume, comprehends that train of events which has passed, as we may say, before the eyes of the now living men of mature age. Unlike the preceding great historic period treated by Sir Archibald, its great events were great, not from military splendor, but from their moral effect. The advances of peaceful improvements and the great interests by those advances created, have strengthened the cause of peace and heightened the prospects of human history. The present volume commences with two chapters detailing the political and literary history of Germany from the fall of Napoleon to 1858. Nine chapters detail the history of Europe, including the United States, from about 1831 to 1841. Two closing chapters give the history of British India from 1806 to 1826.

(23.) "*Wyoming:* its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures. By George Peck, D.D. With Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 430. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) No name in America melts so softly on the ear of the romantic listener as Wyoming. Not Tempe's vale rises more beautifully to the imagination. Poetry and fiction, picture and history, have all taken turn, like so many muses, in giving a touch to its celebrity. But the gravest of the muses, History, comes last, dispersing, indeed, some of the illusions of former performances, but placing the objects in the clear and closing light of truth. Nor will the historic muse be less relyingly accepted for coming in the grave and masculine guise of a doctor of divinity. We may now consider the case closed with judicial accuracy, though its facts are summed up with more than ordinary judicial vivacity. The volume before us is written with the author's usual ability, is plentifully illustrated, abounds with tales of thrilling adventure, and draws its details with scrupulous sifting from authentic sources.

(24.) *A Biographical Sketch* of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., by the Rev. William Brock." (18mo., pp. 305. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.) Havelock was a man of marked character, and he has found a biographer equal to the task of portraying his traits. This is, indeed, but a preparatory manual preceding a large work; but it will do more than a more ponderous volume toward circulating a knowledge broadcast through the world. The style of the book is clear, animated, and sometimes eloquent. The character depicted is a model of true inflexible Christian manliness, rising into heriosm when the crisis demanded. Such in some degree, indeed, must true Christianity ever be, whether in the cottage, the palace, or the pretorium.

The most brilliant part of Havelock's military career is fresh in the public mind. But it is less known that his early chosen profession was the law, and his early school companions in study, and in Christian thoughtfulness, were Julius Charles Hare, Connop Thirlwall, and Norris, Chief Justice at Ceylon.

(25.) "*California Life Illustrated*, by WILLIAM TAYLOR, of the California Conference, Author of 'Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco,' and 'Address to Young America.'" (12mo., pp. 348. New-York: Carlton & Porter, for the Author.) Mr. Taylor, as our readers may see by consulting our Synopsis of the Quarterlies, is accepted on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as on the shores of the Pacific, as a regular "pioneer." His former volume has served to convince our community that the heroic age of Methodism is by no means past, provided a field presents demanding a hero. The readers of his former work will find the interest aroused by its pages amply sustained in this. Its pictorial illustrations aid in bringing California before us.

(26.) "*History of the Republic of the United States of America*, as traced in the Writings of ALEXANDER HAMILTON and his Cotemporaries, by JOHN C. HAMILTON." Vol. II. (8vo., pp. 579. Appleton & Co. 1858.) The previous volume of this work has undergone much severe criticism, upon its assumption of so much credit in behalf of Hamilton, for managing the correspondence, public and private, of Washington. The author in the present volume maintains the propriety of his course as being sustained by the stubborn facts of history. Documents in great numbers are extant, both public and private, in Hamilton's handwriting, bearing unequivocal traits of his style and mode of mental conception, and which went to their destination in the name of Washington.

(27.) "*The Every-Day Book of History and Chronology;* embracing the Anniversaries of Memorable Persons and Events, in every Period and State of the World, from the Creation to the present Time. By JOEL MUNSELL." (8vo., pp. 537. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) Every day in the year is an anniversary of something; and if you are inclined to celebrate said something so as to have a festival the whole year round, Mr. Munsell's book will tell you what to celebrate. Or if you wish to know what *other* great event happened on your birthday or its anniversary, Mr. Munsell shall show you.

(28.) "*Captivity of the Oatman Girls*, being an interesting Sketch of Life among the Apache and Mohave Indians, by R. B. STRATTON." (12mo., pp. 290. New-York: printed for the Author, 200 Mulberry-street. 1858.) This narrative is stamped with evidences of truth, and abounds with details of intense interest. The subjects of the history are well known, and objects of sympathy with the public.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(29.) "*Germany: its Universities, Theology, and Religion;* with Sketches of Neander, Tholuck, Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Twesten, Nitzsh, Muller, Ullman, Rothe, Dorner, Lange, Ebrard, Wichern, and other distinguished German divines of the age, by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Professor in Theological Seminary, Mercersburg, Penn." (8vo., pp. 418. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. 1857.) Though not favored by the enterprising publishers with a copy of this volume, we must not withhold from our readers the advantage of a notice of its contents. From Dr. Schaff's advantages, arising from his thorough acquaintance with both countries and his mastery of their literatures, languages, and general peculiarities, an inquiring reader will be prepared to expect in him no ordinary intellectual mediator and expositor between them. Nor will he be disappointed in the result. No volume in our language conveys so much and so reliable an amount of information of the intellectual interior of Germany as the book upon our table. Said a quaint German writer: "To England belongs the sea; to France the land; to Germany—the air." The true construction of this triplet is, that the German mind, hemmed by her inland position from commerce, and prohibited by despotism from politics, shoots up with extraordinary rankness into the world of thought. And great is the disease of over-thought. "That way madness lies." As a man may gaze so steadily upon a letter or a coin, that it will at length seem to move and crawl out of shape under his eye, so one may gaze so fixedly upon his own mental conceptions, that they shall put out abnormal limbs and grow into monster. "May God forgive Columbus for discovering America," is said to have been the ejaculation of a German Professor, over the realistic incapacity of a live young Yankee to comprehend his transcendentalism. Had it been our own case, we should have been inclined to retort the compliment of some shrewd Englishman: "Would that your German philosophy were safely *landed* at the bottom of the German sea."

The work is divided into three parts. The FIRST introduces us to the universities, the organization of their faculties, the nature of their professorships, and the habits of their students. We are then made specifically acquainted with the eight German Universities, with the history, peculiarities, and eminent professors of each.

Part SECOND analyzes the condition and later history of German theology and religion. The relations of Church and State, and the position of the established Churches and dissenting sects, are portrayed. A history is then given of the skeptical era, the evangelical revival, and the present status. A clear detail is given of the affairs of the Evangelical Union, the Evangelical Diet, and the Evangelical Alliance. The conclusion is, that the present omens of the future of Germany are humanly uncertain yet hopeful. The THIRD and most interesting part presents sketches of the great German divines whose names are specified in the title. These are genuinely great names. Here are men from whom not only the German but the universal Church gains great spoils of learning, intellect, faith, and piety. Happily the terrible result of German skepticism nearly passed away before the English-American mind knew much of German thought; and the shades of unacquaintance, and the smoke of battle moving off together, reveal to our view these defenders of the faith as conquerors on the field. We have the benefits of their victory without the hazards of their contest.

(30.) "*Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from* 1789 *to* 1856. By the Author of the Thirty Years' View. Vol. VII." (8vo., pp. 795. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) The present volume extends from 1820 to 1824.

During most of this period the downfall of the Federal party had left a general calm in our national politics. The Missouri Compromise, South American Independence, and the recognition of Greek nationality, were the most interesting topics of debate.

V.—*Educational.*

(31.) "*First Lessons in Botany and Vegetable Physiology.* Illustrated by over three hundred wood-engravings, from original drawings by Isaac Sprague. To which is added a copious Glossary or Dictionary of Botanical Terms, by ASA GRAY, Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University." (8vo., pp. 236. New-York: Ivison & Phinney. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1857.)

(32.) "*Introduction to Structural and Systematic Botany and Vegetable Physiology*, being a fifth Revised Edition of the Botanical Text-Book. Illustrated with over thirteen hundred wood-cuts. By ASA GRAY, M. D., Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University." (8vo., pp. 555. New-York: Ivison & Phinney. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1858.)

(33.) "*Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States.* Revised Edition. Including Virginia, Kentucky, and all east of the Mississippi. Arranged according to the Natural System. By ASA GRAY, Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University. (The Mosses and Liverworts, by WM. S. SULLIVANTS.) With fourteen Plates, illustrating the Genera of the Cryptogamia." (8vo., pp. 739. New-York: Ivison & Phinney. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1858.)

The attention of professors and instructors in our colleges, academies, and seminaries, as well as of private amateurs of the floral science, may be particularly invited to this beautiful series of volumes. Professor Gray, with a professional enterprise, has herein laid before the American public a series of scientific works doing honor to Harvard, and to our country too, provided it finds itself sustained as a recompensing enterprise. We may add that Ivison and Phinney have done the exterior in a style worthy of the work.

The FIRST volume is simply an elementary botany, intended for the use of beginners, and for classes in the common and higher schools. Perfect scientific simplicity is here maintained, aided by plentiful illustrations for the purpose of introduction to those works in which the plants of a country, especially our own, are described. It comprises an analysis measurably complete of the structure, organs, growth, and reproduction of plants, and of their important uses in the scheme of creation. It furnishes a sufficiently complete system for the ordinary routine of education, and a suitable preparatory for the pupil whose tastes may lead him to prosecute his path to higher attainments.

The SECOND volume is a revised edition of a more extended manual, intended as a text-book for classes, higher seminaries, colleges, universities, and medical schools, in structural and physiological botany, and a convenient introduction to systematic or descriptive botany, adapted to the present condition of the science.

The THIRD volume is a revised and extended edition of a compendious

flora of the northern portion of our country, arranged according to the natural system. The southern boundary is so drawn as to include all which are not characteristically southern plants. The illustrations are abundant, in general fresh from nature, and completed apparently at a liberal outlay.

(34.) "*Ministering Children.* A Tale dedicated to Childhood." (12mo., pp. 408. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.) It is a rare compliment which this beautiful child's book has received to have passed through some thirty editions in England, and to have been issued by three independent publishers almost simultaneously in America. We think neither of the three will be a loser by the investment. As we have previously noticed the work, from our own Sunday-school press, we need only say that the Carters have done the thing in handsome style.

(35.) "*Scripture Lessons*, designed for Sunday Schools and Families. Subjects: The Bible, Six Ages, Miracles, Prophecies, Jerusalem, and Characters, by CAROLINE R. DEUEL." (24mo., pp. 174. Carlton & Porter. 1858.) The publication of these Lessons was suggested by the success of the authoress in teaching them to a class in the mission school at the Five Points. They are in catechetical form and aided with illustrations. The subjects are selected and treated with skill, both in regard to interest and value. There is no good Sunday school where Lessons of this grade may not be imparted by a competent teacher to good advantage. We commend this little manual to the attention of Sabbath-school teachers as a very valuable addition to their list of class-books.

VI.—*Periodicals.*

(36.) "*Beauty of Holiness.* Devoted to the Sanctity of the Heart, the Life, and the Sabbath. Edited by Rev. Mr. & Mrs. A. M. FRENCH." Columbus, Ohio. May, 1858. The establishment of periodicals purely devoted to the cause of sanctity of heart and life is one of the encouraging omens of our day. Like every other consecrated thing, such a book has a sweet, quiet, tranquilizing look to it. It comes to one like the "mystic dove," a messenger of purity and peace. It seems a prophet of the day when the noise of battle, both physical and moral, shall cease; when the enemy shall be subdued; and when holiness to the Lord shall be written not only upon one or two periodicals, but upon all literature, all mind, all sublunary objects.

The "Beauty" seems to be conducted with ability, with a true spirit and a positive practical purpose. It aims less at solving the metaphysic than at aiding the development of holiness. It has an attractive corps of contributors, and, as we understand, an increasing list of subscribers.

The friends of righteousness have a special reason for aiding this periodical, from the fact that it has lost a share of its support by refusing to be silent in regard to the great organic sin of our day. What press would not the hand of sectional dictation silence? And yet, how can an advocate of consecration from *all* sin enter into compromise, tacit or express, with *one* sin. Our anti-slaveryism doubtless needs more sanctification; and most certainly our

sanctification cannot exist without a full-orbed anti-slaveryism. What affinity, indeed, have sanctity and slavery? Says Cecil: "Were David to come from the house of Bathsheba preaching of his spiritual comforts, I should despise his speech." And we are compelled in sorrow to say, when lips that would silence resistance to unrighteousness, talk to us of holiness, their words sound hollow and light. Vainly will the same teacher try to lower the moral tone of the Church in rebuking one great sin, and raise the banner of holiness upon every other ground. The "Scriptural holiness" which we are to "spread throughout the land" is not a mere meek neutrality, nor a dodging, tortuous compromise; it is like the holiness of God himself, a stern, intense, unsparing antagonism to *all* sin and to *every* sin.

VII.—*Miscellaneous.*

(37.) "*The New American Cyclopedia:* a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY and CHARLES A. DANA. Vol. II. Araktschaff—Beale." (8vo., pp. 776. New-York: Appleton & Co.) The Cyclopedia is fulfilling its promise as a national work. The articles are written with ability. The man who should undertake to read it through, as Dr. Clarke did an old encyclopedia, would not find it a very repulsive task. The present volume contains good articles on Francis Asbury, Bishop Baker, and Dr. Bangs.

(38.) "*Speech of the Rev. C. F. Deems, D.D.*, on the Trial of Rev. WM. A. SMITH, D.D., for Immorality, before the Virginia Conference, December, 1855." (8vo., pp. 168. Wilmington, N. C.: Fulton & Price. 1858.) A formidable pamphlet without the slightest attraction, external or internal, except the marked ability of the two gentlemen involved.

Of the following works we have not room for full notices.

"*Flora;* or, Self-Deception, and other Tales." (18mo., pp. 324.)

"*The Shadow on the Hearth;* or, our Father's Voice in taking away our Little Ones. By a Bereaved Parent." (18mo., pp. 288.)

"*Passing Clouds;* or, Love Conquering Evil." (18mo., pp. 292. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.)

The Carters have been issuing a series of fine little volumes, of which the above are specimens, both in narrative and dissertational form, expressed in elegant language, pure in sentiment, and elevated in their moral tendency.

"*The Boy Travelers in the Lands of the Czar.* By W. H. G. KINGSTON. With Numerous Illustrations." (18mo., pp. 315. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.)

"*The Brandy Drops;* or, Charlie's Pledge. A Temperance Story. By AUNT JULIA." (18mo., pp. 103. New-York: Carlton & Porter. 1858.)

"*The Happy Home.* By KIRWAN." (18mo., pp. 206. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.)

"*The Emigrant Boy and his Sister.* Seven Illustrations." (18mo., pp. 217. New-York: Carlton & Porter. 1858.)

"*Glimpses of Jesus;* or, Christ exalted in the Affections of his People. By W. P. BALFERN." (18mo., pp. 259. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. Richmond: Wortham & Cottrel. 1858.)

"*Ursula, a Tale of Country Life.* By the Author of 'Amy Herbert,' etc. In two volumes." (12mo, pp. 311–314. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1858.)

"*Gilbert Harland;* or, Good in Everything, being the early History of a City Boy. By Mrs. BARWELL. Four Illustrations." (Square 12mo, pp. 211. New-York: Carlton & Porter, Sunday School Union. 1858.)

"*Ellinor Grey;* or, The Sunday-School Class at Trimble Hollow. By Mrs. H. C. GARDINER. Four Illustrations." (18mo., pp. 194. New-York: Carlton & Porter, Sunday School Union. 1858.)

ART. XIII.—LITERARY ITEMS.

The following new publications in England are note-worthy:

Oxford Essays for 1858.

History of Frederick II, King of Prussia, called Frederick the Great.

Poets and Poetry of Germany. Biographical and Critical Notices. By Madame De Pontes, Translator of Körner's Life and Works.

Trübner & Co., London, announce:

A Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the Earliest Accounts to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century; containing thirty-one thousand Biographical and Literary Notices, with an Index of subject-matter. By S. Austin Allibone. 1 vol., pp. 1600, royal 8vo.

Trübner's Bibliotheca, I. The Literature of the American Aboriginal Languages. By Herman E. Ludervig. With Additions and Corrections by Professor W. W. Turner. 8vo.

The following are noted in the English periodicals:

Translation of Hegel's Work on the Philosophy of History; being that philosopher's most popular and interesting work. Published by Bohn.

Macknight's Life of Burke, 2 vols.

John Garth Wilkinson is a Swedenborgian writer of no ordinary brilliancy and power. His style is somewhat of the Carlyle order, but bears marks of individuality which show that he is an independent, owing nothing to imitation. His last work is entitled Spirit Drawings; which the National Review says, "is a curious account of real phenomena within his own personal experience—phenomena which he regards as normal, but which most people would think morbid." Wilkinson is a physician.

A prize of one hundred guineas is offered for the best essay on the causes of the decrease and apparently approaching extinction of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. It is offered by a gentleman who believes that the Friends were powerful witnesses to important truths, and who laments that while the population of Britain has doubled in fifty years, the Society of Friends has diminished in number. Adjudicators of the prize, Professors Maurice, Nichols, and Rev. E. S. Pryce.

We have received a specimen of a NEW LATIN-ENGLISH SCHOOL-LEXICON, on the basis of the Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. C. F. Ingerslev, by G. R. CROOKS, D.D., late Adjunct-Professor of Ancient Languages in Dickinson College, and A. J. Schem, A.M., Professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages. It is announced as nearly ready, in one volume, imperial octavo, consisting of nearly one thousand pages, from the press of LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia.

What worthy History of the Methodists could come from Robert Southey? is a question keenly put by the last North British Review. And yet his biography of Wesley has been the standard work by which the world outside our own pale, including even the large mass of evangelical Christians, has judged the Wesleyan Reformation. We cherish the trust that this work is to be soon supplanted by the HISTORY OF METHODISM, by DR. STEVENS, the first volume of which will soon be put to press by CARLTON & PORTER.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1858.

ART. I.—MODERN MATERIALISM.

THE conditions of our nature incline us to materialism. There may be embodied spirits whose corporeal frame-work is so ethereal, and whose pursuits are so spiritual, that they may not be conscious of their material organs; but man, subjected to incessant calls by the wants of his decaying body, absorbed in secular pursuits, and consumed with worldly anxieties, is in danger of passing life without reflecting that he has a soul. When we consider that the tendency of our philosophy concurs with that of our nature, we can but think that materialism would be generally prevalent were it not for the counteracting influence of our religious belief. It is more general than many suppose. The gainsayers are upon us in swarms; not merely the vulgar but the refined. Dr. Lawrence, a distinguished physician of the last age, and the writer of the article Man in one of our best encyclopedias, (Rees's,) says, that the notion of an immaterial soul is opposed to the evidence of anatomy and physiology. French physiologists generally take the same view. Dr. Elliotson, a high living authority in medicine and phrenology, and a believer in the Christian Scriptures, declares that "the doctrine of mind, independently of matter, indicates a want of modern knowledge, and involves us in endless absurdity;" that God cannot create beings irrespective of matter, and that those who believe in the existence of the soul "are usually rank, malicious hypocrites and Pharisees."

Many who adopt the creed of these gentlemen are restrained by prudential considerations from professing it, while thousands admit their premises without perceiving the conclusions which logically follow. It is the fashion to cast science and literature in a material mold; nor is even theology an exception. Matter is becoming the idol in the temple of modern thought. It may not be improper to

glance at the old controversy concerning matter and mind in an age so prone to forget the distinction between them.

Modern materialists usually state their conclusion as an induction obtained in the following mode. Begin at the zoophite, where life is scarce suspected but by the naturalist, and you find a scarcely perceptible animal organization, and a corresponding spiritual manifestation: advance upward, through fishes, reptiles, birds, quadrupeds, and quadrumana to man, and as the organization becomes more perfect the intelligence does also; so that it would seem that the enlargement of the encephalic mass was the enlargement of the spiritual power. Every animal species presents a great variety of animal organization, with corresponding variety of spiritual power. Take man for example. As you pass by the Ethiopian, Malay, American, Mongolian, and Caucasian families, you go from less perfect to more perfect organizations, and proportionably from less noble to more noble minds. Every individual passes through various stages of improvement and deterioration, and exhibits corresponding variations in intellectual powers and emotional states. The human brain, commencing in a single fold of nervous matter, advances successively through forms resembling the brains of fishes, reptiles, birds, etc. After birth, while it is yet soft, the mind dawns; as it grows firmer the intellect strengthens; and as it passes through the seven ages, the mind grows with its growth, matures with its maturity, and declines with its decay, until it ends in "second childishness and mere oblivion."

The mind is affected by the health of the brain. If this organ be struck, the memory may be dislocated; if it be compressed, the mental operations will be suspended; if it be inflamed, lunacy may result; if it be weakened, delirium; if it be softened, fatuity; if it be not properly supplied with blood, or if its blood be not made of suitable materials, or if its circulation be accelerated or retarded, or if its sympathies with other organs be disturbed, the operations of the mind will be hastened, checked, or perverted. If it be strongly affected by narcotics for a length of time, its whole character may be changed. Finally, death destroys all indications of mind; lay the corpse in the grave, and it is soon resolved into oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, phosphorus, etc., which, by the route of the atmosphere, soon pass into other animate forms: finally, there remains no trace of the body and no echo of the soul. The inference is that the mind is a mere function of the brain.

We submit that there are three errors in this induction: the statements are not properly qualified, the view taken is imperfect, and the relation of the subjects is not correctly ascertained.

The father of inductive philosophy pointed out the *tendency to be more impressed with affirmative facts than with negative ones,* although it often happens that a single negative, well established, is fatal to a theory.

The human brain resembles the brain of inferior creatures, having no part which is not found in some one of them: it is not absolutely larger than that of some other animals; the elephant's exceeds it in size; it is not larger in proportion to the body; in this respect a rabbit's brain is twice and a half as large as man's.* The intelligence of inferior creatures is not in proportion as their brains resemble the human; the brain of the rat wants convolutions, that of the swine does not, yet the former animal has more cunning than the latter. The brain of the Chimpanzee so closely resembles that of man, that if the anatomist could supply his dissecting table with the former he would never need the latter; not an organ nor a vessel, nor a ventricle wanting; not a difference either in material, or configuration, or situation of parts; the only differences discernible are in the size of the parts, the number of the convolutions, the depth of the sulci, and the relative thickness of the cortical part, yet the two former are intimately connected, the two latter widely separated. Take the most inferior negro, even though he be deaf, and dumb, and blind; and by proper instruction you may teach him verbal language, abstraction, generalization, right and wrong, the knowledge of God, aspiration after a higher state, gradual, ceaseless, intellectual and moral progress. You prove that he has within him all the powers of the noblest mind and all the elements of the profoundest knowledge. The difference between him and the philosopher is only in degree. But by no process can you bring the best ape up to his level: the difference between them is in kind. There is here an immense moral chasm; can it be bridged by the slight differences of the organism? Whatever cunning or capacity inferior creatures show, it is instinctive, automatic, untaught, not directed by their will.

The capacities of the different varieties of a race that is cultivable, intellectually and morally, cannot be speculatively determined; the question is an experimental one. Who knows but that in the lapse of ages the path of empire and civilization may be reversed, that migrations, changes of climate, of food, of shelter, of habit, and

* The average weight of the whole encephalon in proportion to that of the body in man, is 1 to 36; in the mammalia, 1 to 186; in birds, 1 to 212; in reptiles, 1 to 1321; in fishes, 1 to 5,668; but there are exceptions. In the blue-headed tit the proportion is 1 to 12; in the goldfinch, 1 to 24; in the field-mouse, 1 to 31. It is alleged, however, that in birds and rodent mammals, the sensory ganglia forms a considerable portion of the encephalon.

of education, may sink some branches of the human family and raise others?

Are there not African-shaped skulls in Europe, and Caucasian-shaped skulls in Africa? Does it appear that in each tribe, family, and nation, men occupy a position corresponding to their cerebral development? Is the size of a man's brain the measure of his intellectual capacity?

Maturity of mind does not correspond to maturity of body; the body becomes mature at forty or forty-five; the mind continues to improve, if properly employed, down to old age. In every department men have usually displayed their greatest talents, and won their noblest laurels, after they had begun to experience bodily decline. The chief claim of Havelock to renown rests upon the achievements of advanced years; the same is true of General Scott. The ablest judicial decisions ever given in England and in this country, have been pronounced by judges who had reached their seventieth year. Lords Brougham and Lyndhurst have passed beyond their threescore years and ten, and though their eyes are dim and their knees tremble, their thoughts are clear as the sun, and their minds ascend like the eagle; the latter, now eighty-six, needs assistance to rise from his seat, yet his speeches are more replete with wisdom and eloquence than those of his earlier years. A similar remark might have been made of New-England's "old man eloquent," and Kentucky's favorite son, statesmen whose names will be pronounced with veneration, long as the noblest combinations of genius, patriotism, and humanity can charm the human heart.

There is a period when the greatest intellect grows dull and inactive, but is not this owing greatly to the failure of the senses, by which the soul, losing its communication with the world, loses its interest in it.

The brain may be much injured while the mind is unimpaired. According to the Morbid Anatomy of Haller, it would seem that there is no part of the encephalon which has not been destroyed or impaired, without producing any important change of the intellectual and moral faculties. Among the cases recorded are some in which the whole cortical part was wasted, while the senses remained entire.* Mr. Flourens, a recent writer of high authority, thinks there is a center in the brain where the senses and their sympathies are united, the division of which will interrupt the manifestation of mind; but he proves incontestibly that the brain may be destroyed to a large extent without destroying any of the mental functions.

To diminish the shock which the notion of a spirit receives at the

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xi, p. 154.

tomb, it is usual, and it is well, to reflect on the various forms through which animated beings pass without destruction. In insect life we have first the egg giving no signs of life, next the caterpillar, then the chrysalis, a sort of tomb, from which after a period of torpor the animal comes forth with wings. Still more to purpose are the changes which we ourselves have undergone. Once we existed without seeing, or hearing, or eating, or drinking, or even breathing, imprisoned as in a dark cave. If, in that narrow house, it had been revealed to us that we were soon to enter another state of life; that all around us there were brothers, and sisters, and friends, of whom we knew not and who knew not of us; that in contact with us on all sides was a being who loved us, supplied us with sources of life, and anticipated our coming wants; that in a short time we should be launched into a new world, where we should live in new forms; should walk, breathe, bask in sunlight, hear melody, gain knowledge, commune with nobler beings; in fine, should enter a world beautiful enough, and a sphere of life grand enough for the angels of God, how incredulous should we have been! Still more, if assured that we were separated from that world by a wall scarce an inch in thickness. If, now, millions of spirits are around us unseen; if on all sides of us is an undiscovered world, and just before us a state of existence surpassing in magnitude all our conceptions; if this system of arteries and nerves is but a temporary arrangement, this world a matrix and the throes of death a birth, all this is analagous to what we have experienced.

I may be told that the analogy is not perfect, since our previous existence has been connected with a bodily organization. True, (we know not, however, but other and more ethereal forms await the departing spirit,) but this is conjecture, and we do not refer to the analogy as having affirmative value. It is not necessary to our argument to prove that the spirit survives the destruction of the body. We pass to another error, to which in our inductions we are liable, namely, *studying subjects from a single point of view.* We have surveyed the mental phenomena through the body; let us survey the body through the mental phenomena. Perception, judgment, reason, imagination, memory, will, are as real as solidity and extension; and the tabernacle of thought is as actual an abode to man as that of matter, and susceptible of higher proof. Seeing, hearing, feeling, etc., by which alone you are certified of matter, are but states of mind: the soul, therefore, is your only witness of the existence of the body. Nor is its power over the body small. *Volition* influences perception, sometimes withdrawing from sensations as if altering the conditions or modifying the powers of the brain; wit-

ness the philosopher in his abstraction, or the poet in his reverie, or compare the loud noises which do *not* wake the young mother with the soft ones that *do.* It walks amid sensations, remembrances, judgments, as a shepherd on his mountains, letting loose this flock and confining that. *Reason,* long continued, wearies as much as muscular action. *Imagination* cures, perhaps, more cases than medicine, and has power to kill, as has often been shown by melancholy experiment. Who does not know the influence of *passion* over the body. Fear blanches the cheek, shame mantles it, panic weakens the muscles, courage strengthens them; *wishes* speak through the eye, hope wreathes its smiles, manliness manifests itself in every look, attitude, and motion of the man; religion spreads a sunset calm over the features, reflecting heavenly glory. A whisper may instantly derange the whole frame, and another whisper may restore it. An item of intelligence may smite one dead as quickly as a stroke of lightning, or may lift a man from the grave; yet from the influence of the mind over the body, we may not argue that it is the cause of the body, much less that it is the body.*

A third error consists in *assigning a wrong relation to two things which stand connected.* Mind and body have a relation to each other, what is that relation? It is that of instrument and agent; this is the only relation upon which we can reconcile all the phenomena. The bones are but scaffolding, the muscles ropes and pulleys, the lungs a breathing apparatus, the stomach a digesting one, the brain a thinking one; the senses are instruments for communicating with distant objects, and constructed upon the same principles as the telescope and ear-trumpet, and no more capable of seeing or hearing than they; the tongue is a telegraph, the only difference between it and the common one is, that the wires pass along the mouth instead of the streets. Break the connection in either case and you stop the communication, but do you destroy the operator? Only connect the broken ends and he will prove that he possesses all his original power. This is no new philosophy. It is older than Plato or Cicero. The language of all nations is formed upon this supposition, and a materialist can hardly state his hypothesis without using terms that contradict it.

If the body be the instrument of mind, what wonder if the mental manifestations should vary with the degree of corporeal perfection and vigor and the state of bodily health, as the movements of the sailor depend greatly upon his ropes and pulleys. In regard to the

* It can hardly be denied that there are conditions in which the mind perceives objects independently of the senses, and in which, though active, it is insensible to external impressions.

extent of this relation, spiritualists do not agree. Some maintaining that the body is merely the medium of mental manifestation; that the soul is independent of its material tenement and external conditions, and that all its apparent disorders are but perversions or obscurations of its operations by its bodily organism, as the dimming or distortions of a light by a reflecting medium; others maintain that, in our present state, the operations of the mind are more or less influenced by the material conditions with which it is associated. Both parties, however, recognize somewhat in the mental constitution above what can be attributed to matter.

We conclude, therefore, that the materialist, supposing his alleged facts true, has mistaken the relation between body and soul, which is not that of cause and effect, but of instrument and agent. This will be confirmed by considering the subject deductively. The materialistic hypothesis is disproved by the nature of matter, the unity of consciousness, and the doctrines of human responsibility, the immortality of man, and the existence of God. When we predicate one thing of another we ought to know what the one is and what the other. What, then, is matter? and What is mind? Of essences we know nothing; all we know is properties. When we define matter we group together certain qualities which attach to it—divisibility, impenetrability, porosity, compressibility, extension, figure. We infer, because we cannot help it, that these qualities have a substratum, and we call this matter. To define mind, we name another group of properties, thought, will, memory, etc., we infer that these also have a substratum, and we call that mind. Does one ask, Cannot God connect the attributes of mind with matter? Yes; but he cannot make matter to be mind any more than he can make a triangle to be a square. Is it alleged that the difference between porosity and memory is no greater than between divisibility and figure, we must be reminded that the distinction between matter and mind is not grounded on the *dissimilarity* of their properties, but on the *incompatibility* of them. The properties of mind are certified by consciousness, those of matter by sense; the former are active, the latter are passive; the one are variable, the other permanent; the one internal, the other external; the one percipient, the other perceived. It seems impossible that matter and mind should be one. Here, so far as my understanding is concerned, is an end of the controversy.

But, that we may answer a fool according to his folly, let us consider the several theories of the materialists. These theories may be reduced to three, namely, the strictly material, the mechanical, and the physiological. Strict materialism is limited to two suppo-

sitions, namely, either that the mind is an ultimate particle of matter, or a collection of particles. Take the first. We admit, despite Berkeley, that matter has a real existence, and despite Boscovich, that it does not consist of mere mathematical points of attraction and repulsion, but is somewhat solid and insoluble. We agree that there are particles that are *ultimate;* this seems evident from the chemical law of definite proportions. We grant that the theory in question is consistent with the doctrine of immortality, indeed it favors it.*

But let us endeavor to conceive what an ultimate particle is. It is computed that in one hundredth of a cubic inch of blood there are about one million red globules, but these are not ultimate. The animalculæ of the Rasenceisen are only one third of the diameter of a globule of human blood,† and as they are endowed with sensation, voluntary motion, and subject to waste and repair, each must have its vessels and nerves, and each nerve, each vessel, is made up of globules, each globule of particles. When you estimate the size of particles you need figures like those in which you compute the celestial spaces. Now imagine one of these particles a human soul, taking in fact after fact, science after science, system after system, enlarging its capacities as its treasures are increased, plunging on wings of imagination, one moment to the profoundest depths, the next to the loftiest heights, capable by will of resisting a moral universe in arms, and able, by reason, to link cause after cause, until from nature it ascends to God. Imagine it placed in the pineal gland, a beautiful little structure hanging by two peduncles from the bed of the optic nerve. It would be to this gland as a frog to an island, and to the whole brain as a man to a continent. This brave little atom looks through the eye, hears through the ear,

* We have reason to believe that the globe has contained the same quantity of matter ever since it was created, attraction being as matter; if the particles of the earth were increased or diminished, its position in relation to other orbs would be altered, and the calculations of astronomy could not be relied on, but they have been verified to the accuracy of a moment, and for distant years. Though matter be in a constant circuit from animated to inanimate forms, it *remains.* We do not say that it is indestructible, but that its destruction does not seem to enter into the economy of the Creator.

† According to Professor Ehrenberg, the size of a single one of those infusoria which form the Polinschiefer, amounts upon an average, and in the greater part, to one two hundred and eighty-eighth part of a line, which equals one sixth of the thickness of a human hair, reckoning its average size at one forty-eighth of a line. About twenty-three millions of these animals would make up a cubic line, and would, in fact, be contained in it. There are one thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight cubic lines in a cubic inch, and therefore a cubic inch would contain on an average about forty-one thousand millions of these animals.

walks by the feet, and talks loudly by the tongue; may be it makes a telescope and looks through it at the stars. Fancy one of these atoms circumnavigating the globe, another, writing Homer's Iliad, another Newton's Principia, another, in Napoleon, marching troops across the Alps and reconstructing the map of Europe.

He who can believe this has a mind infinitesimally small, and capable of receiving truth in the decillionth dilution. Bear in mind that there is no foundation for this supposition, any more than for supposing the north pole to consist of the south wind. Nor does it relieve the materialist from his difficulties. The particle is still matter, and its properties are inconsistent with those of mind. Small as it is, it may be conceived to revolve on its axis, but who can conceive that his consciousness can rotate, one part coming up, while the other goes down. It is said that it is not so hard to conceive how mind can be a particle as how it can be without one; we answer: *Mystery* we may expect, it is everywhere; but we are not to receive contradictions.

But is the mind a combination of particles? If it is, it must have a top and a bottom, an east side and a west side, a south end and a north end, and if so, it is conceivable that a man may have a consciousness with its top blown off, or its bottom fallen through, or its east end fallen in, or its west end fallen out. But the person, the self, is a unit, it is inconceivable that it should be made up of parts; to talk so is to talk nonsense.

Materialism assumes different forms; thus we have mechanical theories. The mechanical theory that has attracted the greatest attention in modern times is that of Hartley. He resolves all mental phenomena into sensation and association; an analysis obviously imperfect, for how can a volition be placed in either of these categories? He accounts for both by vibrations in an imaginary ether, caused by motions in the nervous matter; those produced by the nervous extremities he denominates sensory vibratiuncles, those originating in the central mass motory vibratiuncles.

It may be admitted that certain changes in the nervous system accompany mental phenomena, and this, perhaps, is all that Dr. Hartley meant, for he protests against being interpreted as opposing the immateriality of the soul.* It must be confessed, however, that

* Speaking of sensation, thought, etc., he says: "The connection of these with matter, and their dependence on it, are, perhaps, more fully seen in the foregoing account of vibrations and associations than in any other system that has been produced. However, there remains one chasm still, that between sensation and the material organs, which this theory does not attempt to fill up."—*Hartley on Man*, vol. xi, p. 383.

the soul in his system is of little account, an idle spectator. The ether and its vibrations is all supposition, such as would be the hypothesis that magnetic attraction is caused by vibration in the Gulf Stream. Hartley's disciples have, however, gone beyond him. Priestly, Belsham, and others maintain that man is wholly a material being, all his functions being the result of mechanism. But how do they account for mind? Grant all that they assume; suppose the head to be transparent, and that we, looking through a microscope, see the motions along the nerve and in the brain, and the vibrations of the ether, should we see sensation, reflection, will? No, simply matter and motion, both of which we see daily, and of both of which we know enough to say, that neither separately nor together are they mind.

But it may be alleged that these motions produce mind as certain motions produce light. Let us suppose the vibratory theory of light to be the true one. We have then an elastic ether, a vibration, a series of undulations, and light as a result. The cause is matter and motion, the effect light; here is a unit produced by innumerable particles, thrown into innumerable waves.

But this explanation assumes the very unit for which it seeks to account. You cannot have light in the sense of a unit without mind. The word light is ambiguous, signifying both the cause of light, which is material, and the sensation, which is mental. Take away the conscious being and you have no sensation of light, only matter and undulations; the latter is not a unit, the former is. Light is a unit. Something material is light, therefore something material is a unit. Light, in one premise, stands for the undulations of matter, in the other for a sensation.

But let us pass to physiological theories. Many think there is a mysterious something in organization which accounts for thought, In chemistry, as we are all aware, the same elements in different proportions constitute bodies of different properties; we have also isomeric bodies, in which the same elements in the same proportions produce compounds of different properties, owing, as we presume to variations of arrangement. But does organization cause mind? The vegetable is organized; nor is animal organization always attended with mind; even human organization, in all its delicacy and perfection, may be found without mind, as in many cases of instant death. You may assume that there is lesion in such cases, but the microscope reveals none. Add life to perfect human organization and can you account for mind? You may, indeed, if you insert mental operations as a part of your definition of life. But what is life? It may exist in the human being without mind or

even brain. "Put life and organization together," cries the physiologist; blood passing through a healthy living human brain excites mind as an electric wire around a magnet gives it the power of attracting iron; but the illustration answers not the purpose; for that which confers the power in this case is distinct, both from the iron and the wire, and does not cease to exist when it ceases to flow through the coil.

Some tell us that the brain secretes mind as the liver does bile. They should not put man at the top of the scale but at the bottom. The glands secrete only what is contained in the blood. Whence does the blood come? from the chyle. Whence the chyle? from the food. Whence the food? from animals and vegetables. So the human being (Queen Victoria for example) is a mere unthinking alembic to separate latent mind from beef, plum-pudding, etc.

Such hypotheses fail to account for mental identity. If the brain secretes the mind it is different from the mind, and hence, to preserve the mind, it should be provided with an apparatus like the gall bladder. It has been conjectured that a part of the brain is reserved for this purpose, which has been compared to a calculating machine. By careful scrutiny it has been computed that every square inch of this reserved territory is capable of containing eight thousand ideas. It should not be forgotten, however, that the body is in a constant flux, old particles passing out through the excretions, new ones passing in through the absorbents. We have not the same matter in our bodies to-day that we had yesterday. It is computed, upon the results of experiment, that about once in seven years the body undergoes an entire renovation. Amid these changes how does the mind preserve its identity, supposing it dependent on material particles? Imagine that, instead of passing off particle by particle, the whole brain, once in seven years, were to step out and the new brain to come in. How is the predecessor to convey his knowledge to the successor? The difficulty is magnified, when, instead of passing off at once, the brain goes little by little; each retiring atom must will his knowledge to the incoming atom, although the knowledge it conveys may be but the millionth part of the poems, prayers, and problems that make up the sum total of the past mental phenomena. Nor yet have we reached the final difficulty. Suppose the leaves of knowledge all legible in the brain, you want something to read them. The hypothesis breaks down under its weight of absurdity. Materialism in all its forms is at variance with certain doctrines.

Men everywhere hold themselves and their fellow men accountable for their actions. All languages, all civil governments, all

criminal codes are predicated upon this doctrine. But if mind be matter, or mechanism, or organization, how can man govern himself? Dr. Priestly justly says: "The doctrine of necessity is the immediate result of the doctrine of the materiality of man; for mechanism is the undoubted consequence of materialism." So Dr. Cooper, his American editor, judges, for he boastfully says that the time has come when the separate existence of mind, the freedom of the will, etc., are no longer entitled to public discussion. Nor do later Materialists teach a different doctrine. "Man's acts," says Zoist, "are the results of his organization. His organs are made for him, therefore the responsibility of his acts rests with his Maker." Atkinson and Martineau* say: "All causes are material causes." "I am as completely the result of my nature, and impelled to do what I do, as the needle to point to the north or the puppet to move according as the string is pulled." The reasoning is valid, the conclusion false; the premises must be false.

Such a conclusion is as abhorrent to common sense as to common consciousness. What father in announcing the birth of his heir says that a new series of physical phenomena has started in his abode? Turn to history. Here, for example, is Sweden's Charles XII. Russia, Denmark, and Poland league against him, and agree upon a division of the anticipated spoils. While the troops are gathering for the conflict, the frightened Swedish council meet to discuss the terms of an accommodation. In the midst sits the monarch, an indolent, frivolous boy, who, hampered with bad habits, and encompassed with dissolute companions, beguiles his days with vain amusements, evincing no capacity for the cabinet, and no ardor for the field. The discussions of the evening set his mind in motion, and, as if touched with an angel's spear, he starts up and silences the cabinet: "My resolution is taken; I will smite the first foe that attacks me." Instantly the idle lad is the adamantine man, the Nestor in council, the Achilles in fight. The camp, the voyage, the march, and the battle are his delight; the drum-beat, the clangor of armor, and the clash of arms are his music. He humbles Denmark, terrifies Russia, conquers Poland, and for years waves his flag from the Dneiper to the Baltic, and from the German Ocean well nigh to the gates of Moscow.

That stern resolve, which neither the charms of peace nor the persuasions of ministers could shake, which, in the heart of an enemy's land, cut off from provisions, surrounded by desolations, and encompassed by foes, stood unmoved, and looked onward, even

* Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development, by H. G. Atkinson and Harriet Martineau.

through files of fallen friends, stiffened by famine and frost, was no mere *physical phenomenon.* When a cannon ball from the enemy's fort crushed the temples of the king, it did something more than upset a bowl full of cerebral jelly.*

The materialistic hypotheses, except the first, are inconsistent with the doctrine of immortality. Let either be granted and you can prove death to be the end of man. True, one may believe, on the word of God, that the particles of the disorganized body, after performing innumerable circuits through the animal, vegetable, and mineral worlds, will, after the lapse of centuries, be gathered and built up into the identical body that is dissolved by death; but he who can believe this, is more to be wondered at for his faith than for his skepticism. Why reconstruct the worn-out, diseased, emaciated body, since, if mind is material, man is irresponsible, and has no more connection with his fellow man or with God than a water-wheel? Moreover, this would not be resurrection but reconstruction—not immortality.

Materialism involves Atheism. If perception, will, and affection in man be properties of matter, or results of mechanism or of organization, are they not such in God also? We cannot attribute the same properties to different essences. On this supposition how can there be an Almighty God. Name but his attributes—eternity, ubiquity, unity, omniscience. If God is matter, his mind is accidental; for we know that mental properties are not essential to matter. If he is organized, who organized him? If mechanism, who moves him? Excuse me, I cannot be profane. Has not the thought of God, from your early years, been the favorite idea of your mind, the center of all its cherished associations, and all its valued reflections? More fresh than boyhood's gambols are your meditations beneath the solemn forests that begirt the village school-house, when you gazed alone upon the silent stars and thought of the invisible One who created and sustains them. Sweet the memory of Sabbath sunsets, when, reposing on the grass-plot beneath the shade, you wept tears of gratitude to Him who bathed

* According to Vauquelin, the human brain consists of

Water	80
Albumen	7
White fatty matter	4.53
Red fatty matter	.70
Osmazome	1.12
Phosphorus	1.50
Acids, salts, and sulphur	5.15
	100.00

you in the golden light. Oft at midnight, when your eyes were wakeful on childhood's downy bed, have you thought of the great Fountain of being and blessedness, and with ruby lips, fitted only to suggest a mother's kisses, have prayed,

> "Earth has engross'd my love too long,
> 'Tis time I lift mine eyes
> Upward, dear Father, to thy throne,
> And to my native skies."

Maturer years have deepened this impression of the Almighty until it has become the refuge and rest of the soul. What are sciences but maps of universal laws? and universal laws, but the channels of universal power? and universal power, but the outgoings of a universal mind? What are all physical phenomena, properly understood, but the unfolding of a heart that delighteth to make the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice? Even the thunder and the lightning are the orchestra of his temple, aiding the devout spirit to a more profound worship and a more perfect joy. All the forms and motions of matter are pervaded by wise design, a design that is everywhere pervaded by goodness.

The more grand and mysterious world within is no less full of God. The faculties of the human soul are as beautifully balanced as the spheres; thoughts and feelings have their laws; relations and obligations are fixed; and though while "nature is bound in fate" the will is free, yet the vicegerent of God looks down upon it to remind it of "Him in whom we live, and move, and have our being."

And what is the face of Jesus but the complement of nature's revelation, bearing that impress of God's moral attributes which she could not receive, and providing and pointing a way from erring children's footsteps to a forgiving Father's bosom.

Let me say with that great man who, as on the wings of an angel, flew through the spheres of thought with the gospel of modern science, "I would rather believe all the fables in the Legend and the Talmud and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without mind." We know there are difficulties in the belief that God is a spirit, but they are the difficulties of mystery, not of inconsistency. There is a God, and there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding. In this, as in other instances, the culminations of philosophy are the starting-points of revelation.

Art. II.—REV. C. H. SPURGEON.

Some three years ago the fame of a bold young preacher broke on the multitudes of London, and its echo soon reached across the Atlantic. He was young, being only twenty years of age; he made no pretensions to learning, never having graced a literary institution in the character of a pupil; he was unheralded by brilliant antecedents. Being born in humble life, he was unpracticed in either the art of oratory or of preaching, his public efforts having consisted of addresses before Sunday schools, and a very brief but successful pastorate over an obscure Baptist Church at Waterbeach. In personal appearance he was not prepossessing; in style he was plain, practical, simple; in manner, rude, bold, egotistical, approaching to the bigoted; in theology, a deep-dyed Calvinist; in Church relations, an uncompromising Baptist. We could scarcely imagine a more unpromising list of qualifications, or rather disqualifications for public favor. Yet the fame of this young man spread throughout London, and from London through Europe and America, with a rapidity that has never, perhaps, been equaled in the history of preaching, and his labors suddenly gathered around him masses of anxious hearers, surpassing everything of the kind since the days of Wesley and Whitefield, if, indeed, the audiences of those mighty men equaled the vast crowds which gather to hear this youth.

The growth of his popularity, the enlargement of his influence, the increase of his power, have gone steadily on, each year adding new laurels to his name, each public effort drawing around him a widening circle of admiring hearers. Most, even of his friends, looked upon him as a brilliant but transient meteor, and tremblingly expected the time when, like a meteor, his light would expire. His enemies thought him an over-zealous, fanatical enthusiast, whose burning zeal would soon consume both itself and him. Nearly all feared that he would become intoxicated with the large drafts of popularity which he had daily to drink, or that he would not be able, owing to the want of variety, to sustain the reputation he had so suddenly acquired. Neither result has happened. He has disappointed all. He has grown more humble as he has grown more popular; there has been no waning of his reputation, no diminution of his power, no fluctuation in his progress. His course has been steadily onward and upward, and he stands out to-day before the world, as the most famous preacher of the day, and the name of Spurgeon has become a household word in Europe and America,

mentioned along with those of Whitefield, Newton, Summerfield, and Irving of days gone by, and crowned as the successful rival of Cumming, Melville, Noel, and Punshon, the first English preachers.

Such success presents a problem which it is the duty and interest of the Church to solve. Twice on every Sabbath of the year thousands gather to hear this young preacher of the Gospel. Surrey Hall is packed to its utmost capacity. Between five and six thousand eager listeners are crowded in the spacious area, each paying roundly for the privilege. It is not unusual for the spacious body of the hall, the three broad galleries, the several aisles, and all vacancies about the pulpit and doors to be occupied, and hundreds turn away unable to find footing within the audience-room. And this is no novel fact; it was a fact realized in Exeter Hall; it was a fact in the large new chapel built for him in New Park-street, and is a fact which has been weekly realized for many months in Surrey Musical Hall. Nor is this the limit of his power to draw an audience; it is only the limit of his audience-room. It is only necessary to throw open the doors of the vast Crystal Palace, and twenty-five thousand anxious hearers gather to face the young preacher. Here, then, is a success unequaled, in the history of the past, in the rapidity of its development, and in the vastness of its results. Here is a phenomenon unprecedented in the history of audiences, whether in the sphere of religion, literature, politics, or amusement. What is this phenomenon? It is not that an orator attracts a crowd; that is often done; but it is that a young preacher of the Gospel, under the most unpromising circumstances, should, in the space of three years, rise to such an elevation of popularity and power, as to attract, day after day, six thousand paying auditors from all classes of society to hear the Gospel. "This is a result unequaled in the gathering of audiences, even where dramatic genius, where the enchantment of music, where the appliances of pleasure, where the magnificent adornings of art, and the thrill of eloquence have united to attract. Neither Macready, nor Garrick, nor Forrest, nor Jenny Lind, nor Rachel, nor Gough, nor Clay, nor Choate has done it." Its nearest approximation is in the history of our own Henry Ward Beecher. And the phenomenon is the more remarkable, in that this gathering is around the pulpit where no art wins and no pleasure stimulates, and occurs where hundreds of other audience-rooms are opened for the same purpose, with pulpits occupied by men of learning, eloquence, and piety.

What is it that constitutes the power of Mr. Spurgeon, and makes Surrey Hall, week after week, the center of gathering thousands? Is it because he is the most eloquent man, the most learned man,

or the most godly man among the clergy of London? Neither of these is true of Mr. S. His power is not found in his eloquence, his learning, his extraordinary piety, his personal appearance, his superior manner, or the unusual excellence of his matter, alone considered, for in all these he is far surpassed by more than one English preacher.

The question becomes a still more interesting and important one at this day, when so much is said of the "preaching for the times," when there seems to be rather a repulsion than an attraction between the pulpit and the people, when the Churches of our towns and cities, although with an aggregate capacity greatly below what is needed for the accommodation of the multitudes of our people, are yet left but partially filled, and when numbers of our preachers, eloquent, learned, and godly men, are left to utter their lessons, or display their eloquence, or breathe out their pious worship, over a chilling array of empty pews. We sometimes attribute this wide-spread indifference to preaching, to loss of novelty in Gospel truth, to increased wickedness and hardness of human nature, or to the many obstacles which we suppose may be found in the intensely earnest and worldly life of the present day. Yet with all these circumstances existing, the pulpit presents its attractions, and is surrounded by multitudes, "when a Whitefield, a Summerfield, a Duff, a Beecher, a Punshon, or a Spurgeon is found to fill it." Do not these names suggest the question, whether some of the difficulty may not be found in the pulpit itself? or at least, does not the vast success of these men intimate that a remedy may be found in some change of preaching?

Before attempting to discover the secret of Mr. Spurgeon's power and success, let us first look at the man, let us see what is in him, and from what he is, detect, if we can, the secret of what he does.

Rev. C. H. Spurgeon was born at Kelvedon, in Essex, on the 19th of June, 1834. He is, therefore, but little over twenty-three years old. His father and grandfather are both still living, and are Independent ministers, neither of them giving evidence of possessing those talents which have won this great popularity for their son. His literary advantages were small, and his opportunities of acquiring education were but brief; an ordinary English education was received at Colchester, and a year was passed in the Agricultural College at Maidstone, where his attention appears to have been directed chiefly to the natural sciences, for which he acquired a great fondness. Some further opportunities of mental culture were afforded him while acting in the capacity of usher in a school at Newmarket, and he subsequently filled the same office for a short time in

a day-school at Cambridge. Mr. Spurgeon's education, if indeed it may be called by that name, was secured rather by extensive reading than through the process of intellectual training. He began the assiduous study of books at an early period, and has evidently, ever since, been a comprehensive reader of whatever he deems of practical use. His sermons abound in quotations, both of prose and poetry, from Bacon to Mrs. Stowe, and from Shakspeare to Wesley. Bunyan is his favorite author; Charles Wesley furnishes the greatest amount of his poetry. He has been a reader of Jay, and a student of Leighton. Mr. Spurgeon is mighty in the Scriptures. We would not say he has been a great *student* of the Bible, but he has evidently been a great *reader* of the Bible. He exhibits a remarkable familiarity with Scripture facts, and his sermons are full of striking and accurate Scripture quotations. To his diligence as a great reader, the results of which he retains in a capacious and ready memory, he adds the habit of careful observation of men and nature. He is a lover of nature, and watches her movements with a keen and admiring eye; while, through the discipline of a diversified life, Providence has furnished him the opportunity of securing an early and accurate knowledge of human nature. Since his conversion his reading and his studies have been in the light of the cross. He has "built his studio on Calvary;" he has "taken a hermit's cell in the Garden of Gethsemane, and laves his brows with the waters of Siloa." "Once," he remarks, "I put all my knowledge together in glorious confusion; but now I have a shelf in my head for everything, and whatever I read or hear I know where to stow it away. Ever since I have known Christ, I have put Christ in the center as my sun, and each secular science revolves around it as a planet, while the minor sciences are satellites to their planets."

While at Newmarket he began to address the Sunday-school children, and that in such a style as attracted grown-up hearers. At Cambridge this practice was continued, with the addition of frequent visits to the neighboring villages, where he preached on Sabbath evenings, and also frequently during the week. While engaged in this work the Baptist Church at Waterbeach called him to be their pastor. He accepted the invitation, and while giving full Sabbath labor to his people, eleven villages shared the advantage of his sermons on week-days, which in a single year amounted to more than three hundred and fifty extra sermons. In January, 1854, he was invited to undertake the pastorate of the Baptist Church, in New Park-street, London. The fame of the young preacher spread rapidly throughout the metropolis, and before six months had passed

Mr. Spurgeon was the most attractive preacher in London. His spacious chapel was packed with eager auditors, long before the time of service. From New Park-street Chapel Mr. S. removed to Exeter Hall, and from thence to Surrey Musical Hall, a vast audience-room, capable of accommodating six thousand hearers, and though he has now been before the London public for three years and a half, still every appearance of Mr. S. gives an opportunity to measure the full capacity of his audience-room.

The exact date of Mr. Spurgeon's conversion we do not know. He is, however, a living, experimental Christian; refers often to his own conversion, talks of the witness and indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and though a hyper-Calvinist in theology, he is a thorough Wesleyan in religious experience. He says, in his sermon on Sovereignty and Salvation:

"Six years ago to-day, as near as possible at this very hour of the day, I was 'in the gall of bitterness and in the bonds of iniquity,' but had yet, by Divine grace, been led to feel the bitterness of that bondage, and to cry out by reason of the soreness of its slavery. Seeking rest, and finding none, I stepped within the house of God, and sat there, afraid to look upward, lest I should be utterly cut off, and lest his fierce wrath should consume me. The minister rose in his pulpit, and, as I have done this morning, read this text: 'Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else.' I looked that moment; the grace of faith was vouchsafed to me in the self-same instant; and now I think I can say with truth,

'Ere since by faith I saw the stream
His flowing wounds supply,
Redeeming love has been my theme,
And shall be till I die.'

I shall never forget that day while memory holds its place; nor can I help repeating this text whenever I remember that hour when first I knew the Lord. How strangely gracious! How wonderfully and marvelously kind, that he who heard these words so little time ago for his own soul's profit, should now address you, this morning, as his hearers from the same text, in the full and confident hope that some poor sinner within these walls may hear the glad tidings of salvation for himself also, and may, to-day, be 'turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.'"

We have, in this extract, not only the evidence of his own conversion, but of his firm faith in the reality and instantaneousness of conversion, a faith which gives character to his preaching.

We now turn to Mr. Spurgeon's preaching. There is no difficulty in characterizing his style; it is distinctly marked and easy of description. It belongs to the earnest, plain, practical, searching school. His texts are always simple, containing some practical or experimental truth, and his sermons are always textual. His introduction is short, direct, and designed to awaken attention to the subject of the text. His divisions are few and natural, and such as the text immediately suggests; his subdivisions are sparing, never

descending to the sphere of hair-splitting. His sermons present a simple, a natural contour; no effort at elaboration; no obvious arrangements for the sake of effect; no exhibition of art; no transpositions of the text with the view of bringing some startling or affecting thought into an appropriate place. His text seems to act like a gushing fountain, and his sermon to be the stream that flows naturally and gracefully from it. Like the stream, too, it is left free to wander where it will; it flows gently and quietly through the green meadows, fertilizing the fields; it spreads out into the broad, deep river; it cuts its way through deep ravines; it ripples over the shallow bed of pebbles; it breaks into noisy cascades; it may leap as the thundering cataract; its peaceful bosom may reflect the moon and the stars, or sparkle in the sunshine, and may pour itself out into the great ocean and be lost; but it is always the same stream, issuing from the same fountain, and wandering where it will. He throws about himself or his subject no limitation; he feels at liberty to say what he pleases, and to say it how and when he pleases. Grammar, logic, rhetoric, art, all bend and often break before him. He is strong in his convictions, and utters them strongly. He never argues, but fearlessly announces his opinions. He cannot argue, he has no logic in him; it would gall and confine him worse than a strait-jacket to attempt it. He preaches to the heart, not to the head. He makes use of everything within his reach to illustrate and enforce his subject; nature, science, history, literature in all its departments, are forced into his service, and his vast memory seems to afford an exhaustless resource for illustration and adornment. Anecdote, imagery, simile, creations of fancy, wit, and even satire sufficient to call up a momentary smile, or even an audible laugh, are summoned to his aid. His sermons abound in thrilling descriptions, in affecting examples, drawn especially from Scripture, in close heart-searchings, in analysis of character, in unfoldings of experience, in pathetic appeals, and in passages of striking beauty and thrilling eloquence. His sentences are short, his language plain, expressive, straightforward; his words are small, the rich old Saxon predominating; a child may understand everything he says.

It is justly remarked by an English critic, that the "manly tone of Mr. Spurgeon's mind might be illustrated from the admirable thoughts which he expresses on the connection between the diffusion of the Gospel and the increase of civil liberty. His graphic skill in delineating character, might be demonstrated from his life-like pictures of the prejudiced Jew and the scoffing Greek of modern times; his unsparing fidelity, from the sarcastic severity with which

he rebukes the neglect of the Bible by modern professors; his powers of personification and dramatic presentation from the scene which he paints between the dying Christian and Death, or between Christ and Justice and the justified sinner; his refined skill in the treatment of a delicate subject, in the vailed yet impressive description of the trial of Joseph; the use he can make of a single metaphor, by his powerful comparison of the sinner to 'Mazeppa, bound on the wild horse of his lust, galloping on with hell's wolves behind him, till stopped and liberated by a mighty Hand.'"

Though the style of his sermons is eminently plain, simple, and direct, yet we can see how attractive they are made by the bountiful hand with which he throws out sentences and passages of great beauty and eloquence. "Bright-eyed cheerfulness, and airy-footed love," are among his fine phrases. Winter is described as not killing the flowers, but as "coating them with the ermine of his snows." The sun is not quenched, "but is behind the clouds brewing up summer; and when he cometh forth again, he will have made those clouds fit to drop in April showers, all of them mothers of the sweet May flowers." "God puts our prayers, like rose-leaves, between the pages of his book of remembrance; and when the volume is opened at last, there shall be a precious fragrance springing up therefrom." Memory he describes as grasping with an iron hand evil things; "but she holdeth the good with feeble fingers; she suffereth the glorious timbers from the forest of Lebanon to swim down the stream of oblivion, but she stoppeth all the drift that floateth from the foul city of Sodom." He speaks of "the mighty Hand wherein the callow comets are brooded by the sun," and of the very "spheres stopping their music while God speaks with his wondrous deep bass voice." It would be hard to surpass the grandeur of the following passage, when, after supposing the extinction of Christianity by infidelity, he exclaims: "I would hang the world in mourning, and make the sea the chief mourner, with its dirge of howling winds, and its wild death-march of disordered waves." The following passage will illustrate the spontaneiety and power with which he throws out the most grand and thrilling passages: "There was a time when all we now behold of God's great universe was yet unborn, slumbering within the mind of God, as yet uncreate and non-existent; yet there was God, and he was 'over all, blessed forever;' though no seraphs hymned his praises, though no strong-winged cherubs flashed like lightning to do his high behests, though he was without a retinue, yet he sat as king on his throne, the mighty God forever to be worshiped, the dread Supreme, in solemn silence dwelling by himself in vast immensity, making the placid clouds

his canopy, and the light from his own countenance forming the brightness of his glory." The man whose genius freely breeds such sentiments and passages will always have an attractive pulpit. But we merely quote these passages as specimens of the brilliant gems which adorn his style. When we come to look more closely at the contents of his sermons we will find them abounding with others of still greater beauty and power.

Mr. Spurgeon's manner is in perfect keeping with the style of his sermons. He derives but little advantage from his *personnel*, or the appearance which he presents in the pulpit. He has, indeed, been not unfrequently denounced "as mean in stature, inexpressive in countenance, and forbidding in manner." This, perhaps, is only one of the many shafts of enmity that have been hurled against him. He is of medium height, at present quite stout, has a round and beardless face, rather a low forehead, dark hair, parted in the center of the head. His appearance in the pulpit may be said to be interesting rather than commanding; he betrays his youth, and still wears a boyish countenance; his figure is awkward; his manners are plain; his face (except when illumined by a smile) is admitted to be heavy. His voice, and his voice alone, seems to be the only *personal* instrument he possesses, by which he is enabled to acquire such a marvelous power over the minds and hearts of his hearers. Description, consequently, can never convey a just impression of Mr. Spurgeon's preaching. His voice is powerful, rich, melodious, and under perfect control. Twelve thousand have distinctly heard every sentence he uttered in the open air, and this powerful instrument carried his burning words to an audience of twenty thousand gathered in the Crystal Palace. "Soon as he commences to speak," says an English critic, "tones of richest melody are heard. A voice, full, sweet, and musical, falls on every ear, and awakens agreeable emotions in every soul in which there is a sympathy for sounds. That most excellent of voices is under perfect control, and can whisper or thunder at the wish of its possessor. Then there is poetry in every feature and every movement, as well as music in the voice. The countenance speaks, the entire form sympathizes. The action is in complete unison with the sentiments, and the eye *listens* scarcely less than the ear to the sweetly flowing oratory." To the influence of this powerful voice, he adds that of a manner characterized by great freedom and fearlessness, intensely earnest, and strikingly natural. When to these we add the influence of thrilling description, touching anecdote, sparkling wit, startling episodes, striking similes, all used to illustrate and enforce the deep, earnest, home truths of the Bible, we surely have a combina-

tion of elements which must make up a preacher of wonderful attraction and of marvelous power.

The attractiveness and power of his style and manner are still further increased by the contents of his sermon. These present much that is objectionable; more, we should judge, when appearing in book-form than when uttered from the pulpit. No published sermons would bear pruning better than his. They abound in needless repetitions, in empty, puerile common-places. Judged by ordinary rules of grammar, rhetoric, or composition, they abound in faults. But we have no right to judge them by such rules. Their author disavows all these limitations, and appears as a preacher and author of nature, not of art; as such he is entitled to be estimated, and as such his sermons stand alone. But when speaking of his sermons as containing a chief element of his power, we speak of their contents, their matter, not of their method, and we can only present an idea of this by offering some extracts. But here a difficulty meets us; we might select quotations from every page at random, and to any extent, for every page bears the impress of the author's mind, and exhibits the peculiar characteristics of his style and matter. We had turned down many pages with the view of making extracts, but our space will limit us to a few, and we therefore select such as will convey an idea of the attractiveness and power which may be found in these sermons. The following, both by its sentiments and manner, would make him a favorite with the people:

"Be it known that the doctrine of Christ is the doctrine of the people. It was not meant to be the Gospel of a caste, a clique, or any class of the community. The covenant of grace was not ordered for men of one peculiar grade, but some of all sorts are included. A few there were of rich, that followed Jesus in his own day, as there are now. Mary, and Martha, and Lazarus were well to do, and there was the wife of Herod's steward, with some more of the nobility. These, however, were but a few; his congregations were made up of the lower orders—the masses, the multitude. 'The common people heard him gladly;' and his doctrine was one which did not allow of distinction, but put all men as sinners naturally, on an equality in the sight of God. One is your Father, 'one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren.' These were words which he taught to his disciples, while in his own person he was the mirror of humility, and proved himself the friend of earth's poor sons, and the lover of mankind. O ye purse-proud! O ye who cannot touch the poor, even with your white gloves! Ah! ye with your miters and your crosiers! Ah! ye with your cathedrals and splendid ornaments! This is the man whom ye call master—the people's Christ—one of the people! And yet ye look down with scorn upon the people; ye despise them. What are they in your opinion? *the common herd—the multitude.* Out on ye! call yourselves no more the ministers of Christ. How can ye be, unless, descending from your pomp and your dignity, ye come among the poor and visit them—ye come among our teeming population, and preach to them the Gospel of Christ Jesus? We believe you to be the descendants of the fishermen? Ah no, until ye doff your grandeur, and, like the fishermen, come out, the people's

men, and preach to the people, speak to the people, instead of lolling on your splendid seats, and making yourselves rich at the expense of your pluralities! Christ's ministers should be the friends of mankind at large, remembering that their Master was the people's Christ. Rejoice, O rejoice, ye multitudes! Rejoice! rejoice! for Christ was one of the people."

The following is a good specimen of his plainness in reproving the faults of nominal Christians:

"If this be the word of God, what will become of some of you who have not read it for the last month? 'Month, sir! I have not read it for this year.' Ay, there are some of you that have not read it at all. Most people treat the Bible very politely. They have a small pocket volume, neatly bound; they put a white pocket-handkerchief round it, and carry it to their places of worship; when they get home they lay it up in their drawer till next Sunday morning; then it comes out again for a little bit of a treat, and goes to chapel; that is all the poor Bible gets in the way of an airing. That is your style of entertaining this heavenly messenger. There is dust enough on some of your Bibles to write 'damnation' with your fingers. There are some of you who have not turned over your Bibles for a long, long, long while, and what think you? I tell you blunt words, but true words. What will God say at last? When you shall come before him, he shall say, 'Did you read my Bible?' 'No.' 'I wrote you a letter of mercy; did you read it?' '*No.*' 'Rebel! I have sent thee a letter inviting thee to me; didst thou ever read it?' '*Lord, I never broke the seal; I kept it shut up.*' Wretch,' says God, 'then thou deservest hell. If I sent thee a loving epistle, and thou wouldst not even break the seal, what shall I do unto thee?'"

In the same sermon he thus speaks of the Bible as a book of science:

"But the science of Jesus Christ is the most excellent of sciences. Let no one turn away from the Bible because it is not a book of learning and wisdom. It is. Would you know astronomy? It is here; it tells you of the Sun of Righteousness and the Star of Bethlehem. Would you know Botany? It is here: it tells you of the plant of renown—the Lily of the Valley and the Rose of Sharon. Would you know geology and mineralogy? You shall learn it here: for you may read of the Rock of Ages, and the white stone, with the name engraven thereon, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it. Would you study history? Here is the most ancient of all the records of the history of the human race. Whatever your science is, come and bend over this book; your science is here. Come and drink out of this fair fount of knowledge and wisdom, and ye shall find yourselves made wise unto salvation."

We shall present one more extract as an illustration of his manner of appeal:

"Do you know, poor soul, that you have not a house to live in? You have a house for your body, but no house for your soul. Have you ever seen a poor girl at midnight, sitting down on a door-step, crying? Somebody passes and says: "Why do you sit here?' 'I have no house, sir; I have no home." 'Where is your father?' 'My father is dead, sir.' 'Where is your mother?' 'I have no mother, sir.' 'Have you no friends?' 'No friends at all.' 'Have you no home?' 'No, I have none; I am homeless.' And she shivers in the chill air, and gathers her poor ragged shawl around her, and cries again, 'I have no home! I have no home!' Would you not pity her? Would you blame her for her tears? Ah! there are some of you that have houseless souls here this morning. It is something to have a houseless body; but to think of a houseless

soul! Methinks I see you in eternity, sitting on the doorstep of heaven. An angel says: 'What! have you no house to live in?' 'No house,' says the poor soul. 'Have you no father?' 'No; God is not my father, and there is none beside him.' 'Have you no mother?' 'No; the Church is not my mother; I never sought her ways, nor loved Jesus; I have neither father nor mother.' 'Have you no house, then?' 'No; I am a houseless soul?' Houseless soul! In a little while thy body will have gone; and where wilt thou house thyself when the hot hail of eternal vengeance comes from heaven? Where wilt thou hide thy guilty head, when the winds of the last judgment day shall sweep over thee with fury?"

The whole passage is one of touching and powerful appeal, but our space will not allow its entire quotation.

We will give two specimens of his power of description. The first is of the deluge:

"Turn you to the Scriptures! I see a world all fair and beautiful! its mountains laughing in the sun, and the fields rejoicing in the golden light. I see maidens dancing, and young men singing. How fair the vision! But lo! a grave and reverend sire lifts up his hand, and cries: 'A flood is coming to deluge the earth; the fountains of the great deep will be broken up, and all things will be covered. See yonder ark! One hundred and twenty years have I toiled with these mine hands to build it; flee there and you are safe.' 'Aha! old man; away with your empty predictions! Aha! let us be happy while we may! When the flood comes then we will build an ark; but there is no flood coming; tell that to fools; we believe no such things.' See the unbelievers pursue their merry dance. Hark! unbeliever. Dost thou not hear that rumbling noise? Earth's bowels have begun to move, her rocky ribs are strained by dire convulsions from within; lo! they break with the enormous strain, and forth from between them torrents rush unknown since God concealed them in the bosom of our world. Heaven is split in sunder! it rains! Not drops, but clouds descend. A cataract like that of old Niagara, rolls from heaven with mighty noise. Both firmaments, both deeps, the deep below and the deep above, clasp their hands. Now, unbelievers, where are you now? There is your last remnant. A man—his wife clasping him round the waist—stands on the last summit that is above the water. See him there! the water is up to his loins even now. Hear his last shriek! he is floating—he is drowned. And as Noah looks from the ark he sees nothing. Nothing! It is a void profound. 'Sea monsters whelp and stable in the palaces of kings.' All is overthrown, covered, drowned."

The second is a description of the judgment:

"Methinks I see the last great day. The last hour of time has struck. I heard the bell toll its death-knell. Time was; eternity is ushered in; the sea is boiling; the waves are lit up with supernatural splendor. I see a rainbow, a flying cloud, and on it a throne, and on that throne sits one like unto the Son of man. I know him. In his hand he holds a pair of balances; just before him the books, the book of life, the book of death, and the book of remembrance. I see his splendor and I rejoice at it; I behold his pompous appearance, and I smile with gladness that he is come to be 'admired of all his saints.' But there stand a throng of miserable wretches, crouching in horror to conceal themselves, and yet looking; for their eyes must look on him whom they have pierced; but when they look they cry, 'Hide me from the face.' What face? 'Rocks hide me from the face.' What face? 'The face of Jesus, the man who died, but now is come to judgment.' But you cannot be hidden from his face; you must see it with your eyes; but you will not sit on

the right hand, clothed with grandeur; and when the triumphal procession of Jesus in the clouds shall come, you shall not march in it; you shall see it, but you shall not be there. O! methinks I see it now, the mighty Saviour in his chariot, riding on the rainbow to heaven. See how his mighty coursers make the sky rattle while he drives them up heaven's hill. A train, girt in white, follow behind him, and at his chariot wheels he drags the devil, death, and hell. Hark how they clap their hands! Hark how they shout: 'Thou hast ascended up on high; thou hast led captivity captive.' Hark how they chant the solemn lay, 'Halleluiah, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.' See the splendor of their appearance; mark the crowns upon their brows; see their snow-white garments; mark the rapture of their countenances; hear how their song swells up to heaven, while the Eternal joins therein, saying: 'I will rejoice over thee with joy; I will rejoice over thee with singing; for I have betrothed thee to me in everlasting loving-kindness!"

We have said his sermons are frequently adorned with many striking sketches of fancy. We give but a single specimen:

"So he giveth his beloved sleep. In my reverie, as I was on the border of the land of dreams, methought I was in a castle. Around its massive walls there ran a deep moat. Watchmen paced the walls both day and night. It was a fine old fortress, bidding defiance to the foe; but I was not happy in it. I thought I lay upon a couch; but scarcely had I closed my eyes ere a trumpet blew, 'To arms! to arms!' and when the danger was overpast I laid me down again. 'To arms! to arms!' once more resounded, and again I started up. Never could I rest. I thought I had my armor on, and moved about perpetually clad in mail, rushing each hour to the castle top, aroused by some fresh alarm. At one time a foe was coming from the west, at another from the east. I thought I had treasure somewhere down in some deep part of the castle, and all my care was to guard it. I dreaded, I feared, I trembled, lest it should be taken from me. I awoke, and I thought I would not live in such a tower as that for all its grandeur. It was the castle of discontent, the castle of ambition, in which man never rests. It is ever, 'To arms! to arms! to arms!' There is a foe here, or a foe there. His dear loved treasure must be guarded. Sleep never crossed the drawbridge of the Castle of Discontent. Then I thought I would supplement by another reverie. I was in a cottage. It was in what poets call a beautiful and pleasant place, but I cared not for that, I had no treasure in the world, save one sparkling jewel on my heart; and I thought I put my hand on that and went to sleep, nor did I wake till the morning light. That treasure was a quiet conscience and the love of God—'the peace that passeth all understanding.' I slept, because I slept in the house of content, satisfied with what I had. Go, ye over-reaching misers! go, ye grasping, ambitious men! I envy not your life of inquietude. The sleep of statesmen is often broken; the dream of the miser is always evil; the sleep of the man who loves gain is never hearty; but 'God giveth his beloved sleep.'"

We have said that the sermons of Mr. S. abound in passages of great beauty and of genuine eloquence. We will give three specimens, and close these extracts.

Sleep the Gift of God.—"The sleep of the body is the gift of God. So said Homer of old, when he described it as descending from the clouds, and resting on the tents of the warriors around old Troy. And so sang Virgil, when he spoke of Palinurus falling asleep upon the prow of the ship. Sleep is the gift of God. We think that we lay our heads upon our pillows, and compose our bodies in a peaceful posture, and that therefore we naturally and necessarily fall asleep. But it is not so. Sleep is the gift of God, and not a man would close his eyes

did not God put his fingers on his eyelids; did not the Almighty send a soft and balmy influence over his frame which lulled his thoughts into quiescence, making him enter into that blissful state of rest which we call sleep. True, there be some drugs and narcotics whereby men can poison themselves well-nigh to death, and then call it sleep; but the sleep of the healthy body is the gift of God. He bestows it; he rocks the cradle for us every night; he draws the curtain of darkness; he bids the sun shut up his burning eyes, and then he comes and says, 'Sleep, sleep, my child; I give thee sleep.'"

Providence.—"Let us transport ourselves for a moment to the top of some high cliff, and we look down on the noisy ocean. It has been the theme of a thousand songs; it has borne myriads of fleets on its mighty breast. Ay! and yet there it is, rolling on. If you begin to think about the ocean, though it is one of the minor parts of God's works compared to the constellations of the heavens, and the globes which he has hung on high, you begin to be lost in the vastness of your conceptions concerning the greatness of God's works. And so with Providence. It is like the ocean for another reason. The sea is never still; both day and night it is always moving. In the day when the sun shines upon it, its waves march up in marshaled order, as if about to capture the whole land, and drown all the solid earth. Then, again, they march back, each one, as if reluctant to yield its prey. It is always moving; the moon shines upon it, and the stars light it up; still it moves. Or is it darkness, and nothing is seen; still it moves; by night and day the restless billows chant a boisterous hymn of glory, or murmur a solemn dirge of mariners wrecked far out in the depths. Such, too, is Providence; by night or day Providence is always going on. The farmer sleeps, but his wheat is growing. The mariner on the sea sleeps, but the wind and the waves are carrying on his bark. Providence! thou never stoppest; thy mighty wheels never stay their everlasting circles. As the blue ocean has rolled on impetuously for ages, so shall Providence, until He who first set it in motion shall bid it stop; and then its wheels shall cease, forever fixed by the eternal decree of the mighty God."

A Veiw of God's Glory.—"You have seen kings have trains hanging behind them; and all that we can ever see of God is his train that floats behind. Yon sun that burns in the heavens with all his effulgence, you think he is bright; you look upon him and he dazzles you; but all his splendor is but a single thread in the regal skirts of the robe of Deity. You have seen night wrapped in her sable mantle, woven with gems and stars; there they shine as ornaments worked by the needle of God in that brilliant piece of tapestry, which is spread over our heads, like a tent for the inhabitants of the earth to dwell in; you have said, O! how majestic that star, that comet, that silver moon! How splendid! They are nothing but just a tiny portion of the skirts of God that drag in the dust. But what are the shoulders, what the girdle of Divinity, what the bracelets of Godhead, what the crown that girdles his lofty brow, man cannot conceive; I could imagine that all the stars and constellations of stars might be put together and threaded into a string, made into a bracelet for the arm, or a ring for the finger of Jehovah, but I cannot conceive what God is himself. All I can ever learn, all that the thunder ever spoke, all that the boisterous ocean could ever teach me, all that the heaven above or the earth beneath can ever open to my mind, is nothing but the 'back parts' of God. I can never see, nor can I understand what he is."

We are now prepared to estimate the character of Mr. Spurgeon's preaching. His power does not lie in one extraordinary intellectual endowment, nor in any single peculiarity, but in the striking, original, and peculiar *tout ensemble* which he presents as a preacher. His

attraction is not in his style, his manner, or his matter, singly considered; but in the novelty and harmony of all these combined, in all of which he is peculiar, and which, when accompanied with the music of his rich, strong voice, make up a whole of rare attractiveness and power. Mr. S. is evidently more than an ordinary man. He has genius, and that, too, of a high order. In many qualifications for a preacher he has few equals, in some he has not a superior. Imagination, memory, language, and the power of assimilation, are his strong points. He has some creative genius, but in this he does not excel. "There is about him that frank, open-heartedness of manner which hesitates not to express the most startling opinions," and, we may add, to "declare the whole counsel of God," "and which, combined with his intense sympathy with the masses, gives its possessor a sublime fascination over the popular heart." Of close, compact argument, or systematic method, he is incapable. If he were to adopt such a method he would be weak as other men; it would be wholly out of keeping with his manner, and incompatible with the natural working of his mind. Of this he is aware himself. In his sermon on faith, in the third series, we have the following:

> "And now we come to the *argument*, why without faith we cannot be saved. Now there are some gentlemen present who are saying, 'Now we shall see whether Mr. S. has any logic in him.' No, you won't, sirs, because I never pretend to exercise it. I hope I have the logic which can appeal to men's hearts, but I am not very prone to use the less powerful logic of the head, when I can win the heart in another manner."

Herein is his forte, and herein lies his great power over the masses. He boldly storms the citadel of the human heart, and makes use of everything which will enable him to reach it. The power with which he expects to penetrate and subdue it, is the word of God. This he presents in bold and fearless utterances, with the authority of and claiming to have a commission from God. He makes it keen as barbed arrows by clothing it in metaphor; he builds it up into massive descriptions; he weaves it into beautiful sketches of fancy; he exhibits it with life-like power in touching examples, and he makes it glow and sparkle with life and heat by earnest and pathetic appeals. His resources for this "heart-work" seem to be exhaustless, and are found both in his own great originality, and the vast fund which he has accumulated by observation and reading. There is no sameness in his sermons. The third series of his published discourses is the best. The variety of his matter, as regards his expositions, illustrations, and applications of Divine truth, suffers no diminution, but increases in richness and power.

There is no doubt, that one secret of Mr. Spurgeon's attractive-

ness is found in the many points of contrast which he presents with other preachers. In nearly every respect, in style, manner, and matter, (not, of course, as regards his doctrines, but the dress in which he presents them,) he differs from every other preacher in London, and as a whole stands out prominently as an exception to ordinary preachers. He imitates no model, either past or present; nor can he be imitated. His individuality is distinctly marked. He is the Gough of the pulpit. He has been compared, and in some respects not unaptly, we should think, with Mr. Caughey, the great English and American revivalist. We think a better, though in many points an imperfect, comparison might be found in our own Henry Ward Beecher. In general character, and in style and manner, they agree in many points. In intellectual strength Mr. Beecher is his superior, and far surpasses him in comprehensiveness of views, in liberality of sentiment, and in the sweep of topics. We must remember also, that he has nearly twice his age. In earnest appeal, and in depth of pathos, he is not equal to Mr. Spurgeon. In the forcible, searching utterance of Divine truth Mr. Spurgeon is the superior. In imagination, wit, description, and perhaps in illustration, it would be difficult to draw the line of difference. In the power of spontaneous and forcible illustration we are disposed to think Mr. Beecher is unequaled even by Spurgeon. Both are extraordinary men, unequaled in their power to attract and enchain an audience. Much alike in natural character and endowments, they differ much in the fields they have chosen, and each is superior in his own. Mr. Beecher is unrivaled in the handling of general popular topics, both civil and religious, in his own peculiar style. Mr. Spurgeon has chosen the heart for his battle-ground, and limits himself to the sphere of practical and experimental godliness. In this sphere he is the greatest preacher of the day.

In conclusion, then, as far as we can judge, Mr. Spurgeon is a marvelously-gifted, large-hearted, and earnest-minded man, who knows but one object, and has but one aim, that of the salvation of the souls of his fellow-men. To him, rank, station, wealth, honor, power, dominion, luxury, and all that men usually seek and covet, give way before one intensely earnest purpose, that of declaring, with unflinching fidelity, the whole word of God. To him the Bible and its revelations are Divine realities, and this conviction necessarily leads him not to preach as many ministers do, about *real* things as if they were *imaginary*, but to announce, often with "terrible earnestness," the truth of God. His is the eloquence of truth. This is the grand secret of his success.

Art. III.—THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF 1857.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The subjects of discussion, as well as the persons who were formally to report on them, had been chosen by the German Committee of the Alliance. The programme, published six months before, formed an organic whole, and was indicative of the logical, systematical German mind. Every forenoon session (from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M.) was devoted to a regular discourse upon the theme prescribed by the order of the day, and followed by short remarks from different speakers, mostly English. All that was spoken in English was repeated in German. The afternoon sessions (from half past 4 to till 7 P. M.) were devoted to reports concerning the religious condition of the various parts of the world represented in the convention.

The addresses of the first day were, as we have seen, of an introductory nature. The subject for the forenoon of the *second* day was, "*The unity and diversity of the children of God.*" The pious prelate, Kapff, of Stuttgardt, having led the devotional exercises, and read John xv, 1–16, made a few practical remarks respecting the ground and condition of Christian union; it was not a union in theories or formulas, but a living union in heart with Christ, and an abiding in him. Rev. Mr. Jenkinson, of the Episcopal Church said: "We are on the eve of great events in the kingdom of Christ on earth, and need a pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit, for which we should pray with one accord. Union was the strength of the Church, and would ensure to her the victory over all her enemies." Rev. Professor *Moll*, of Halle, a Lutheran, read the first lecture on the theme prescribed by the programme. It was so abstrusely philosophical, that I know not how to make it sufficiently intelligible in English. Suffice it to mention the two leading thoughts. First, sinners become children of God, the same Divine grace conforming *each individual personality* to the will of God; and as the same Divine grace impresses the image of Christ upon the different human personalities or free agents, so it uses for this end *different instrumentalities;* in both respects regeneration is an *historical process* and *fact*, and upon this rests the unity and diversity of the children of God. The family of God will become still richer in different personalities and nationalities, when Islam and Israel, China and India, shall have received Christ. Secondly, a distinction is to be made between *saving faith*, which is *wrought by God*, and the outward form of faith, that is, the creed,

which is the work of man, not inspired, fallible, and dependent upon the mental development of each age. This consideration need not, and ought not to diminish our confidence in possessing the truth. With the word of God as the rule of our faith, we may glory in the unity of faith, notwithstanding the difference of our ecclesiastical creeds.

Professor Moll was followed by the Rev. Mr. *Krummacher*, of Duisburg, a German Reformed minister, who read an equally learned, but far more practical and effective dissertation upon the same theme, bearing throughout a polemical reference to the exclusive stand-point of Lutheran High-Churchism. He gave first, a definition of *the children of God*, men born from above by the Holy Spirit under the pangs of godly sorrow for the guilt of sin, which could be expiated only by the blood of Christ. In passing over to the unity of the children of God, he quoted the many earnest exhortations of the Apostle Paul, and showed how the children of God are one in Christ, both objectively, inasmuch as he is the only Lord and Saviour, and subjectively, inasmuch as we are assured of having a part in him only by believing with the heart, which is the same in all the children of God, how great soever their doctrinal differences may be. We may have different conceptions of the atonement, but the fact of receiving the atonement, of being reconciled, by which alone we become the children of God, is one and the same. The unity of Christians does not exclude diversity, their diversities are rooted in unity, it is a unity in heart, a diversity in the head. Moreover, God dispenses the different spiritual gifts and graces in different proportions. Different ministrations, but one Spirit. Finally, a firm adherence to our own individual convictions is not at all incompatible with believing those sincere who differ from us in opinion. To claim infallibility in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, is not consistent with the Protestant principle of private judgment. The difference in the use of private judgment between evangelical Protestants on the one hand and Rationalists and Romanists on the other hand, consists in this, that the former feel themselves bound to interpret the Scriptures by the Scriptures, while Rationalism and Romanism interpret the word of God by another rule. The highest ideal attainable by the Church on earth will be, that her unity does not cancel the diversities, and that the diversities are compatible with unity. To forbid diversity is the work of Romanism and High Churchism; to deny unity is the work of schism and sectarianism.

Rev. Mr. *Wünsche*, pastor of the Moravian Church in Berlin, closed the discussion very appropriately by summing up in plain,

simple biblical words all that had been said by the preceding speakers.

The afternoon of this day the members of the Alliance were presented to the king in front of the palace in Potsdam. The president of the Alliance, Rev. Mr. Kuntze, at the head of the Committee of Arrangements, first addressed the king; then were presented successively the American, the British, the French, and the different German delegations. To the address of the president the king replied with deep emotion:

"I know not how to express my feelings. I had once considered such an assembly impossible; but I know the first day of your convention has been successful, and I hope the rest will be equally so. My ardent prayer is, that the end may be as the beginning; may you go from Berlin like the disciples of our Lord from Jerusalem after the day of Pentecost."

The theme in the forenoon session of the *third day* was, "*The universal priesthood of believers.*" This subject, as it refers to the powers of the clergy in State Churches, has not so much significance for Americans as Europeans, and especially for Germans. We will, therefore, give it only a passing notice. That eminent divine, Dr. *Nitzsch*, gave a very learned exposition of the idea of priesthood in the old and new covenants, showing that the priesthood in the former was not universal, because the Holy Ghost was not yet fully given. He then defined the relation which the universal priesthood in the New Testament dispensation bears to the office of the Christian ministry. Refuting the doctrine of apostolical succession, he said, the authority of the ministry rested alone upon the graces of the Holy Spirit, bestowed personally, namely, faith, love, inward purity.

The afternoon session was devoted to reports concerning Protestantism in Roman Catholic countries. It was shown that Protestantism had far more influence and power in *France* than was generally believed, and that there were elements in the French Catholic Church which tended toward the destruction of Popery. It was an encouraging sign of the times, that even Roman Catholic writers of note begin to do justice to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, as, for instance, Michelet and St. Hilaire, and literary journals, such as the Revue des deux Mondes, and the Revue de Paris. Lamartine was the first French poet who speaks of the fall of man, of sin. Eugene Sue and Béranger, who by their writings had exercised a very unfavorable influence upon religion and morality, before they died, sought refuge in the Gospel of Christ. May we not regard these facts as foreshadowing the conversion of the French people to Christ? The Protestants in *Italy* were represented as

deprived of all liberty of public worship. In some cities the Protestants must bury their dead in the night, in deep silence, guarded by gensd'armes. The Protestant Church ought to have more active sympathy for these oppressed brethren, not ceasing to agitate until they obtained their rights. Deeply affecting was the address of a Spaniard, Professor Don Herreros de Mora, of Madrid, who a year ago that day had been thrown into a dungeon of the Spanish Inquisition.

We have neither room nor sufficient documents to give the exercises of the intervening Sabbath. The topic of the forenoon session of the *fourth* day, (Monday, September 14,) was expressed in the following questions: "*Why, notwithstanding the return of German theology to orthodoxy, is there so little spiritual life in the membership of the German Church? And what are the obligations arising out of this fact?*" Professor *Krafft*, of Bonn, read the first essay upon the subject. After proving the historical facts implied in the first question, he charged the prevailing lack of spirituality in so melancholy a degree, as it did exist, with great boldness, upon two causes, first, upon the speculative character of German theology, which had been too long kept apart from experimental and practical religion, and the consequent lack of spiritual experience in the ministry; secondly upon the High-Church character of that orthodoxy to which the Church had returned. In the contest with infidelity the Church had relied too much on the power and patronage of the state, upon a strict adherence to the letter of old creeds, upon the saving efficacy of the sacraments, upon the power of the keys, ascribed to the clergy. How worthless a dead orthodox confession was, unaccompanied by the energy of a true and living faith in the living soul, the seventeenth century had sufficiently shown. But the lesson was forgotten. Such reformers as Spener, and Franke, and Arndt, were to be disowned, and the Lutheran Church was in danger of falling back again into scholasticism. Theology, in order to be life-giving, dare not be satisfied with returning to the creeds of the sixteenth century, it must go back to the original fountain of life, to the ever-living word of God, which never loses its freshness. Not the sacraments, but preaching the word from personal experience must be the prominent work of the ministry, and the spiritual wants of believers must be satisfied by a Scriptural discipline, and by such means of grace as always have characterized the communion of saints.

Professor Krafft was followed by the Rev. Dr. *Beyschlag*, court chaplain to the Grand Duke of Baden, who doubted if German theology was so sound as the first question implied; he made partic-

ular reference to the Tubingen school, which is yet Rationalistic, and to that of Hengstenberg and Stahl, which is Romanizing. He then proceeded to show the defects of the German Church to consist, first, in a lack of personal living faith. Mere orthodoxy or head-religion cannot cure Rationalism, for it had begotten it. The speculative mind which built up a theological system without an inward religious life, found it equally easy to dissect and dissolve that same system. The people did not need a rebuilding of the old creed, but a revival of religion in their hearts. Head-religion was the disease of the German Church; its great need was heart-religion, a life of faith that worketh by love, a deep conviction that we can grow in the knowledge of the Lord only as we grow in faith. There is no use in our appearing more orthodox than we are spiritually alive. If the preaching does not come from the heart, it cannot reach the heart. The second defect consists in the mode of presenting the Divine truths. Every age has its peculiar mode of thought and language; the preacher, in order to make an impression on his cotemporaries, most appropriate to himself their mode of thought and language. The people have become estranged to the old scholastic terms, they want to hear the old truths in new, clear, fresh, and attractive forms. The third defect he found in the practical workings of the ecclesiastical organization. Our age is an age of social reform. The German Church, in order to exert the moral power which she ought to exert, must first reform her own ministry and membership. The clergy must be brought in nearer connection and sympathy with the people, and the laity must be properly represented and take an active part in the operations of the Church, for the Protestant Church is no hierarchy.

Do such sentiments not present the strongest plea for the introduction of Methodism into Germany at the present time, as the very agency most needed, and promising an early and rich harvest? It was peculiarly fitting, and in keeping with the admirable symmetry of the whole programme, that the committee assigned the reports on the religious condition of the United States to the afternoon of this day. Professor *Schaff*, of Mercersburg, was to report *on Religion in America generally*. He was prevented from coming, but sent in a written report, in which he showed the characteristic differences between European and American religion and churchism to consist, 1. In the total separation of Church and State. 2. In the distinction between believers and unbelievers, in consequence of that separation. 3. In the voluntary principle of supporting the Church. Only the first section of his excellent essay had come to hand, and was read by Mr. Kuntze, after which the writer of this

article delivered his address on *American Methodism*, this subject having been assigned to him some months previous by the Berlin committee.

I hope the reader will not regard it as egotistical, if I give, in a Methodist journal, a short outline of my own address, for I have been requested to give some account of the representation I gave to my countrymen, on this occasion, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

After thanking the Committee of Arrangements for their kind invitation, I expressed the hope that the German missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church would be brought in nearer connection with the evangelical ministers of the German Protestant Churches, and that by their united efforts German Rationalism and Romanism would be more successfully opposed. Endorsing the views of Dr. Schaff on the specific difference between the American and German Churches, growing out of their different relation to the state, I remarked, that this difference was not properly appreciated by the Germans in this country, and that consequently the lack of a Scriptural discipline, so indispensable to the well-being of the Church in this country, was greatly to be deplored in most of the German Protestant Church organizations. Referring to my own conversion through the instrumentality of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I gave a picture of the moral and religious destitution of the Germans in this country, of the spread of Romanism and Rationalism, when some twenty years ago the Methodist Church cast her eye upon the German population, and, animated by the love of Christ, began to send missionaries among them, who were enabled to form churches, consisting of such only as had an earnest desire to be saved from their sins. God had signally blessed these efforts, for which efforts the Methodist Church did not deserve the charge of proselytism, but the thanks of every lover of Christ in Germany. In America the whole unconverted world is, by mutual consent, the common missionary field of every religious denomination, and the Methodist Church, especially, had been, from her very start, the *home mission* of the United States, following the American pioneers to their western settlements. I gave then the statistics of the American Methodist Church, and a bird's-eye view of her doctrines and economy. From the number and condition of her literary institutions of various grades, from our many periodicals, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, from the millions of pages which our Book Concerns print every year, I repelled the charge of favoring ignorance, which Germans had so often preferred against the Methodist Church. As to her doctrines, I remarked that they fully

agreed with what all orthodox denominations considered as fundamental and essential to salvation. Characteristic of Methodist doctrine, however, was an unqualified rejection of unconditional election, and a belief in the direct testimony of the Holy Spirit concerning our adoption, and the attainability of an entire freedom from sin in this life. As to the last point, I admitted that there was indeed apparently a difference between the teachings of the Methodist Church and other evangelical Churches, but ventured to remark, that if both parties would come to a proper understanding of the several terms, "*sin*," "perfection," etc., the difference would either entirely disappear, or be reduced considerably, since the Methodists on their part taught no Adamic or angelic perfection, and other evangelical Churches did not look upon death as a destroyer of sin, nor expect purification after death. As to the sacraments, I asserted that the Methodist Church did neither over nor underrate them, insisting on infant baptism, not as if baptism was regeneration, but because, in consequence of the universal atonement of Christ, children are considered by us as partakers of the covenant of grace, and entitled to baptism, the sign of that covenant. With regard to the Lord's supper the Methodist Church held the Calvinistic, not the Lutheran view. As to the government, discipline, and peculiar usages of our Church, I referred the audience to a manual just published by the Rev. Mr. Jacoby in Bremen, simply remarking that the episcopacy is held by Methodism not in the sense of apostolical succession, but as a matter of convenience and greater efficiency. I could not pass over the ever repeated charge of undue religious excitement, especially during seasons of revival. Contending that "Christianity in earnest" is eminently calculated to arouse powerfully man's emotional nature; that repentance and faith are inseparable from a state of intense feeling; I admitted, nevertheless, that animal excitement sometimes mingled with the genuine work of the Spirit; but I refuted indignantly, the charge, that the Methodist Church considered shouting as synonymous with the Spirit of adoption, or loud crying as the sure criterion of true repentance, or that we attached any value to the manifestation of a specific amount of feeling. In speaking of the mourner's bench, which the Lutherans look upon as a stool of penance, I tried to make the design and beneficial effects of this exercise as plain as possible, and felt that the subject deeply interested the audience. While, as I remarked, the Church does positively disclaim any intention to confine the operations of the Spirit to time or place, still she deems it her duty to coöperate with the Spirit, that is, to improve the impressions made during the sermon, by inviting the penitent to come forward, to receive suitable

instruction and to be prayed for. It was objected, that converts gained by this method would often be found as having only yielded to a temporary excitement. This might be so, but to meet this danger the Church has her probationary system and her class-meetings. I referred also to the strict code of moral and religious duties which our General Rules require, and especially to the lead which the Methodist Church took in the temperance cause, prohibiting her members from manufacturing and selling spirituous liquors or using them as a beverage. This led me once more to speak of the German mission work of the Methodist Church, showing the salutary influence which our labors among the German population had exerted on the other German Protestant Churches in America, and stating that, *to say the very least*, one tenth of the German Methodists were converts from Romanism, and that the rest, with very few exceptions, though Protestants, had not experienced a change of heart before they came under the influence of Methodism. In conclusion I adverted to the circular of Mr. Wesley, addressed in 1764 to various clergymen of the Established Church, and to Dissenters, breathing the same spirit as the Evangelical Alliance. Assuring the audience that the followers of Wesley had not lost the catholic spirit of their founder, and were heartily in favor of Christian union on the basis of the Evangelical Alliance, I closed with the following words: "What I have here heard from the lips of these venerable and beloved men of God, has greatly strengthened my faith in a glorious future for the German Evangelical Church; it has widened both my intellectual horizon and my heart. I shall never forget it; and while I listened, I could scarce restrain a loud, long, and hearty Methodistic *Amen*."

It is due to the kind liberal spirit of my German countrymen to remark, that this address on American Methodism, which lasted a little over an hour, and has been fully and faithfully inserted in the official edition of the proceedings of the Alliance, received a hearty unanimous response of Amen from the large assembly, and a number of Lutheran ministers came up to the platform, to assure me of their brotherly fellowship, invoking the blessing of the Lord upon our mission work among the Germans, and asking me for a copy of our Discipline and our principal German Methodist publications, with which, as I had told them in my address, my German brethren in America had furnished me for gratuitous distribution. This gift of the German Methodists, as well as their insisting upon defraying all my traveling expenses, not willing to accept the proffer of the German Committee at Berlin, is certainly a noble indication of the deep interest they feel in letting their

father-land know what blessings they have received through Methodism.

The topic in the forenoon session of the *fifth* day was, "*The duty of Protestants under the aggressions of the Papacy.*" Professor *Schenkel*, of Heidelberg, chained, by his masterly address, the attention of the assembly for two hours. After properly distinguishing between the hierarchical system and the individual members of the Roman Catholic Church, he showed how she, by her very nature, was necessitated to be intolerant and persecuting against all who did not submit themselves to her. She declares herself to be the only divinely ordained *authority on earth;* and all who do not acknowledge her as such, she must consider, if consistent with her own principles, guilty of high treason, rebels against human and Divine authority, having no claim for toleration or even existence. The cruel and ignominious capital punishments to which Rome has sentenced all heretics, have never been revoked. Where they have ceased to be inflicted, we have to ascribe it simply to the lack of secular power, not to any change of disposition or principle. Where the civil government does not lend its arm to execute the decrees of the Church against the heretics, there the policy of Rome is, to separate her members from Protestants by as impassable a gulf as she can possibly make. The Roman Catholic citizen shall be every moment reminded that his Protestant neighbor is a leper and under an anathema. They shall not come near each other, neither in life nor in death. In every department of human thought and action there shall be a partition wall between Roman Catholics and Protestants; the former must have his own school books and graveyards. In speaking of the manner and spirit by which Popery should be met, Professor Schenkel said, we should embrace in the bonds of Christian charity the Roman Catholic individual, not render evil for evil, not use carnal weapons, but hold fast the principle of Protestantism, that the Church should only be obeyed on the ground that she teaches the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. She must, therefore, not fear the conflict with science and philosophy. The history of German Rationalism proved that the final victory was sure to the Church of Christ. Above all, Protestants must strive to become experimental Bible Christians, and make, as such, a common front against Romanism. The Protestant Church needed, for her future prosperity a Scriptural discipline, and might well imitate the Roman Catholic Church in claiming from the state the right to govern herself. Finally, all Protestants should come to the assistance of their persecuted brethren in Roman Catholic countries. Professor *Heppe*, of Marburg, added

several practical suggestions on the final remarks of the first speaker. Several of the English members spoke spiritedly on this topic, and urged the Germans to act no more on the defensive against the aggressions of Rome, but to carry the war into the enemy's camp, as they did in Ireland.

The greater part of the afternoon session was devoted to the consideration of the missions *among the Jews*. The principal speaker was that deeply pious and zealous Jewish convert, *Dr. Cappadose*, from Holland. He argued with great warmth of feeling, the literal interpretation of those passages which speak of the restoration of Israel, and thought the time was not distant "when Joseph's brothers would tremblingly say one to another, 'The Lord of hosts seeks the blood of our brother.' Such conviction must precede their conversion, and then the heart of Joseph's great Antitype will break with burning love and pity, and he will lift up his voice and say, 'I am Joseph, whom you have sold,' as he said once to Paul, 'I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest.'"

There was but little time left for the reports concerning the missions *among the heathen*.

The forenoon theme of the *sixth* day was "*Freedom of worship*." This subject was confided to Professor *Plitt*, of Heidelberg, and he well discharged his responsible duty. His successive propositions were stated in a lucid form, and supported by compact and conclusive argument; and the conclusions at which he arrived, and which were announced in logical form according to the German method, maintained the independence of the human conscience from all civil government, and its sole responsibility to God, with the consequent right of all men to embrace and profess that form of religion which most commends itself to their judgment, so long as they do nothing to violate peace and good order in the state. On the conclusion of Professor Plitt's admirable essay several English brethren got the floor, and spoke their minds very plainly upon this subject. We need not report it, for they expressed the sentiments which Americans imbibe from childhood. But to the Germans the whole subject was strong meat; most of them were evidently unprepared to admit Professor Plitt's logical conclusions. Dr. Krummacher gave us to understand that he did not like to see Prussia troubled with English and American notions of religious freedom. Professor Schenkel also labored under difficulties: on the one side his liberal tendencies led him to approve of the conclusions of his friend, Professor Plitt, while with logical inconsequence he yet pleaded for the right of the state to act to some degree as a judge of religious opinions

The afternoon session was devoted to reports concerning *Turkey* and *Greece*, and the missions in *Bulgaria* and *Armenia*. Dr. Dwight, and Dr. Schaufler, of Constantinople, and Dr. Hamlin and Dr. King, of Athens, gave the reports. They were very encouraging.

The forenoon discourse of the *seventh* and last day, was delivered Thursday, September 17th, in the German language, by the Rev. J. Cairns, of Berwick, England, "*On the influence which a closer union of German and British Christians would probably exert upon the theology and religious life of the two nations.*" This was a masterly essay, evincing a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of German theology, and a just appreciation of the religious advantages and defects of the two nationalities. The speaker remarked, by way of introduction, that it was impossible fully to discuss so large a question in so limited a space, and yet it ought to have been expressed in still more comprehensive terms, so as to include all Christians who speak the English language. He would, therefore, with their leave include his American brethren under the head of Britons, for the occasion. The principal points of the interesting discourse were the following:

"It may be affirmed, that a closer union between English and German Christians must lead to an enlargement of theological knowledge on both sides. . . . Much advantage is to be derived from the mutual reaction of the characters of the two nations upon each other. The German mind descends from principles, the English mind rises from results. The German mind strives to harmonize ideas with each other, the English mind to harmonize ideas with facts. The German mind seeks to reach its goal by depth of thought, the English mind rather by energy of action. To the German mind theology exists as an end to itself; to the English mind theology is only a means to Christian life and practice. Each has its own right, each ought to be associated with the other. It would, indeed, be altogether wrong to give up the peculiarities of national character and development. We look for satisfactory results in both countries, simply from the action of that principle of assimilation which belongs to every living Christian organism. By the action of this principle, it is to be hoped that England will add to its penetrating judgment and practical earnestness in religion more of that comprehensive learning and culture which are found in German theology, and that Germany will more and more subject its far extending research and its speculative tendencies to the government of that practical sense, and that sympathy with the wants and necessities of the people, which have ever characterized English theology.

"On the field of the confessional theology of the two countries, the cooperation of English and German Christians must have a peaceful, and at the same time a progressive influence. Is it not to be hoped, that the unanimous sentiment of the whole Protestant Church beyond the pale of Germany, estimating as very subordinate in importance the difference of the first Reformers respecting the Lord's supper, will exert a healing and reconciling influence upon the unhappy confessional controversies which have again become the center of German theology? In like manner the association of German theologians must cast a broader light upon the hereditary controversies of religious parties in England and America. In more recent times,

especially through the rise and wide-spread influence of Methodism, much has been done to fill up the great chasm which before separated Calvinists and Arminians. The Evangelical Alliance has gathered up the points of agreement between the two parties into a new formula of concord, and adopted it as the basis of all its efforts to promote Christian union. It seems to be a great duty of the Christian world at present, to establish more firmly upon a Scripture basis, and to develope more fully a theology which shall bear the stamp of these fundamental articles, at once in harmony with the word of God, and imbued with the spirit of living faith in Christ. The Church of Christ must find, sooner or later, its gravitating center, which is to be reached, not in the track of a dead scholasticism, but of a personal saving experience of gracious communion with the Divine Redeemer, the glorious incarnation of all truth; and in the degree in which the Church thus recovers itself and all its mutually alienated members in Christ, will a deeper and more comprehensive theology arise, which, penetrated with the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrine, shall unite in Christ all that does not of itself repel the union, and thus strive to reach the sublime model of the New Testament.

"As regards the second department of this topic—the influence of the union in question upon the Christian life and practice of both countries—England has confessedly the superiority; yet there has long existed a gratifying interchange of benefits between England and Germany even on this field. If England called into existence Missionary, Bible, and Tract Societies, it must not be forgotten, that Germany, in the first and most difficult age of missions, trained some of the most successful missionaries for the service of English societies. . . . . The influence of the observance of the Lord's day in England must exert an increasing control over the Christian sentiment of Germany. It may also be hoped that those scruples of excellent men in Germany respecting English views of religious liberty will disappear, when it will be more and more understood, that by the freest exercise of religious liberty, including the right of proselytism, neither public quiet nor Church concord are in the least degree endangered, but rather invaluably promoted.

"Within the inmost circle of Christian life there is room for mutual instruction and admonition. In England there prevails a more distinct line of separation from the world in matters of worldly art, amusement, and indulgence, and hence the practice of German Christians may gain much. In Germany, on the other hand, there is a noble indifference to that all-devouring love of gain which is the deepest cancer in the vitals of English religion. Nevertheless, England, taking into account its domestic devotion and discipline, its habit of church attendance, its love for the Bible, and its fixed moral and religious usages and institutions, is fitted to exert both a quickening and a directing influence on Germany."

Mr. Cairns's address sank deep into the hearts of the audience, and will make a most beneficial and lasting impression upon the German people.

Thursday afternoon, September 17, the closing session of the conference was held. Rev. E. Kuntze, of Berlin, the chairman of the German branch of the Evangelical Alliance, who had acted as the presiding officer in all the sessions, reported on the religious condition of East Germany. It was a dark picture. Although, as we remarked in our former paper, the greater portion of the clergy have given up Rationalism, and returned to more evan-

gelical views, the masses of the people seem, as yet, little affected by it. The countries comprehended in Mr. Kuntze's sketch, though almost entirely Protestant, are, to a frightful extent, regions of spiritual death. The average attendance at the churches was from twenty-five to thirty persons. Whole classes of people had in many places totally deserted them. Open atheism, drunkenness, profanity, profligacy, degrading vices of every kind prevail to an awful extent. The few who yet have some sympathy for the Church, and desire moral reform, expect everything from the police or government. Nevertheless, there were appearing some hopeful signs of improvement. Prayer meetings had been introduced in some parts. The Inner Mission was actively at work, and the missions to the heathens and Jews were the means of rekindling the religious life in some hearts at home. Surely such a state of things justifies our Church in sending missionaries to Germany, and who must not acknowledge that Methodism is the very agency which the Church in Germany needs?

The closing scene, the farewell addresses, the epilogue of Dr. Krummacher, the last prayer, the sublime music, the great multitude absorbed in devotion, as it was perhaps never seen in Germany, the interest which the king and queen took in it, all this was of thrilling interest, but we have no space for details. We will only add, that when the conference, at 8 P. M. adjourned *sine die*, those who were able, hastened from the Garrison Church to the other end of the city, where, in the Church of the Moravians about two hundred ministers of the Gospel—Lutherans, Calvinists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and other denominations—sat down together at the table of their common Lord and Saviour.

We close with one retrospective remark. Dr. Krummacher was, a few months ago, accused of having changed his sentiments respecting the Evangelical Alliance. This report is essentially incorrect. It originated from some remarks which he made in a private meeting of the Berlin Committee of the Alliance. The question was proposed: By what means can the prejudices which many evangelical men in Germany still entertain against the Alliance be best removed? In answer to this question the doctor reviewed the objections made by orthodox men. They were threefold. One party, he said, fears, notwithstanding our protest, that we intend to make a fusion of Churches; they say our nine articles are a new confession of faith. Another party complains of the nine articles, because they contain only a part of those truths which they hold equally dear, and they wish not to assume the appearance of attributing less importance to the truths which are not contained in

the nine articles. The third party objects, that the nine articles contain too much of doctrinal confession. The alliance professed to manifest the communion of saints in the most comprehensive manner, but her nine articles exclude true children of God, such as the "Friends" and others.

These different objections had led him to think whether the German branch of the alliance would not accomplish more, if, like their French brethren, instead of insisting upon the acceptance of the nine articles as the condition of membership in the alliance, they would offer the hand of brotherly fellowship to all who believe in the triune God, and who promise to love the Lord Jesus Christ by keeping his commandments and loving one another.

These remarks of Dr. Krummacher are very suggestive of further reflections in more than one point of view. But we must leave the subject with the reader.

Art. IV.—DRUGS AS AN INDULGENCE.

1. *The Lands of the Saracen.* By Bayard Taylor.
2. *The Hasheesh Eater; being Passages from the Life of a Pythagorean.* Harpers. 1857.
3. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa.* By David Livingstone, LL.D., D.C.L. Harpers. 1858.
4. *Confessions of an Opium Eater.* By Thomas De Quincey.
5. *The Scientific Basis of Prohibition.* By Professor Yeomans.

Life is action, and man naturally loves that which rouses him, and creates pleasurable motion and emotion. From the cradle to the grave he has something before him which he would like to do, or be, or possess, something for which he works, or about which he dreams. We all move, with less or more rapidity, steadiness, wisdom, or folly, and the motive power varies in a thousand ways. Some catch the breath of heaven in lofty sky-sails, and speed on to the ports of eternal peace. Others, heavy laden with earthly projects, push on under the influence of motives that are best kept out of sight, propellers that become powerless unless sunk beneath the surface. Few stop to ask themselves the question, "For what do I live?" and fewer still seek till they find the true answer. Ideas and emotions, hopes and fears, set the world going, and each man feels their power, and moves under their impulse. This motive power varies in its nature with age, physical state, and mental and moral character. Look at the incessant activity of the child. Its little

fect patter about from morning till night: its eager eyes dart, and its restless hands are laid upon everything within its reach, while its chattering tongue shows that the mind is as active as the muscles. The little child moves under the impulse of two forces, one mental, the other physical. The mind is constantly excited by the presence of new objects, and new properties discovered in those objects. As he draws the toy-wagon over the carpet, as he erects and then knocks down his castle of blocks, and then runs to the mirror to contemplate his own merry face, the child is not merely amusing himself. He is, in fact, carrying on a series of philosophical experiments; he is investigating the laws of matter, and making discoveries, without a knowledge of which he would be utterly unfit for the ordinary duties of life. But there is another reason for the industrious habits of children. He who made the light for the eye, made the human frame for action. Every muscle in the little form seems to contain a steel spring, wound up to its highest tension. To keep it still is impossible. And, indeed, among young and old, a person of vigorous health and energetic mind will love motion, nor can he be deprived of it without creating a restless, uneasy feeling, which is nature's remonstrance against wrong.

The amount of effort of which a man is capable depends primarily upon his physical organization, and this, in turn, depends upon race, family, climate, food, habit, and other hereditary or incidental circumstances, many of which are exceedingly difficult of explanation. If we call attention to the fact that one Englishman or American will do as much as a score of Hindoos in any kind of mental or physical labor, we are told that in energy and power the men of temperate climates have always been superior to the tropical races. But how are we to account for the differences which we see in the forces of men outwardly equal?

Take, for example, a long and exciting session of our General Conference. At its close perhaps a third of its members will be worn down, wearied out, while another third will be apparently as fresh as at the beginning, and yet they could not have been singled out and classified at the beginning. The apparently strong man often breaks down the soonest, and the seemingly feeble one wears the best, and Cassius, with his "lean and hungry look," is found as capable of unremitting labor as the "fat, sleek-headed men, that sleep o' nights."

But besides this matter of endurance, there is another curious subject, which is of great importance, especially to those whose labor is mental: I refer to mental and physical excitability. We are susceptible of being roused, stimulated, excited, so that every

power, both of body and of mind, is strangely augmented, and things otherwise impossible, are done with ease. See the soldier engaged in battle. This morning, when the drum beat at break of day, he awoke weak, languid, unnerved. At the word of command he fell into the ranks, and marched on with listless mechanical motions. But the heavy boom of a cannon is heard in the distance, and a horseman dashes over the plain, and reports that the enemy is in sight. Soon a long line, glittering with arms, is seen, and the carnage begins. Look now at our soldier. His form is erect, every muscle seems clothed with tenfold its ordinary strength, and with a face fiery with fierce excitement, he plunges recklessly into the fray. Take another example of the same thing. An important case is before the court. Weary days have been spent in the examination of witnesses, and now the crisis has come, and the contest must be terminated on the field of argument. The crowds gather, and as a well-known form arises, every eye is fixed upon him, and every ear is open to the tide of words. But the advocate is worn down by days of intense labor, and nights spent, not in sleep, but in preparation for the hour which has now come. His face is pale, his eye dull, and he holds his papers with an unsteady hand. As he begins his argument his voice is calm, his enunciation slow and even hesitating, and his whole manner indicates a leaden condition, both of body and mind. But as he advances he warms, and his thoughts, like the arrow of old Acestes, take fire as they fly. His eyes flash, his face glows, his voice becomes full and strong, his gestures grow free and impassioned, and the whole man is transfigured by the intensity of his mental action and the fervor of his emotions.

This is the excitement which puts a man in full possession of his powers, and then, if capable of great things, he performs them. Thus the minister delivers his message with most force and effect. Thus the hearer perceives most clearly, and feels most deeply what he hears. Thus the student recites his lesson, or declaims his speech, or tells his comrades an anecdote with fluency and effect. Thus in company the young lady at the piano, and the young man entertaining his circle, will perform their part with best success. Thus the mechanic driving his saw, and the farmer swinging his scythe, will, in a given time, do the most work with the least fatigue. Thus the poet shuts out his friends, and writes while what he calls his inspiration lasts; and thus the historian plies his rapid pen, and wonders at the ready flow of his thoughts, and the facility with which he expresses them. These are the times when the beating of the heart is rapid and strong, and the blood runs in a full channel. When the whole being is thus excited, we are moved most easily,

whether to love or hate, anger or laughter, and most easily changed from pity to wrath, and from merriment to tears.

This excitement we all naturally seek. We love to feel every nerve strong, and every muscle full of bounding blood. We love to be conscious of the rapid flashes of thought, the sudden gush of emotion, and to know that in mind and body we are prepared to do our best at feats of strength, or feats of reasoning.

Susceptibility of excitement is an important element of efficiency in moving others. Whether written or spoken, the ideas which are forged at a white heat, are the ideas which stir and thrill. The "inspiration" of the public speaker has been described briefly; that of the writer is substantially the same. The author sits down to write in his solitary chamber. Darkness covers the earth without, and, save the irregular scratches of the pen, the house is silent within. He writes alone, yet he is talking with his fellows. He imagines an audience. His study becomes populous, and myriads of eager faces and beaming eyes fill the shadowy spaces around him. He deals with thoughts and feels emotions which he would fain transfer to other souls, and he yearns for winged words and burning sentences to bear them. He grows earnest as he writes; his heart beats more quickly and powerfully; his face flushes; the drops of sweat bedew his forehead, and the veins swell, and ever and anon he starts up and paces the room impetuously. He fancies that he sees the effect of each sentence, and rising upon the current of his own mental and emotional excitement, he revels in enjoyment. An author soon learns the secret of his own moods. While the tide is up he writes, and when it begins to ebb he ceases, knowing that whatever is written after the mind flags, is inferior both in thought and expression. For this reason, a noted English author never writes more than three hours a day, inasmuch as he is constitutionally incapable of maintaining his flight at the proper altitude beyond that time.

Mental and physical excitability has a curious connection with the "power" and also the length of public addresses. A speaker of experience will notice considerable variations in his own efforts. He sees that he cannot always command his usual flow of thought and power of expression, and sometimes both seem strangely increased. When everything went uncommonly well with them, the old preachers used to say that they "had liberty," or "had an open time," and when the case was reversed, they "had deadness of spirit," or "had no liberty." We believe that these things had something to do with the flesh as well as the spirit; and that the effect of a sermon would often be greater, if the preacher understood

better the mutual dependence of the soul and the body. A minister fixing his eye upon the sermon, and the good which he hopes it will do, may unfit himself for his part of the work by the very means which he employs to prepare for it. Suppose he is to preach in the evening, and he shuts himself up among his books all day, breathing confined air, and exhausting his strength in hard study. The hour comes, and he goes into the pulpit, not fresh and vigorous, as he ought to be, but languid, weary, and unnerved. His heart beats feebly and slow, the brain is clouded, and he feels weak and apprehensive of failure. The house may be crowded and the impure air augments the evils already existing. The lamps burn dim for lack of oxygen, and for precisely the same reason, the speaker becomes dull and the hearers sleepy. He does the best he can under the circumstances, and yet is conscious all the while that he is working hard, with comparatively little satisfaction to himself or others.

Untoward circumstances will, undoubtedly, depress some less than others; and probably no rules can be devised to suit all imaginable cases; yet we would offer a suggestion or two which may possibly be of some little service to new beginners. In the first place, a public speaker should seek to maintain vigorous health. Instances apparently proving the contrary may easily be quoted, still it is true that physical weakness is a poor foundation for mental strength and efficiency. An unhealthy man must study less, do less, be less energetic and emotional than he otherwise would be, or else die the sooner. And ofttimes feeble health unfits a man to perform what he yet has the courage to attempt, as necessarily as an instrument out of tune mars the harmonies which the skillful musician seeks to draw from it. In the next place, a speaker should avoid, if possible, all exhausting labors, mental or physical, immediately before a public effort. Let him prepare thoroughly, but do it sufficiently long beforehand to leave time to recover from the fatigue. Then, immediately before going into the pulpit, or upon the platform, let a little vigorous exercise be taken, just enough to set the blood in motion, and bring the lungs into full play. An anecdote of a noted French preacher will illustrate this last point. He was to preach one day, and a gentleman calling to see him a little while before the hour of service, was directed to the door of his study. As he approached, he was surprised by hearing within it a violin playing a dancing tune, to which a pair of feet were tripping in excellent time. Peeping through the keyhole, he beheld his reverence, without his wig, capering most vigorously, and fiddling his own music the while. The idea struck him that his friend had gone mad; but when he mustered courage

to tap at the door, the preacher, after a moment's delay, opened it, and explained that this singular unclerical proceeding, which he had hitherto kept private, was his mode of shaking off his lethargy; and though rather out of breath he was still sane and solemn. This mode of relieving the difficulty will strike the reader as being excessively French, nor are we at all disposed to set it forth as worthy of general imitation; still we really would choose a private saltatory exercise in preference to a glass of intoxicating drink on the ancient plan, or even to the more modern devices of drugged tobacco or bowls of tea or coffee made so strong as to be absolutely poisonous.

But it is remarked that physical excitability has something to do with the length of extemporaneous discourses. This fact is easily shown, despite the power of custom, which tends to lessen the effect of mental and physical peculiarities in our public men. In an effort of the usual stamp, the process is about this: The speaker begins calmly and dispassionately. As he proceeds in his premeditated line of discussion he warms up, and after a certain time, determined partly by habit, and partly from constitutional make, he attains his height, the degree of mental and emotional fervor which belongs to him in ordinary circumstances. After a while he begins to flag, and as soon as he becomes conscious of this, he thinks of closing. Now if the speaker is easily roused, and gets under way soon, he will reach his height the sooner, and unless he possesses uncommon powers of endurance, the sermon will tend to be short. If he warms slowly, he goes off like a heavy train of cars with a small engine; it will take him longer to get in motion; and, perhaps, just at the time when he ought to close, his mental and emotional momentum is greatest, his own enjoyment is at its height, and the temptation to keep on is too strong to be resisted. He seems to be shut up to this alternative, either to make his discourse too long, or sit down just as he reaches his best ideas, and begins to manifest that emotional warmth which melts and moves the hearer. For this reason some of our ablest speakers are unable to do the occasion justice, if they are limited in time. Cut them down to thirty minutes, and they are like a steamboat shut up in the lock of a canal; give them two hours, and they will move with the force and majesty of an eighty gun ship flying before a strong wind in mid ocean.

Of these various degrees of excitability, the medium is the best for reliability and continued usefulness. If the speaker gets roused too soon for the audience, he may fail to carry them with him, and his mental and emotional force may be spent before he has had time to make the deep and abiding impression which he desires. On the

other hand, if the speaker cannot get in motion till he has talked an hour or more, the audience will begin to think about home just when he is rising into his strength, and unless the discourse has strong redeeming qualities, they will be likely to go home. Still these remarks do not apply to extraordinary men or extraordinary occasions. These, like the Gentiles, are a law unto themselves. Nor would we so apply them as to divert attention one moment from the power of truth and the aids of the Holy Spirit. Though Paul plant, and Apollos water, God giveth the increase; nevertheless we doubt not that Paul and Apollos, when they preached, felt the increase and decline of mental and emotional fervor as well as the latest of their successors.

As excitement brings with it augmented available power, both of body and soul, it becomes more than a matter of curiosity to know whether its tides are subject to control, either directly by the will, or indirectly by the use of means. It would seem that the will has little direct power in the case. When the leaden touch of physical languor is upon us, it avails little to sit motionless, and will that the lethargy depart. Mental discipline may do something, but not everything. How, then, shall we have at command that state of the brain, and nerves, and circulation, which will allow of the highest mental effort, and render us most susceptible of pleasure? How shall the preacher, for example, be prepared, on a given occasion, to do his best for God and for souls? We answer, First of all, let him love God and souls fervently. Let him go into the pulpit, and look his people in the eyes, feeling that this hour's work may fix their eternal destiny. Let him pray earnestly and humbly for the help of God, without which even eloquence is as sounding brass. Subordinately to this, let him secure, if he can, vigorous health. Let him prepare his theme thoroughly, avoid fatigue, and by exercise shake off that languor which arises from inaction. Let him also avoid, for himself and his people, the deadening influence of impure air, which has lessened the effect of many an excellent sermon, as well as almost extinguished the lamps which shone upon the dull preacher and the drowsy audience.

But excitation of soul and body is pleasurable as well as effective, and consequently is desired by all for the sake of the enjoyment which it brings. We say nothing against stimulants as such, or the effects which they produce. A man whom nothing can rouse is good for little. There are right stimulants in abundance. The appetites, the affections, our present hopes and fears, our sympathies, our sense of responsibility to God, our hope of heaven, are designed to incite man to action, and make his life busy. Our susceptibility

of being temporarily exalted into more than our usual energy and strength, both of mind and body, was given us for good purposes. When some great danger threatens us, our power of muscle is increased by the intense mental action, that we may be able to meet the emergency. When we hear of some outrage inflicted upon the innocent, strong indignation sends the blood along its channels in torrents of fire. This emotion is given us that we suffer not the innocent to be wronged with impunity. The public speaker deals with important concerns, and as he dwells upon them, and labors to impress their value upon his auditors, and incite them to wise action, he becomes almost inspired, and bears the hearers along by the rush of mighty thought, and the power of well-chosen words. An animated debate, a spirited conversation, soul-stirring music, all rouse and move, because God has so made us that to be roused up gives efficiency to action and new zest to pleasure. These are all natural stimuli. There is connected with them no exhausting reaction, no tendency to disease. But man is not satisfied with that excitement which comes as the auxiliary or the reward of action. He has sought out many inventions, many modes of purchasing an hour's fevered brilliancy and force, at the price of subsequent lassitude and gloom, and even of pain and death. It has been discovered that various drugs, differing in the kind and the degree of their effect, are potent to spur the energies both of mind and body, to send the blood bounding along the veins, rousing the brain, clothing every muscle with power, and increasing the capacity for thought and emotion, speech and action.

The results in any given case depend upon two things—the peculiar properties of the drug employed, and the peculiar mental and physical constitution of the person resorting to it. Some of these poisons lull soul and body into delicious repose, and open the ivory gate of dreams; some merely rouse to aimless muscular activity; some lash the mind into the energy of madness; some incite the more brutish part of human nature. Again, under the influence of the same drug, one man will sit in stupid owlish meditation, and another dash about in insane excitement; one man will sing, and another fight, and a third pray.

To describe fully the nature and the effects of these various unnatural stimulants and sedatives, would require a volume instead of a brief article or two. Alcohol, opium, tobacco, hasheesh, hemp, betel, coco, each count their votaries and their victims by tens or hundreds of millions. No nation is so high in the scale of civilization and religion as to be above, and no savage tribe is so sunk in ignorance as to be below, the reach of some abominable enslaving

poison. Of these we propose to single out those whose sway is the most extensive, and describe their peculiarities.

HASHEESH is the favorite drug of about two hundred and fifty millions of people, principally Asiatics. It is extracted from the leaves of *Cannabis Indica*, or Indian hemp. In our own climate the odor of a field of hemp produces headache and giddiness in those unaccustomed to it. In warm countries, as Persia and India, the narcotic principle is much more abundant, and the resin which exudes from the plant when growing rapidly, is gathered for the manufacture of the drug. Every part of the plant has more or less of the intoxicating principle, and is chewed, or smoked, or distilled, by those addicted to the degrading habit. The Turks, who are forbidden by the Koran to drink wine, have for centuries made hasheesh a substitute for intoxicating liquors. The Mohammedan warriors, during the Crusades, it is said, were accustomed to rouse their courage by its use, and the word assassin is supposed to be derived from *hashasheen*, or eaters of hasheesh. The drug is sold in various forms, sometimes as a powder, sometimes as a paste of a dark green color. The effects of a dose are singular. It rouses to mental rather than muscular activity, and creates visions, beautiful, fantastic, horrible, or ludicrous, according to some hidden law of its own, or some predisposition in the eater. Bayard Taylor tried two experiments with it, and recorded his experience. The first time he took a moderate dose, while voyaging upon the Nile, and thus describes the effect:

"I noted with careful attention the fine sensations which spread through the whole tissue of my nervous fiber, each thrill helping to divest my frame of its earthly and material nature, until my substance appeared to me no grosser than the vapors of the atmosphere. The objects by which I was surrounded assumed a strange and whimsical expression. My pipe, the oars which my boatmen plied, the turban worn by the captain, the water jars and culinary implements, became in themselves so inexpressibly absurd and comical, that I was provoked into a long fit of laughter. The hallucination died away as gradually as it came, leaving me overcome with a soft and pleasant drowsiness, from which I sank into a deep refreshing sleep."

Afterward, while sojourning at Damascus, he proposed to an Englishman and a brother American to make another trial of its mysteries. They agreed, and through ignorance of the strength of the preparation which they used, took a great deal too much. For some time he felt nothing, and thought that the dose must have been too small. But suddenly the strange thrill already described, shot through him; then another, and another, in rapid succession, and the "demon of hasheesh had full possession of him." He seemed to himself to expand to colossal size. His blood pulsed from the heart,

through uncounted leagues before it reached his extremities. The arch of his skull was broader than the vault of heaven. The thrills which ran through his nervous system became more rapid and fierce, accompanied by sensations which steeped his whole being in unutterable rapture. Then came a series of visions. He saw the pyramid of Cheops, and ascending to its top, found that it was composed of huge plugs of Cavendish tobacco, which discovery threw him into an agony of laughter. Then he seemed to be sailing in a boat of pearl, over a desert whose sands were grains of shining gold, while the sky was filled with innumerable rainbows, the air was thick with delicious perfumes, and music, soft and entrancing, floated around him. This vision lasted but a few minutes, yet seemed to occupy years. Suddenly the vision changed, and he became a mass of transparent jelly, which the confectioner was trying to pour into a twisted mold. At this ludicrous idea he laughed till the tears ran down his cheeks, and lo, each tear became a loaf of bread rolling down on the floor before him. Then his sensations began to be painful. He felt a fierce internal heat. His mouth felt as dry and hard as brass, and his tongue seemed like a bar of rusty iron. He seized a pitcher of water, and drank long and deeply, but was not able to taste the water or even feel its coolness as he swallowed it. In agony indescribable, he stood brandishing his arms convulsively, heaving sighs that seemed to shatter his whole being, and exclaiming, "Will no one cast out this devil that has taken possession of me?"

Singular as it may appear, Mr. Taylor was all this time conscious of the fact that these visions were unreal, and that they were the effect of hasheesh. He did not for a moment lose his consciousness; he was even able to appreciate in some degree the ludicrous scene when his American comrade leaped out upon the floor shouting, "Ye gods, I am a locomotive!" and for the space of two or three hours paced the room, puffing and blowing after the fashion of a steam engine, and turning his hands at his sides, as if they were attached to driving wheels. When the Englishman began to feel the effects of the dose he retired to his own room, and afterward declined to relate his experience. Mr. Taylor continues thus:

"By this time I had passed through the paradise of hasheesh, and was plunged into its fiercest hell. The excited blood rushed through my frame with a sound like the roaring of mighty waters. . . . It beat thickly in my ears, and so throbbed in my heart, that I feared the ribs would give way under its blows. I tore open my vest and placed my hand over the spot, and tried to count the pulsations; but there were two hearts, one beating at the rate of a thousand times a minute, and the other with a slow, dull motion. My throat, I thought, was filled to the brim with blood, and streams of blood were

pouring from my ears. . . . . My body seemed to shrink and grow rigid, and my face to become wild, lean, and haggard. . . . Involuntarily I raised my hand to feel the leanness and sharpness of my face. O horror! the flesh had fallen from my bones; it was a skeleton head I carried on my shoulders."

He clambered out upon the roof of the house, with a vague idea of dashing himself to the ground, but his mood changed, and he turned back to his room, and there sank down in indescribable distress and despair. The fear came upon him that the poison had made him insane, and thus a new horror was added. The locomotive, by this time, had run off the track, and the two experimenters lay in different parts of the room, Taylor fast lapsing into stupor, and his comrade fancying that he himself was dying. The spell lasted, in Mr. Taylor's case, in its active stages, about five hours, and then he sunk into a "state of blank oblivion," in which he lay a day and a night, and then awoke with a system utterly prostrate and unstrung, his brain still clouded with visions, and all around him dim and shadowy. Thus he remained some days, without courage or energy to attempt anything, scarcely noticing any thing that took place around him, scarcely able to distinguish the real from the imaginary.

The experience of the "Hasheesh Eater," whose book we have named at the head of this article, is the same in substance with that of Mr. Taylor. He commenced cautiously, and finally enjoyed the visions and raptures of hasheesh, and also had a taste of its horrors. The same nervous thrill announced the approach of the visions, and during their continuance there was the same exaggeration of time, by virtue of which a few minutes seemed to be years or even centuries. The author of the volume repeated his doses, until hasheesh eating became a habit, from which, when he realized his danger, he escaped only after a hard battle for life. The book, though somewhat dreamy and poetical, is very well written, resembling in many respects, De Quincey's "Confessions."

In Dr. Livingstone's "Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa," we find the following description of the negro mode of using the drug:

"The Batoka of these parts are very degraded in their appearance, and are not likely to improve either physically or mentally, while so much addicted to smoking the *Mutokwane*. They like its narcotic effects, though the violent fit of coughing, which follows a couple of puffs of smoke appears distressing, and causes a feeling of disgust in the spectator. This is not diminished on seeing the usual practice of taking a mouthful of water, and squirting it out together with the smoke, then uttering a string of half-coherent sentences, usually in self praise. This pernicious weed is extensively used in all the tribes of the interior. It causes a species of frenzy, and Sebituane's soldiers, on coming in sight of their enemies, sat down and smoked it, in order that they might

make an effective onslaught. I was unable to prevail on Sekeletu and the young Makololo to forego its use, although they cannot point to an old man in the tribe who has been addicted to this indulgence. I believe it was the proximate cause of Sebituane's last illness, for it sometimes occasions pneumonia. Never having tried it, I cannot describe the pleasurable effects it is said to produce; but the hasheesh in use among the Turks is simply an extract of the same plant, and that, like opium, produces different effects on different individuals. Some view everything as if looking through the wide end of a telescope, and others, in passing over a straw, lift up their feet as if about to cross the trunk of a tree. The Portuguese in Angola have such a belief in its deleterious effects, that the use of it by a slave is considered a crime."—Page 579.

Hasheesh does not act in the same way upon all experimenters. M. De Saulcy, who has recorded the incidents of a *Journey around the Dead Sea*, speaks in no very complimentary terms of the drug:

"Hasheesh is an abominable poison, which we had the folly to take one New-Year's day. We expected a delightful evening, but were nearly killed through our imprudence. I, who had taken the largest dose, remained insensible for about twenty-four hours, after which I awoke to find myself completely shattered in nerves, and subject to nervous spasms and incoherent dreams, which seemed to last hundreds of years."

The whole history of hasheesh shows it to be a poison, the use of which, as an indulgence, is suicidal, and to experiment with which is dangerous in the extreme. Instances are not wanting to show that real insanity, in permanent form, sometimes results from it. Experiments have been tried in this country with the hateful thing, and the effects have shown that he who trifles with it, places himself upon the brink of an awful gulf, which tosses with lurid fires, and is haunted with all horrible shapes.

Opium is another cerebral stimulant, to which men resort for fictitious strength and vitality, and artificial excitement. Opium eaters are increasing in number among us. They enter the drug-store and ask for opium pills, or laudanum, with the same sheepish look with which a professed temperance man goes with an oil can after brandy. In the towns and cities every apothecary can number his opium customers by tens and twenties. They generally fall into the habit by employing the drug as a medicine, to alleviate the torment of some painful disease. In time it becomes a habit, and as they think, a physical necessity. They learn to love the excitement which it produces, and they take it for the enjoyment, rejoicing, as a victim expresses it, that "happiness can be bought for a penny and carried in the waistcoat pocket; and portable ecstacies may be had corked up in a pint bottle, and peace of mind be sent down in gallons by the mail coach."

Thomas De Quincey, the famous English opium eater, has furnished, in his "Confessions," valuable information in regard to the

effect of opium upon the mental action. Employed as a medicine, forty or fifty drops constitute an ordinary dose. But De Quincey had so accustomed his system to the use of the drug, that he could consume a quantity that would have killed ten men wholly unaccustomed to it. At one period his daily allowance was eight thousand drops. He would sit down by his table at night, with a lamp, a book of German metaphysics, a decanter of laudanum before him, and read, and drink, and dream wild, beautiful, and horrid dreams till morning came. These dreams were waking dreams, visions which the eyes seemed to behold, while reason still denied their reality. He often saw mountains, plains, rivers, seas, oceans before him; sometimes oceans paved with innumerable human faces, upturned to the heavens—faces imploring, wrathful, despairing, which "surged upward by thousands, by myriads, by generations, by centuries," while the mind of the dreamer was "infinitely agitated, and surged, and tossed with the ocean." He thus describes some of his horrible sensations:

"I was stared at, hooted at, grinned at, chattered at by monkeys, by paroquets, by cockatoos. I ran into pagodas, and was fixed for centuries at the summit, or in secret rooms. I was the idol. I was the priest, I was worshiped, I was sacrificed. I was buried for a thousand years in stone coffins, with mummies and sphinxes, in the heart of eternal pyramids. I was kissed with cancerous kisses, by crocodiles, and laid, confounded with all unutterable slimy things, among reeds and Nilotic mud." Page 118.

Another of his dreams he describes in language far more sublime than anything in the books of the hashceesh eaters:

"It commenced with a music which I now often heard in dreams, a music of preparation, an awakening suspense, a music like the coronation anthem, and which, like that, gave the feeling of a vast march, of infinite cavalcades filing off, and the tread of innumerable armies. The morning was come of a mighty day, a day of crisis and of final hope for human nature, then suffering some mysterious eclipse, and laboring in some dread extremity. Somewhere, I knew not where: somehow, I knew not how; by some beings, I knew not whom, a battle, a strife, an agony was conducting—was evolving, like a great drama or piece of music, with which my sympathy was the more insupportable, from my confusion as to its place, its cause, its nature, and its possible issue. I had the power, and yet had not the power to decide it. I had the power, if I could raise myself to will it; and yet again I had not the power, for the weight of twenty Atlantics was upon me, or the oppression of inexpiable guilt. 'Deeper down than ever plummet sounded,' I lay inactive. Then, like a chorus the passion deepened. Some greater interest was at stake, some mightier cause than ever yet the sword had pleaded or trumpet had proclaimed. Then came sudden alarms, hurryings to and fro, trepidations of innumerable fugitives, I knew not whether from the good cause or the bad; darkness and lights, tempests and human faces; and at last, with the sense that all was lost, female forms and clasped hands, and heart-breaking partings, and then, everlasting farewells, and with a sigh the sound was reverberated; everlasting farewells, and again and yet again reverberated, everlasting farewells. And I awoke in struggles, and cried aloud, I will sleep no more." Page 124.

Thus he writes when the agonies of a shattered nervous system stretch him upon the rack; but when he looks only at the joyous beginnings of the opium intoxication, he breaks forth in the most extravagant laudations of the baneful drug:

"O mighty opium, that to the hearts of poor and rich alike, for the wounds that will never heal, and for the pangs that tempt the spirit to rebel, bringest an assuaging balm. Eloquent opium, that with thy potent rhetoric stealest away the purposes of wrath, and to the guilty man, for one night, givest back the hopes of his youth, and hands washed pure from blood. . . . Thou buildest upon the bosom of darkness, out of the fantastic imagery of the brain, cities and temples beyond the art of Phidias and Praxitiles, and 'from the anarchy of dreaming sleep,' callest into sunny light the faces of long-buried beauties, and the blessed household countenances, cleansed from the dishonors of the grave. . . . Thou hast the keys of Paradise, O just, subtile, mighty opium!"

Thus, almost in the same breath, blessings the most extravagant, and curses the most bitter are bestowed on it. Here is the ecstasy of the first intoxication, the morbid flights of imagination hurried to the verge of insanity, mingled with the remorse of a soul conscious of self-destruction, and yet hopelessly infatuated and enslaved, the nobler nature brought into bondage by the diseased appetites of the flesh.

It may be remarked here, that the mind makes up its visions from its own materials. Whatever the memory contains of beautiful, horrible, and fantastic images, the frenzied mind revives and combines in a thousand ways, sublime, or grotesque, or terrible, giving the picture a clearness of outline and a vividness of coloring akin to the true testimony of the senses. Those who have never heard of crocodiles, cockatoos, and pyramids, would see none, and no quantity of the drug could give De Quincey's visions to those whose memories are not stored as was his, or who lack his native strength of imagination. A man of scanty ideas and no fancy might be as much exhilarated in the first stage of intoxication, and as miserable in the second, as was De Quincey; but his fantasia would be narrow and common-place. Instead of soaring to an ideal Paradise, and reveling in its beauty, and afterward sinking into sublime horrors, he might possibly be regaled on unlimited quantities of visionary beef and beer, and then be kicked by a spectral boot.

Alcohol is another cerebral stimulant, the use of which is only too well known. It constitutes the intoxicating principle of the various beverages which are capable of producing drunkenness. The different varieties of brandy, rum, whisky, and gin, contain about fifty per cent. of pure alcohol. Wine contains from ten to twenty, and cider from six to twelve per cent. of alcohol. The devotee of any one of these drinks often lays great stress upon the taste of his favorite; but this is often self-deception or hypocrisy. The charm

lies in the stimulating principle, which is essentially the same as that of hasheesh and opium. The real object sought is not the momentary pleasure felt while the liquid is gliding over the tongue, but the effect upon the nervous system. Alcohol, like the drugs already described, has power to send the blood bounding along its channels, and clothe the whole man with new force. It makes the tongue glib, it gives wings to the fancy, it makes the emotions more ready and powerful.

While it thus resembles hasheesh and opium, it differs from them in this: it seems to lay hold principally upon another part of our nature. The effect of the poisons mentioned is chiefly mental. Alcohol tends at once to the brain; but, speaking after the manner of phrenologists, it affects most the base of the brain. The man drunk with opium reclines upon his couch, and resigns himself to the contemplation of his visions. The man intoxicated with alcohol is generally restless and noisy. His baser nature is easily roused; and with small provocation he becomes irritable and cruel, sensual and reckless. Reason is stimulated less than the passions, and he dashes on, like a ship before the tempest, with every sail spread, the rudder broken, and the anchor gone. The use of alcoholic stimulants is essentially degrading. The man who is drugged with opium becomes a sort of insane poet, wild, visionary, but too much occupied with his dreams to be very dangerous. But alcohol stirs up the foul dregs of human depravity, while reason and conscience are dimmed and deadened; and thus the man drugged with alcohol usually becomes a miserable compound of brute and devil. Byron once declared that he found gin a great assistance to him in writing his works. There is every reason to believe it. His poems, with all their wit and brilliancy, are malignant and sensual, and reek with Satanic inspiration. Scarce a thought morally grand can be found in them. Not a sentiment ever comes with balm to the sad heart and the wounded spirit; no word of his ever falls upon the ear of the tempted, like a voice from heaven, bidding him be strong for the right. Every line smells of gin; and gives abundant token of the animal passions which it is the peculiarity of alcohol to excite.

He who besots himself with this debasing drug, deliberately dethrones reason, conscience, and all his better attributes, and declares that the animal shall rule the spiritual. There is a story that an evil spirit appeared to a monk, and made him believe that he was fated to commit one of three crimes, which were named to him, with the command to choose which he would. Two were gross sins. The third was merely drunkenness, and this seemed so small a matter, compared with the others, that the hermit decided at once

in its favor. But when he awoke from his drunkenness he was filled with horror at the discovery, that, while under the power of alcohol, he had committed the other two sins also. The story is a fable, and yet it is true. Alcohol and human depravity are co-workers in evil deeds. Well do the panderers to every kind of vice know this fact. The theater, the gambling den, and the haunt of shame, rely upon alcohol to blind the reason, and deaden the conscience, and rouse the passions of their victims; and by its instrumentality, brutified, maddened, they are led as an ox to the slaughter. What instrument of evil is more potent and effective. Satan finds it the sceptre of his power, the right arm of his strength. Happy is he who has never bowed to this sceptre, nor set foot within the accursed realms of madness and lust over which it is swayed.

Art. V.—CHARLES LAMB.

The Works of Charles Lamb; with a Sketch of his Life and Final Memorials. By Thomas Noon Talfourd. Two volumes. (12mo., pp. 555, 611. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1855.)

No writer is more truly a citizen of the age than the essayist. He sits as much at home among modern improvements as the engineer or telegraphic operator. He appears well in the daily paper or the gilt-edged volume. He stamps improvement on the brief intervals of business, and fringes the day's toil with pleasing and useful thought. Being brief and frequent in his visitations, he seems to men much more practically a worker in their midst, than if he should say at once more than their time would allow them to hear or their interest would induce them to remember. Whether his visits are daily, like the sun, or annual, like the spring, his coming is welcomed as a blessing.

The essayist, in the performance of his legitimate functions, is as eloquent as the orator, and is heard more widely. He is as chaste and imaginative as the poet, without confinement to poetical themes and numbers. He is as bewitching in his style, and as insinuating in his instructions, as the novelist, without dragging his reader through the intricate labyrinth of improbable narrative. He reaches conclusions as sage as the historian's, without his solemn pomp and stately tread, without wafting his readers over seas of blood, to the firm landing of practical result.

Among the most pleasant and original of English essayists

was "Charles Lamb of the India House." His life, letters, essays, and poems, are comprised in two duodecimo volumes. In his business capacity as clerk at Leaden Hall, Lamb wrote, every year, several folios of manuscript "works," consisting of the entries of sales and shipments. These voluminous productions have no readers. They *paid* better than the loftier labors of his genius; but all Lamb's renown, as a literary man, rests on the two volumes which contain his letters and essays.

Self-knowledge is the secret lock of strength with many authors. Taking their position upon the principle of the oneness of human nature, they look within themselves, and observe in miniature the attributes of universal humanity. Such writers are generally most true to nature. In fiction they seldom transcend the region of the probable. They usually have no great intricacy of plot, and few inversions, but present in fiction what seems a plain, unvarnished narrative of facts.

The productions of such writers are best understood after a careful study of their lives. To this class belongs Charles Lamb. In his writings he appears not as a mere abstraction, but a man in body, mind, and heart. Consequently it is well that one of the volumes which appear under Talfourd's editorial supervision, is devoted to the Life and Letters. They form a practical introduction to the Essays, which are better understood and more highly valued after the perusal of the foregoing Life.

Charles Lamb was born in 1775. His father came up a little boy from Lincoln, and entered the service of Mr. Salt, a barrister of the Inner Temple. To this gentleman he became, in the language of his son, "clerk, good-servant, dresser, friend, guide, stop-watch, auditor, treasurer." Charles had the good sense never to become ashamed of his humble origin. His frequent allusions to his youth and parentage show that he was not at all affected by the prevailing snobbishness.

When seven years old he had the fortune to become a scholar in Christ's Hospital, an ancient school founded by that amiable and pious boy, King Edward VI. The scholars had the character of a distinct order among London boys. They were easily recognized by their blue coats, and a bearing dignified beyond their years.

Charles was a boy of mark among his schoolmates. He had a feeble frame, a plantigrade walk, and a stammer in his speech. Being unfitted to join in the boisterous sports of his companions, he moved among them "with all the self-concentration of a young monk." The sweet spirit and studious habits of the "gentle-

hearted Charles" won kindness and esteem from teachers and companions.

Lamb's stay at Christ's Hospital, though brief, was valuable, not only for the introduction it gave him to classical authors, but as the beginning of a life-long friendship with Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

Though young Lamb's talents pointed him out as worthy for the University, yet his stammering precluded his going to Cambridge on the foundation of his school. At the age of fourteen he completed his life as a student. He spent three years as clerk in the South Sea House, and then obtained an appointment in the accountant's office of the East India Company. Here he remained in constant employ for more than thirty years. Hours which were not spent in labor at the "desk's dull wood," were enjoyed in "browsing at will in the fair and wholesome pasturage found in a spacious closet of good old English reading."

At length came a calamity which threw its shadow over the whole of Lamb's remaining life. Mary Lamb, his sister, had, in several instances, manifested symptoms of insanity. These resulted in sudden and uncontrollable frenzy on the 22d of September, 1796. She siezed a knife which lay upon the table, and shrieking with madness, plunged it to the heart of her aged and infirm mother. Charles was at hand only in time to see the bloody tragedy completed, and snatch the knife from his sister's hand. Mary was sent to the madhouse, and soon recovered, but was subject to frequently recurring attacks of this dreadful disorder during all her life.

Now comes one of the most touching and noble instances of self-devotion that the annals of literature present. Lamb resolved to devote his life to his sister. His "wanderings with a fair-haired maid," who had already tenderly influenced his heart, were ended. With all the fervor of affection that ever dwelt in a brother's heart, he took upon himself the watchcare of his sister. There is always gain to him who makes a conscientious sacrifice. Lamb did not lose his reward. In her lucid intervals few women were superior to Mary Lamb in goodness of heart and brilliancy of intellect. "Between the acts of the distressful drama," Lamb's house was illuminated by the presence of no ordinary woman.

Half the first volume of Lamb's works, consisting of selections from his letters, connected by a sketch of his life, was published soon after his death. In this there is no allusion to Mary's insanity, which resulted in parenticide. As she survived her brother, it was feared that any allusion to her madness in the book, would have an unfavorable influence upon her. Hence every letter in which there was the merest mention of Mary's malady was carefully

excluded. Charles could not be fully understood, nor his good traits made completely manifest without the disclosure of this part of his private life. After Mary's death there was no longer a motive for withholding any facts; hence, in 1848, appeared "*Final Memorials of Charles Lamb.*" These occupy the latter half of the first volume in the recent edition of his works. Here is narrated the calamity of which mention has been made. Place is given to letters whose personal allusions rendered their earlier publication improper. The book closes with sketches of some of his companions with whose society and friendship he was singularly blessed. The second part of the volume goes chronologically over the same ground as the former, but there is no tedious repetition. The interest of the "twice-told tale" is unabated.

Biographers of literary men complain of a lack of incidents. Lamb, in this respect, is no exception. For more than thirty years there are no events, apart from his literary labors, of more importance than a few removals from one house to another, and an occasional visit to the country. He went to his desk at ten in the morning, and returned at four in the afternoon. Visitors generally claimed his evenings. If they came not he devoted the precious hours to literary pursuits. Then were conceived and executed his happiest productions. No wonder that he loved the evening, with its pleasing associations, and exclaimed in his characteristic manner:

"Hail candle-light! without disparagement to sun or moon, the kindliest luminary of the three—if we may not rather style thee their radiant deputy, mild viceroy of the moon! We love to read, talk, sit silent, eat, drink, sleep, by candle-light. They are everybody's sun and moon. This is our peculiar and household planet. Wanting it, what savage, unsocial nights must our ancestors have spent, wintering in caves and unillumined fastnesses! They must have lain about and grumbled at one another in the dark. What repartees could have passed when you must have felt about for a smile, and handled a neighbor's cheek to be sure that he understood it? This accounts for the seriousness of the elder poetry. It has a somber cast, (try Hesiod or Ossian,) derived from the tradition of those unlanterned nights. Jokes came in with candles. How did they sup? What a melange of chance carving they must have made of it!—here one had got a leg of a goat when he wanted a horse's shoulder—there another had dipped his scooped palm in a kid-skin of wild honey when he meditated mare's milk. There is absolutely no such thing as reading, but by a candle. We have tried the affectation of a book at noonday in gardens, and in sultry arbors; but it was labor thrown away. By the midnight taper the writer digests his meditations. By the same light we must approach to their perusal if we would catch the flame, the odor. It is a mockery, all that is reported of the influential Phœbus. No true poem ever owed its birth to the sun's light. They are abstracted works—

> 'Things that were born when none but the still night,
> And his dumb candle, saw his pinching throes.'

Marry, daylight—daylight might furnish the images, the crude material; but for the fine shapings, the true turning and filing, (as mine author hath it,) they

must be content to hold their inspiration of the candle. The mild internal light that reveals them, like fires on the domestic hearth, goes out in the sunshine. Night and silence call out the starry fancies. Milton's Morning Hymn in Paradise, we would hold a good wager, was penned at midnight; and Taylor's richer description of a sunrise smells decidedly of the taper. Even ourself, in these our humbler lucubrations, tune our best measured cadences (prose has her cadences) not unfrequently to the charm of the drowsier watchman, 'blessing the doors,' or the wild sweep of winds at midnight."

Lamb's Wednesday evenings were times of great interest and celebrity. Some of the most distinguished names of England were numbered among his "Wednesday men." There was Hazlitt, the artist, the art-critic, and the author; there was Wordsworth, in the days when he had outlived the abuse of critics, and had grown to a world-wide reputation. Sometimes the wonderfully talented, but ill-starred Coleridge was present; then all, with *tacit* consent, listened to his matchless talk. These were times of great social enjoyment. In the happy moments of free conversation they gave one another more enjoyment than their works bestowed upon the world.

Lamb, in his letters, was accustomed to complain at times of his labors at the India House, and his continual confinement at the desk. Yet at heart he loved his work. He saw in it the great blessing of independence. From sympathy with his poor literary brethren, who were at the mercy of the publishers, he dreaded dependence on these merchants in the wares of mind. To his friend Bernard Barton, who proposed to throw off the trammels of the banking-house in which he held a clerkship, and rely on literature for subsistence, he wrote thus:

"If you have but five consolatory minutes between the desk and the bed, make much of them, and live a century in them, rather than turn slave to the booksellers. Come not within their grasp. You know not, may you never know, the miseries of subsisting by authorship. It is a pretty appendage to a situation like yours or mine, but a slavery worse than all slavery to be a bookseller's dependent, to drudge your brain for pots of ale and breasts of mutton, to change your free thoughts and voluntary numbers for ungracious task-work. Keep to your bank, and your bank will keep you. I bless every star that Providence, not seeing good to make me independent, has seen it next good to settle me on the stable foundation of Leaden Hall. Henceforth I retract all my fond complaints of mercantile employments, and look upon them only as lover's quarrels. I was but half in earnest. Welcome dead timber of the desk, that gives me life. A little grumbling is wholesome medicine for the spleen, but in my inner heart I do approve and embrace this our close but unharrassing way of life."

We doubtless owe all the good things we have from Lamb's pen to the fact that he entered into an employment early in life, and continued in it during his best years. With a merely literary life before him, he might have been at a loss how to employ his powers. The prospect of years before him, in which his whole work would

be to plan and execute literary labors, might have induced him to delay and indulge in mental epicurism until the time of golden opportunity was past.

Lamb's intervals of business were suggestive of literary labors. Having but short times to devote in this manner, his mind was quickened to intense activity.

Some such anchorage as Lamb's at Leaden Hall, would have been a blessing to his great friend Coleridge. It would have saved him his early enlistment as a soldier, his brief service as a Unitarian preacher, his intellectually disastrous trip to Germany, his abortive plan of a colony in America, and above all, the slavery of his later years to opium. His literary labors would have been more continuous, and more fruitful of good results. Lamb's genius was not of so high an order as that of Coleridge; but having a useful and steady employment during the most of his life, and doing besides some excellent literary labor, he was a more successful man than his great friend.

Notwithstanding the good there was in his clerkly labors, after more than thirty years spent in such service Lamb sighed for release. At length it came. In 1825 his liberal-minded employers granted him an honorable dismission from their service, with a pension of $2,500 per annum. Though Lamb had found the writing of ponderous volumes at Leaden Hall no very pleasant labor for a literary man, yet they yielded a better revenue than romances or poems.

Lamb was for awhile almost bewildered by his newly found liberty. He could hardly be assured that it was not a dream. He rejoiced like a man who had suddenly found great treasure. He congratulated himself that from that time one year, for purposes of his own, would be as long as three before.

After the first excitement had passed, Lamb was not happier for the change. "He lost the grievance on which he could lavish all the fanciful exaggeration of a sufferer, without wounding the feelings of any individual, and perhaps the loss was hardly compensated by the listless leisure which it gave him." In a letter to Barton he expresses some weighty sentiments in favor of labor. "I assure you *no work* is worse than *over-work*. The mind preys on itself, the most unwholesome food. I bragged formerly that I could not have too much. I have a surfeit; with few years to come, the days are wearisome."

But a small part of Lamb's literary labors were performed after his departure from the India House. Literary men should have on the working habit all the time. If they do not labor continuously

in literature, then some other good employment should come in to occupy the vacant hours. If the life is one of leisure, and labors of the pen occupy only such times as whim and taste may dictate, there is danger that they will be deferred until they degenerate into mere drudgery.

There are too many who are willing to be slaves. They wait until necessity, sternest of task-masters, shall come and drive to duty. Poverty, cold, and hunger have often been the best friends of literary men.

Retirement from business is one of the most disastrous steps that can be taken by a man whose mature years have been actively employed. If he does not find something to occupy his thoughts the years will drag heavily away. Worse than this, he will decline toward dotage from the day of his retirement.

Heaven spared Lamb such a fate by calling him away from his leisure before it had occupied many years. He died, greatly regretted, in 1834. No literary man has been lamented by a larger number of personal friends. His vivacity of spirits, which existed through all his afflictions, and his warmth of affection, endeared him to all with whom he came in contact.

Lamb's letters form a very interesting portion of his works, and assist much in forming an estimate of his character. Talfourd claims little credit to himself for the volumes he presents. He says his work as a biographer was merely to connect the letters by a slight thread of narrative.

When the friends of a literary man have had the affection and forethought to preserve his letters, there is no lack of materials for his biography. Nowhere else are to be found such transcripts of a man's daily life as in his letters. His conversation, in the attempt to overleap the barrier of distance, takes a permanent form. Every man becomes his own Boswell. His memory, his fancy, his reason play and work at will upon the epistolary sheet. Not being intended for the public eye, they convey the frank unbosomings of friend to friend. A man becomes an autobiographer without incurring the odium of one who presumes to herald his own exploits.

There is sometimes difficulty in discovering a writer's personal character from his great works, which he designed should stand for the inspection of mankind; but his letters, containing his private thoughts, his deepest feelings, his confidential words, form life-like pictures of the man. Letters display the character more effectually than actions. The latter are feeble and imperfect manifestations of thought; they are hieroglyphics sometimes hard to be understood. Words are the true vehicles of thought. In letters, as in conversa-

tion, words are used in their legitimate office. They are so grouped as to give the best picture of the actual state of the writer. True, when one writes to a distant friend the news may become stale and the facts untrue by the time the letter reaches the correspondent, yet the epistle still remains a correct exponent of the state of things at its date, which no changes in after times can render false. Years after the writer is dead, when the reader finds his letters in the biography, he welcomes them as just as correct and timely intelligence from his hero, as if the slow mails had brought him an epistle a little out of due time.

Lamb as a letter-writer might be made the subject of a long article. His letters were not written as drudgery, nor were they tortured from him by a conscience upbraiding him for the long time suffered to elapse since his correspondent's last favor. They were the expressions of a heart seeking after sympathy—of a mind aspiring after appropriate companionship. His business threw him into the society of persons with whom he could not sympathize. "I have not," said he in an early letter, "one truly elevated character among my acquaintance, not one but undervalues Christianity. I gain nothing by being with such myself. We encourage one another in mediocrity." At another time he wrote of himself: "Slow of speech, and reserved of manner, no one seeks or cares for my society, and I am left alone."

He found relief in correspondence with Coleridge. Gradually other names were added to the list of correspondents, which comprised such men as Southey, Wordsworth, and Hazlitt. This correspondence presents a pleasing literary history of the times, and is deeply interesting, as giving a view behind the scenes, where were held the rehearsals for those great productions which have won the attention of the world.

Lamb had other correspondents of less note, whose chief honor in the literary world is that of being named as the recipients of such excellent letters. The epistles addressed to these are, if possible, more interesting than those to his more celebrated friends. There is the same depth of good feeling, the same brilliancy of thought, the same playfulness of humor, with more direct address, and more liberty of speech. To Mr. Manning he writes thus:

"While I think of it let me tell you we are moved. Don't come any more to Mitre-Court Buildings. We are at 34 Southampton Buildings, Chancery-lane, and shall be here till about the end of May, then we remove to No. 4 Inner Temple-lane, where I mean to live and die; for I have such a horror of moving that I would not take a benefice from a king if I was not indulged with non-residence. What a dislocation of comfort is comprised in that word moving! Such a heap of little nasty things after you think all is got into the cart; old

dredging-boxes, worn-out brushes, gallipots, vials, things that it is impossible the most necessitous person can ever want, but which the women, who preside on these occasions, will not leave behind if it was to save your soul; they'd keep the cart ten minutes to store in dirty pipes and broken matches to show their economy. Then you can find nothing you want for many days after you get into your new lodgings. You must comb your hair with your fingers, wash your hands without soap, go about in dirty gaiters. Was I Diogenes, I would not move out of a kilderkin into a hogshead, though the first had nothing but small beer in it, and the second reeked claret!"

Lamb's letters are free from formality and affectation. They are far from being formed on the models found in the "Complete Letter-Writer." The circumstances of the moment, the taste of the writer, and the character of the correspondent, determined the form and style of the letter. Lamb had no stereotype plates for his letters, and on this account they are more worthy of such apparatus now that their author will make no more changes in them, now that they are attracting the attention of readers in both hemispheres, who will repeatedly call for new editions.

Lamb wrote poetry, but his poems are neither numerous nor widely known. He was not endowed with the highest order of poetic genius. In the power of invention and execution he was inferior to his correspondent the author of the "Ancient Mariner." He had no Byronic fury in his style. He fully sympathized with his friends the "Lake Poets," but never aspired to a name among them. He wrote no poem that at once found access to the hearts of men, becoming an indispensable part of the world's current literature.

The subjects on which Lamb wrote poetry were trivial. They are seldom of any public interest. He had an abhorrence for Albums, and did not hesitate to express it, yet he could not refuse his fair friends. "Album verses" occupy a large part of the table of contents.

Lamb published his first poems in a small volume with those of his friends Coleridge and Lloyd. His motive was thus expressed:

"I want them printed to get rid of them; for while they stick, bur-like, to my memory, they tempt me to go on with the idle trade of versifying, which I long, most sincerely I speak it, I long to leave off, for it is unprofitable to my soul; I feel it is; and these questions about words, and debates about alterations, take me off, I am conscious, from the proper business of my life."

A peculiarity of these poems is brought to view in the following extract from one of his letters:

"Cultivate simplicity, Coleridge, or rather, I should say, banish elaborateness, for simplicity springs spontaneous from the heart, and carries into daylight with its own modest buds, and genuine sweet and clear flowers of expression. I allow no hotbeds in the garden of Parnassus."

Many of Lamb's poems are very touching and effective. They

steal quietly into the heart, fix the attention, and enlist the sympathies. The following, which are the closing lines of a little poem on the death of a young Quakeress, never fail to arrest the reader's attention. He stops to read them again and again, and dwell on their singular sweetness:

> "My sprightly neighbour, gone before
> To that unknown and silent shore,
> Shall we not meet, as heretofore,
> Some summer morning,
>
> "When from thy cheerful eyes a ray
> Hath struck a bliss upon the day,
> A bliss that would not go away,
> A sweet forewarning?"

Sometimes in his sonnets the reader finds a broad, deep thought expressed with great felicity, as the following:

> "Tis man's worst deed
> To let the 'things that have been' run to waste
> And in the unmeaning present sink the past."

Lamb's greatest and best productions are his Essays, written with the celebrated signature of "Elia." Here he has distinguishing excellence. The style is evidently formed on that of the old authors, yet it has all the originality and freshness necessary to the time in which he wrote. The author passes and repasses over all the steps from deep sadness to the utmost gayety. The humorous predominates, yet no buffoon ever makes his appearance on the stage. We see only the good-natured man, with eyes open to behold all things passing about him, with a word of encouragement to the unappreciated good, with a tear of sympathy for the afflicted, a smile of approbation for the well-doing, and a good-humored laugh for whatever fault or folly deserves such salutation. How delicately are pleasantry and pity commingled in the extract we give from "A Complaint of the Decay of Beggars in the Metropolis!"

> "Rags, which are the reproach of poverty, are the beggar's robes, and graceful *insignia* of his profession, his tenure, his full dress, the suit in which he is expected to show himself in public. He is never out of fashion, or limpeth awkwardly behind it. He is not required to put on court mourning. He weareth all colors, fearing none. His costume has undergone less change than the Quaker's. He is the only man in the universe who is not obliged to study appearances. The ups and downs of the world concern him no longer. He alone continueth in one stay. The price of stock or land affecteth him not. The fluctuations of agricultural or commercial prosperity touch him not, or at worst but change his customers. He is not expected to become bail or surety for any one. No man troubleth him with questioning his religion or politics. He is the only free man in the universe."

Lamb is apparent in all he wrote as having no sympathy with hypocrisy and falsehood. When a little boy, as he and his sister

were wandering through the churchyard, reading the eulogistic epitaphs, he stopped suddenly and asked, "Where do the naughty people lie?" This question contained a pointed criticism on the insincerity of indiscriminate praise. The same spirit obtained wider and more emphatic utterance in after years when he wielded the essayist's pen. He did not set himself up as the censor of society; he was by no means a cynic or a grumbler, yet he never feared to speak manfully and freely in favor of the truth.

Lamb did not draw so largely on the field of imagination as on that of experience, over which thoughts were led by a sprightly fancy. There is practical philosophy as well as frankly expressed personal experience in this:

"Not childhood alone, but the young man till thirty, never feels practically that he is mortal. He knows it, indeed, and if need were, could preach a homily on the fragility of life; but he brings it not home to himself, any more than in a hot June we can appropriate to our imaginations the freezing days of December. But now, shall I confess a truth? I feel these audits but too powerfully. I begin to count the probabilities of my duration, and to grudge at the expenditure of moments and shortest periods, like miser's farthings. In proportion as the years both lessen and shorten, I set more count upon their periods, and would fain lay my ineffectual finger upon the spoke of the great wheel. I am not content to pass away 'like a weaver's shuttle.' Those metaphors solace me not, nor sweeten the unpalatable draught of mortality. I care not to be carried with the tide that smoothly bears human life to eternity; and reluct at the inevitable course of destiny. I am in love with this green earth; the face of town and country; the unspeakable rural solitudes, and the sweet security of streets. I would set up my tabernacle here: I am content to stand still at the age to which I am arrived—I and my friends: to be no younger, no richer, no handsomer. Any alteration on this earth of mine, in diet or in lodging, puzzles and discomposes me. My household gods plant a terrible fixed foot, and are not rooted up without blood. They do not willingly leave Lavinian shores."

Lamb had no profound religious experience. In their youth he and Coleridge were zealous Unitarians, and ardent admirers of Dr. Priestley. In later years they grew up to a perception of their error, and embraced the great and fundamental doctrine of the Trinity.

Coleridge having written to his friend, "You are a temporary sharer in human misery that you may be an eternal partaker in the Divine nature," Lamb gently expostulated with him, and wrote thus:

"Man, full of imperfections at best, and subject to wants that momentarily remind him of dependence: man, a weak and ignorant being, 'servile' from his birth to all the 'skiey influences,' with eyes sometimes open to discern the right path, but a head generally too dizzy to pursue it; man, in the pride of speculation, forgetting his nature, and hailing himself the future God, must make the angels laugh. Be not angry with me, Coleridge, I only wish to *remind* you of that humility which best becometh the Christian character."

Lamb's humility arose from a careful and correct view of himself and his failings. Here he was almost a Christian. A step further would have admitted him to the richest experiences of Christianity. "My former calamities," said he in an early letter, "have produced in me a spirit of humility and a spirit of prayer. I want more religion." He did not, however, make those attainments in Christian life for which such sentiments gave grounds to hope. The reason may be discovered in his lack of religious society. None of those with whom his circumstances brought him in daily contact, were spiritually minded. He wrote thus to Coleridge: "Wesley, (have you read his life?) was he not an elevated character? Wesley has said, 'Religion is not a solitary thing.' Alas! it is necessarily so with me, or next to solitary."

When Christians cause their religion to have so small a place in their daily business and conversation, it cannot be urged seriously against the essayist that he does not directly inculcate religion. It seems obtaining a good result if not a word is written which can be construed against the great cause of Christ.

The secular press, and merely literary men, take no lead in the ways of religion. Their *status* in this respect is determined by the condition of society. In times of indifference and infidelity the literary essay carefully excludes all words that would betray a Gallilean origin, if it goes not with Peter to the length of denying all knowledge of Christ. When society is careless the political newspaper has no room for religious intelligence; but when the minds of all are aroused on the momentous question, and there is a spirit of revival throughout the land, column after column is devoted to "The Great Awakening."

As society takes step after step in the great work of purification and transformation, polite literature, as well as all arts and sciences, will become more spiritual, and will stand forth as handmaids to Christianity.

Art. VI.—WYOMING.

Wyoming; its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures. By George Peck, D.D. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 430. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.

Wyoming is the Arcadia of America. It sustains almost as classic a relation to these Northern States as that pastoral province did to the ancient Peloponessus. A more profoundly interesting spot is scarcely to be found on the face of the whole land. The name is understood

to be a corruption of the Indian word *Maughwauwame* which signifies "THE GREAT PLAINS." These plains must, human agency apart, have presented a scene of unparalleled fertility and pleasantness. The valley proper is not far from twenty-one miles in length, with an average width of about three miles. On either side of it there are lofty hills, and the Susquehanna, flowing through the extent of the vale, divides it into two unequal and varying parts.

Judging from existing facts, there is certainly much plausibility in the theory that this valley was once the bed of a lake, the waters of which, by some violent disruption of its lower banks, (at what period no one can conjecture,) were drawn off and allowed to escape to the ocean. At any rate, aquatic deposites are diffused over the surface of the bottom lands, particularly along the banks of the river, thus rendering the soil surpassingly rich and productive. When the eyes of civilized man first looked upon it, the sight was enchanting. Lovelier or more luxuriant vegetation never ornamented the bosom of the earth. The wilderness, almost without a figure, blossomed as the rose. At least, so thought the New-Englanders, when, after a tedious journey through the intervening trackless wilds, they first gazed upon it from the tops of the surrounding hills.

The streams were then filled with fish, and the woods with game; so that here the red man disported himself in a sort of paradise. Here his forefathers, from immemorial generations, had lived in plenty; and here he expected his posterity would live to the end of time. Little, indeed, did he imagine that he and his were destined so soon to be superseded by the "pale faces."

But a single century has produced surprising changes. Not only have the native tribes disappeared, but the valley now teems with a busy population. The plow and the sickle have taken the place of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. These lands have been found fully equal to the highest hopes of the white men who first visited them. It has been practically demonstrated that they are well adapted to the growth of almost every species of grass, and grain, and root, and fruit produced in the Northern and Middle States. Besides, in the process of development, it has been found that Wyoming contains one of the richest basins of coal in North America, if not in the wide world. This coal underlies the whole valley, and completely flanks the adjacent hills. And, what should certainly be regarded as a most remarkable, if not really providential coincidence, rich beds of iron ore have been discovered in almost immediate juxtaposition with these anthracite deposites, the latter furnishing the ready means for putting the former into a shape suited to the higher purposes of civilization. The valley is now connected by railroad

and canal with other parts of our country, so that its rich treasures can be readily sent abroad, while those who may wish to look in upon these beautiful plains, or to go out from them, have every facility for easy personal transit. With these extraordinary advantages, Wyoming can hardly fail to become, at no distant day, if indeed it be not now, one of the richest interior portions of our empire.

Religion has prospered here. Missionary enterprise opened the way into these secluded regions. Probably the first white man who ever set foot upon the soil was that apostle of the *Unitas Fratrum*, COUNT ZINZENDORF, who crossed the Atlantic with a sole view to teach the red man the way to heaven, and who, in 1742, with his interpreter, erected his tent near the principal Indian village. From that day to this God has not been without a witness in Wyoming Valley. Churches have been formed, and places of worship erected. The stringent moral views of New England have, *ab origine*, exerted a controlling influence over the habits of the people. Order and morality have held a decided preponderance, while science and letters have been more or less cultivated. Though the very copious influx of a foreign population, drawn hither by the mineral discoveries of the valley, has doubtless retarded rather than promoted the advancement of intelligence and virtue, still social polish and evangelical religion are prominent characteristics of the Wyoming community.

But this state of things has not been reached without serious conflict. Long before the valley was visited by white men, the native tribes themselves contended with each other for the possession of lands so fertile, streams so full of fish, and forests so abounding in game. Hence, wars were frequent, protracted, and bloody. No occupant tribe, could, indeed, hope long to escape the encroachments of either cupidity or envy. It is not wonderful, then, that the pale faces were anything else than welcome visitors. A few might have been tolerated, but the presence of numbers at once awakened suspicion. What could these interlopers want but to "take away both their place and nation?" This could not, of course, be submitted to; and especially as resistance was deemed to be a dictate, as well of patriotism as of domestic security. The advances of civilization must therefore be repelled at the very outset, and the white man taught to keep at a proper distance. Aggression and retaliation soon became the order of the day. If the pale faces were captured, tortured, driven back, (as, alas, they often were,) it was only to rally again in still greater numbers, and to renew the contest with a more vigorous hand. Thus matters went on, victory alternating from one side to the other, until finally

the New Englanders were evidently gaining a permanent lodgment.

And now a new element was infused into the cup of their sufferings. They claimed proprietorship of Wyoming under a charter given to the Plymouth Company, by James the First, from which company Connecticut held her title, a title which had been formally confirmed by the king. But some fifty years after granting the above charter to the Plymouth Company, through forgetfulness, or something less honorable, the crown granted another charter to William Penn, which covered a portion of the grant to Connecticut, including the rich and inviting Valley of Wyoming! Hence, both Connecticut and Pennsylvania not only *claimed* it, but both determined to *hold* it. The consequences were, civil processes, domestic feuds, and sanguinary conflicts. The poor "Yankees" were in a sad predicament. As if the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage were not sufficient to effect their utter destruction, the heirs of the peace-loving Penn must take part in the war of extermination! Thus the contending parties went on, biting and devouring one another, until they were well nigh consumed one of another, when the occurrence of the Revolutionary War somewhat changed the relative position of the combatants. Between the "Yankees" and the "Pennamites" (so the parties were called at the time) there was an informal truce, while the merciless savage was taken into alliance with tyrannical Britain.

And now began the reign of terror. Never perhaps since Jerusalem was sacked by the Romans, have greater atrocities been perpetrated, or has innocent blood been shed with more ruffian wantonness. The deeds of darkness connected with the descent of Butler and his savage myrmidons into the Wyoming Valley, in the summer of 1778, stand out by themselves in the annals of war. Little regard was had to either age or sex. The rifle, the bayonet, the spear, the tomahawk, dealt all but indiscriminate death throughout the ill-fated valley. At least, what was not effected by the hand of violence, was sought to be consummated by the more cruel process of starvation. The wonder is that so many should have escaped. Utter destruction seems to have been the object; so that if the slaughter was not universal, the exception should be credited to anything else than the humanity of the invaders. Pity was a total stranger to their bosoms, and justice knew them not. The only excuse offered by the leader of this motley band was, that he could not restrain his Indian allies!

Nor did the termination of the revolutionary conflict bring peace to Wyoming. War seemed to be her inalienable inheritance. The

Pennamite quarrel was recommenced, and again pushed to a bloody issue. Many lives were lost, and much suffering was inflicted. One cannot look back upon this fratricidal conflict without the most painful emotions; and especially as the lovers of peace and fair dealing would be glad to think that the ruffianism inflicted upon Kansas never had anything like a precedent in the history of our nation. An arbitration was, however, finally agreed upon; and thus the difficulty was arranged by giving the territory, politically, to Pennsylvania, and the personal ownership of the specific lands to the parties occupying them under the Connecticut title. This was doubtless the proper adjustment. It sacrificed no individual right, and it placed Wyoming under convenient civil jurisdiction. Thus the obstinate Yankee became a good Pennamite, while all parties were cemented together in one common brotherhood. What a pity this delighful consummation might not have been reached a long time before! Its happy effects may now be seen in the unparalleled prosperity of our glorious valley.

It is not wonderful that a portion of our country so rich in itself, and so thrilling in historic reminiscences, should have excited extraordinary attention. It would be surprising had it been otherwise. The bards of the Revolution embalmed it in song, and Campbell's Gertrude has made it classic ground. The fame of it has "gone out into all the world," and no American tourist can be regarded as having completed his task until he shall have visited Wyoming. So much has been said of it, indeed, as well by the historian and the journalist as by the poet, that it would seem as if the theme must have been exhausted years since. Not so, however. In historic wealth, as in its own physical resources, Wyoming seems to be, if not absolutely inexhaustable, at least unexhausted. Neither Chapman, nor Stone, nor Miner, each of whom attempted an elaborate history, has used up all the material. Nor have their deficiencies been supplied by the incidental allusions of those general histories of our country which have, from time to time, been written. Something more was still wanting, and the book named at the head of this article happily supplies the desideratum. It not only corrects numerous errors in previous histories, but it opens veins that had never before been worked. It goes into specific detail, where others had only generalized. It gives us not only the plot, but the *dramatis personæ.* The author enables us to see not only *what* has been done, but *who* did it, and *how* they did it. His process is analytical rather than synthetical. Or, perhaps, taken altogether, the book may be more properly regarded as a happy mingling of both processes. First, the great leading facts in the history are

made to stand out in striking relief; and then the more prominent actors are presented in their several relations to those facts. For a task of this kind Dr. Peck has rare facilities. Conjugally connected with some of the principal actors in the drama, and long a resident in the valley, his opportunities for the personal collection and verification of facts are unequalled. That he is both capable and trustworthy, it were needless to affirm.

From a transient view it might seem as if the plan of the author were hardly consistent with either logical or rhetorical unity. It is so, however, only in appearance. The details uniformly converge to a common center. However various the parts acted, all are easily and naturally referable to an unbroken and ever visible back-ground.

The author's style is admirably adapted to his theme. It is simple, chaste, perspicuous. The reader is never perplexed to find out Dr. Peck's meaning. His characters are always drawn with a life-like accuracy, and every new touch of his pencil adds something to the picture. Though his panorama is ample, the eye easily sweeps the whole canvas, and readily detects the relative position and practical bearing of each separate actor. And the scene, once contemplated, can never be forgotten. It writes itself as with a pen of iron on the tablet of the soul. One needs to read but a small part of the history in order to feel the full force of what the author says on page 69:

"Novelists and poets have strained their imaginations to render the scenery and the scenes of Wyoming enchanting to their readers, while facts and incidents have been sleeping here, or have been but partially understood, which are really more wonderful than the fruitful brains of these writers were able to conceive. The truth, told without affectation, after the excitement of the strange scenes described have long since passed away, will be found to outstrip fiction in exciting interest."

We cannot give a proper idea of the book without transferring to our pages some of these "scenes."

There lived on the bank of the Susquehanna, some eighty miles above Wyoming, an Indian woman, more properly a half-breed, called, by way of eminence, Queen Esther. Her real name was Catharine Montour. She was born and educated in Canada; her reputed father being governor of that province when it belonged to France. Her lineal connection, scarcely less than her education and personal accomplishments, gave her great consideration, both with the whites and her own people. She was much caressed in Philadelphia, and mingled in the best society. But, after all, the savage predominated in her very nature. She was not only present at, but took part in the Wyoming massacre. Probably the very evening after the disastrous battle, July 3, 1778, she dispatched, with her

own hand, several white prisoners. The place of execution was bloody Rock, otherwise known as Queen Esther's Rock, situated on the top of a hill not far from the battle-ground. The rest of the narrative we give in the author's own words:

"Sixteen prisoners were arranged in a circle around the rock in question, to be sacrificed by Queen Esther to the manes of a son who had been killed by a scouting party before the battle. According to a usage of savage warfare, it was the right, if not indeed the duty, of the old queen to take sweet vengeance upon the prisoners who had fallen into her hands for the loss of her son. Armed with a death-mall and hatchet, she now assumes the office of executioner, according to the most approved Indian forms. The prisoners, one after another, were seated upon a rock, held by two strong Indians, while the priestess of the bloody rites which were performed upon the fatal altar, chanted a savage dirge or Indian war-song, and raising the death-mall with both hands, dashed out the brains of the helpless victim, or with one hand buried her hatchet in his skull

"This was a terrible tragedy; but we are happy to know that there was one relieving circumstance connected with it. There were two men in that devoted circle possessed of strong will, iron nerve, and almost lightning agility. Lebbeus Hammond and Joseph Elliott were near each other, and their turn was about to come. Eleven had been sacrificed, and Hammond's brother was seated upon the rock, and the ceremony was proceeding. Hammond's soul was stirred to the very bottom. As all eyes were fixed upon the bloody tragedy, Hammond, in a low tone, muttered, "Let's try." In an instant they were both free: they had taken their keepers by surprise. With a sudden jerk and spring, the bloodhounds that held them were shaken off, and, like wild deer, they bounded down the bank. They expected to be shot dead, but such was the confusion of the moment that the Indians simply trusted to their legs. Elliott, in relating the story to a friend, who repeated it to us, said he was surprised they were not fired upon. Their line of flight diverged, a circumstance which the Indians did not perceive. Hammond steered for the river; glancing his eye over his shoulder, he discovered that the Indians were shaping their course with the expectation of intercepting the fugitives in the direction of Forty Fort. He then turned still more directly up stream. He had not, however, proceeded far before a root caught his toe, and he was plunged headlong down the bank under a tree-top with a thick foliage, where he immediately judged he would be more secure than he would be upon a run. When the Indians returned from the pursuit of Elliott, they scoured the hill-side in search of Hammond. As they were peeping here and there among the brush and old logs, he tried to hold his breath and keep his heart still, but in spite of him his breathing seemed to amount to a roar, and the beating of his heart to be like the pounding of a beetle. Once he thought they saw him, and for a moment his heart sunk. He was soon measurably relieved by observing that the Indians seemed to give up the pursuit as hopeless, and directed their course towards the fatal rock.

"Hammond remained in his place of concealment until all was still, and then swam the river, crossing Monocasy Island, and found his way to the fort at Wilkesbarre. There he found his friend Elliott. He had swum the river to the bar on the lower point of the island, and, he thought, all the distance under water, when, rising above the water, he received a shot in the shoulder which seriously disabled him. On reaching the opposite side of the river he providentially found a horse, which he managed to ride, using the bark of a hickory sapling for a bridle. Here Dr. Smith dressed his wound, and the next morning he went down the river with his wife and child, in a canoe managed by a lad, and found sympathy among kind friends at Cattawissa. These two

brave fellows lived long to enjoy their well-earned reputation for good conduct under the most trying circumstances." Pp. 285–287.

In less than two years from the date of the above, this same "brave" Lebbeus Hammond was a party to a still more heroic, if not equally tragic affray. On the morning of the 27th of March, 1780, he went up the river from Wilkesbarre, in pursuit of his horse, and was stealthily captured by two Indians. The same morning four other Indians took Mr. Thomas Bennet and his son, the latter a lad of some thirteen or fourteen years of age, who were plowing in a field not very distant, and who, with their captors, soon joined Hammond and his captors. The retreat of the Indians with their prisoners was rapid. Of the personal sufferings of the latter, from the moment of their capture to the time of their wonderful deliverance, we have not space to speak. For good reasons both Bennet and Hammond were specially obnoxious to the Indians. Of this they were fully aware. They had no doubt that their fate, could they not somehow escape what was intended for them, would be dreadful in the extreme. Indeed, they were given to understand, by the Indians themselves, that it would be so. On the third day of their captivity, being left a few rods behind by the Indians, who were at the moment in pursuit of a deer, they had a little time for consultation. The resolution to "break their bands asunder," or to die in the attempt, was firmly made, though no definite plan of action was, or could be agreed upon. The Indians were successful in their hunt, and soon resumed their jonrney toward Wyalusing, crossing the Meshappen with their prisoners near the close of the day. But the particulars of the catastrophe must be given by the author himself:

"Having crossed the creek, and descended to the place of encampment near the Susquehanna, they built a fire under a shelving rock. While the Indians were seated around the fire, roasting and eating the meat of the deer, the leader of the party entered into conversation with Mr. Hammond. He spoke tolerable English, and seemed particularly free and communicative. He said he had expected to meet a large company of Indians at that place, but he supposed they had encamped further up the river. He then asked him various questions about the war. Would there be peace? Did the white men wish to make peace with the red men? He had been told so. Did he know Lieutenant Boyd? Hammond said he was intimately acquainted with him. In September, Boyd had been sent out with a reconnoitering party by General Sullivan, in Genesee, and had been surrounded by a superior force, taken, and most barbarously tortured. The Indian said he led the party that took Boyd; and he further said, 'Boyd brave man—as good a soldier as ever fought against the red man.' He said they tortured Boyd, cut off his fingers and toes, plucked out his eyes, etc., 'still brave Boyd neither asked for mercy nor uttered a complaint.' Ah! 'brave Boyd' knew very well the character of the Indians.

"He then brought a sword and said, 'There Boyd's sword.' Hammond

took the sword, and discovered the initials of Boyd's name stamped on the blade near the hilt. To the whole tale Hammond listened without expressing the slightest emotion, well knowing the consequences of the least manifestation of the indignation which he felt burning in his bosom.

"When the Indians were ready to lie down, they *pappoosed* the prisoners, (fastened them down with poles laid across them, with an Indian on each end of the poles,) as on the preceding nights; then they drew their blankets over their heads and fell into a sound sleep. One only seemed to be on the watch. About midnight Bennet manifested great uneasiness, and asked to get up. He received for answer, 'Most day—lie down, dog.' He insisted that he was sick and *must* get up. About one o'clock the Indians all got up and released the prisoners, allowing them to get up and walk about. Bennet brought wood and flung it on the fire. In about two hours all the Indians were snoring again, except the old watchman, and he commenced roasting the deer's head, first sticking it in the fire, and then scraping off the meat with his knife and eating it. Finally the old fellow began to nod over his early breakfast. Hammond placed himself by an Indian axe, and Andrew Bennet, the boy, stood by the guns, which were stacked. Both watched the movements of Mr. Bennet, who was poking up the brands. He had on a long great coat, and as he came round near the Indians, took hold of a spontoon or war-spear, which lay by his side, and stepped back with the instrument covered by his coat, holding it in a perpendicular position behind him. When he had reached the right point behind the Indian he plunged it through him. The spontoon was so firmly fixed in the body of the Indian that Bennet was obliged to abandon it, and to use a gun and tomahawk during the rest of the fight. Hammond used the axe, dashing it into the head which was first lifted. The old Indian who had given the account of Boyd's massacre was the first to take the alarm. He yelled out 'Chee-woo! chee-woo!' when Hammond buried the head of the axe in his brains, and he fell headlong into the fire. The next blow took an Indian on the side of his neck, just below the ear, and he fell upon the fire. The boy snapped three guns, not one of which happened to be loaded, but his operations made the Indians dodge and jump straight under Hammond's axe, or the breech of a gun which old Mr. Bennet had clubbed, and with which he did terrible execution. A stout Indian undertook to secure a weapon by a rush upon the boy. He sprang upon him with the fury of a demon, his eyes seeming to blaze, when the brave little fellow swung the breech of a gun, and buried the cock in the top of his head. Just at that moment the only two Indians remaining alive, took to their heels, when Mr. Bennet, who could throw a tomahawk with the precision and force of any red-skin, picked up a tomahawk and let it slip, and it stuck in the back of one of them. The Indian turned round, being at about the distance of forty feet, and hallooed out 'Whoo," and the blanket fell from his shoulders, and the hatchet was left with it on the ground, he running off naked.

"It was an awful struggle, but it was not long. A minute and a half or two minutes, and the work was done. Five of the savages were piled upon or around the fire, and two had fled badly wounded. There was a great contrast between the present appearance of the Indian camp under the rock, and that camp the evening before, when the blood-thirsty savage gloried in the barbarous deed of cutting off Boyd's fingers and toes, and pulling out his eyes; and looked forward to, perhaps, the next night, when he would glut his savage vengeance in a similar manner upon the prisoners who were obliged to listen to the recital without the slighest expression of sympathy for their brave companion and friend. The prisoners were now free, and no time was lost. They supplied themselves with good moccasins from the feet of the dead and dying Indians, and took guns and ammunition for defense, and blankets for their protection from the cold, and fifteen minutes from the moment the last blow was struck they were upon the line of march for their home and friends." Pp. 295–300.

The homeward journey of these self-liberated captives comprehended an amount of suffering that human language cannot describe. Wet, cold, hungry, lacerated, exhausted, they did, nevertheless, reach home on the second day after their escape. That their families and friends were astonished and delighted to see them, it were needless to affirm. It was a sort of life from the dead. But if the reader would see more of this tragic history (and we can hardly suppose otherwise) he must avail himself of Dr. Peck's more ample details.

But though tragedy has a decided preponderance in the historic scenes of Wyoming, the mind is nevertheless occasionally relieved by something in the shape of comedy. Everything, by the unalterable laws of nature, is rendered more striking by contrast; nor does the principle fail here. Amid these scenes of blood and carnage, of deprivation and suffering, enough in themselves to appal and overwhelm the stoutest heart, something will now and then occur before which gravity itself is compelled to retreat. An instance or two will certainly please, even though they should not particularly profit the reader. The author is giving an account of what followed the disastrous battle of July 3, 1778, in which Mrs. Bennet, the wife of the heroic Bennet named above, is seen to act a conspicuous and most honorable part. He says:

"From the history, thus far, it will be seen that Mrs. Bennet was a woman of great spirit, and an unusual amount of physical strength, even for the times. She could stand being robbed by an Indian with a tomahawk in his hand, but she could not endure having her clothing pulled from her person by an Indian *woman.* A filthy squaw undertook forcibly to deprive her of one of her garments, when the spirit of the Yankee woman, even by all the fearful circumstances by which she was surrounded, could not bow down. She drew her clenched hand and gave the old hag a blow in the face which felled her to the ground. The squaw, recovering, grappled the pale-faced woman, but was soon worsted in the struggle. It was an anxious moment with the friends of Mrs. Bennet who were present. Would she be tomahawked on the spot? was the question revolved in every mind. That question was soon settled by a roar of laughter from the Indians, one of them patting her on the back with the complimentary words, "Good squaw." The vanquished old thief then sneaked off wonderfully crestfallen."

The narrative, as given by Mrs. Myers, the daughter of Mrs. Bennet, then proceeds:

"They took our feather-beds, and ripping open the ticks, flung out the feathers, and crammed in their plunder, consisting mostly of fine clothing, and throwing them over their horses, went off. A squaw came riding up with ribbons streaming from her head over the horse's tail. Some of the squaws would have on two or three bonnets, generally backside before. One of them rode off astride mother's side-saddle, that, too, wrong end foremost, and mother's scarlet cloak hanging behind her, being tied at the back of the neck. We could not help laughing at the ridiculous figure she cut, in spite of the deep trouble which then all but overwhelmed us." Pp. 164, 165.

But we must pause. To transcribe what is specially interesting would be to copy the whole book. There is not a single page of it that will not be read with more or less interest. The chapters entitled, "Colonel Matthias Hollenback," "Incidents of Adventure related by Mrs. Martha Myers," "The Captive Girl, Frances Slocum," "The Fratricide," "The Capture and Escape of Jonah Rogers, Moses Van Campen, Peter Pence, and Abram Pike," are replete with rare and most startling details. If the history of our country contains anything more truly remarkable, it has not fallen under our own observation. Either chapter, taken separately, is worth more than the price of the whole book. Nor should we omit to say that the pictorial illustrations, with which the volume abounds, are graphic and life-like. They add materially to the value of the performance.

That the book should contain some minor errors is not wonderful. Indeed, it would be wonderful were it not so. Perfect typographical accuracy is among the most difficult things to be acquired in this imperfect state. The Harpers are, we suppose, if not at the head, at least in the first class of publishers in the United States. But even they blunder sometimes. There are, in the volume before us, instances of defective punctuation which not only obscure the sense of the author, but sometimes almost pervert his meaning. In the next edition, however, for we expect the book will be published for years to come, these little errors can be, doubtless will be corrected.

Nor can we consistently close without calling the attention of the author himself to what strikes us as a very obvious error in one of his allusions to the Sacred Text. Speaking of the return of the Bennets and Hammond to their home in Wyoming, after their marvelous escape from the savages, he says, (p. 302,) "When they saw the last range of hills peering up in the distance, they, like Paul, when he saw the Three Taverns, 'thanked God and took courage.' The error consists in supposing that it was the sight of the 'Three Taverns' that inspired the great apostle with gratitude and courage. It is very true that, physically exhausted as St. Paul possibly was at the time, the prospect of rest and food might have been quite comforting to him. But the sacred historian certainly makes no such statement. He is giving an account of St. Paul's journey to Rome, as a prisoner under Nero, and says: "From thence," that is, from Rome, "when the brethren heard of us they came to meet us, as far as Appii-Forum and the Three Taverns: WHOM, when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage." (Acts xxviii, 15.) Now the simple question is, what is the natural, the proper antecedent of the personal pronoun "whom?" To say that it was either Appii-

Forum, or the Three Taverns, would make sad havoc, not only with the grammatical construction of the language, but the evident meaning of St. Luke. It was the sight of these Christian "brethren," some of whom went out to meet him as far as the Three Taverns, about thirty miles from Rome, and some as far as Appii-Forum, about fifty-one miles, that caused the apostle to thank God and take courage. Thus understood there is great moral beauty in the statement. Paul was full of solicitude. He knew not what was the state of things at Rome. It was a query whether there was anybody there that would in the least sympatise with him. But his doubts were now at an end. Men who would come so far to meet and comfort him, could not be indifferent to his fate. Besides, the very fact that they were "brethren," one with him in Christ, was full of comfort and encouragement. "Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend."

Dr. Peck is a first-rate Biblical scholar, and we have not the least idea he will ever think of vindicating the use he has made of the passage in question. He has not examined it, but has been led astray by popular misconstruction. The text is often quoted to prove that *taverns*, embracing, of course, their exciting refreshments, are very good things. The sight of three of them caused even an holy apostle to thank God and take courage! To decry taverns, therefore, is to disparage St. Paul!

It is, in truth, to correct this popular error, rather than the distinguished author of Wyoming, that these remarks are made. The Doctor himself would, we are quite sure, be among the last to give the least comfort or encouragement to "tavern haunters." Indeed, his allusion is only incidental, and, in itself, could do no great harm. We notice it chiefly because we would not have this popular volume countenance, even by implication, "viciousness of life."

We will only add, that whoever may wish to consult a graphic and reliable history of Wyoming, or whoever may desire to read some of the most exciting, and at the same time profoundly interesting narratives in the English language, will do well to make haste and procure the book of which we here take leave.

Art. VII.—AMERICAN MISSIONS.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

1. "*Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* 1858.
2. "*Thirty-Second Report of the American Home Missionary Society.*" 1858.
3. "*Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Domestic Missions, Old School Presbyterian.*" 1858.
4. "*Twenty-Sixth Report of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society.*" 1858.

Indian missions constitute the first division of our native work. These were noticed in our first article, published in the April number of the Review.

The second department of native, or home work, is that among the English speaking population of our country, consisting of native-born citizens, and of emigrants speaking our language. There is no country in the world where there is as much missionary work of this character as in our own, and the necessity for the faithful performance of it is undoubtedly unmeasured and immeasurable.

The present able missionary secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the Report for 1858, says of these missions: "This class of missions is at present the most valuable of all our missions, in the estimation of many of our most intelligent brethren. They receive a larger support than any other class, and always have. Though, like the domestic virtues, they are but little visible to the public eye, and, of course, too little appreciated and praised, yet they are really among the most noble and fruitful enterprises of the Church."

It is trite, but true, that our political institutions can abide and prosper only in the midst of an intelligent and Christian people. And unless we have greatly overrated the intelligence and virtue of American patriotism, it may be appealed to with the utmost confidence in behalf of this department of American missions. And the Church or missionary organization which will be *American* not in name merely, but truly American in spirit and work, seeking the glory of God and the salvation of souls, first and chiefly on American soil, and among those in whose hands are the present and future political destiny and Christian character of our country, will have the cordial, general and efficient support of the American people. The Christian conscience and political intelligence of our citizens may be relied upon for this result. The history of the Church among us furnishes evidence of the truth of the above position. As we read that history

we find that, just in proportion as the various denominations have been truly American, they have had the sympathy and support of the masses. Hence, perceiving this, we have the frequent appropriation of the name "American," by organizations and institutions bidding for public patronage. Figures, in connection with our benevolent institutions, sustain this view of American preference for home work. During the depression and business stagnation of the past year, the funds of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions decreased nearly *forty thousand* dollars, while the funds of the American Home Missionary Society fell off not quite *four thousand* dollars.

The Baptist foreign missionary funds decreased some *five thousand* dollars, while the funds for the home missions of the same Church increased more than *seven thousand* dollars. We presume that the Methodist Episcopal Church has a stronger hold upon the multitudes in our land than any other, and we believe that one great reason for this is, that she is more American than any any other denomination; that she partakes more of the spirit, and has done more for the benefit of the country in which she had her origin. Her missionary funds have suffered but little during the crisis. She has no separate organization for home work, but appropriates this year, from her general treasury, about one hundred and twenty-six thousand dollars to domestic missions. These figures show that home work has a strong hold upon the hearts of the people.

The importance of this department of missionary labor now under consideration, has been felt by the American Churches generally, and to a considerable extent engaged in. Much has been accomplished and much is being accomplished. But it is a growing work; it increases with an unparalleled rapidity, and keeps the hands of the Churches constantly filled to overflowing. This portion of our population not only multiplies by the natural increase of a young and vigorous nation, but by multitudes from England and Ireland, from which countries nearly all our English-speaking immigrants come. Scarcely a mission is begun in one of our cities and a depth of iniquity explored that does not lead to lower deeps; or, if on our western border, that does not lead directly to another, and still another beyond. It is evident that our Churches are very much behind in this work at present, and we fear that the odds against them is annually increasing, from the rapid growth of our population and extension of our territory, and the diversion of our men and means to distant lands.

Issuing from these open and opening doors are loud and earnest calls upon all our Churches for help; but in many, alas! too many

cases, the cry is unheeded and the door not entered. Our Churches seem to feel themselves justified, like priest and Levite, to pass by on the other side, and hasten away to Jerusalem, or Jericho, leaving their *neighbor* fallen, faint, and dying, without making any provision for him.

About five hundred thousand dollars are annually expended by our American Churches in this department of our missionary work: five hundred thousand more of our missionary money could not be more wisely and advantageously appropriated, or more in accordance with what would be the general judgment of American Christians, if home missions were as prominently presented to them as our foreign missions are.

The *justification* so often urged in this connection, that the people are within the reach of the Gospel, is not true; and if it were it would not be a sufficient justification. The Gospel is not placed within the reach of these masses in our cities, and wanderers along our borders, for whom we plead. And if so, the Spirit of the Gospel is, and the necessity of the case is, "Compel them to come in." They have positive claims upon us that have not been met. And it is not their personal salvation only that is jeopardized by this neglect; they are enemies within one of the principal strongholds of Christianity; they are in a position greatly to weaken her forces and cripple her efficiency. We conceive it to be of the first importance to the world that a pure and powerful Christianity be maintained in America. If American Churches were to do nothing more than this, they would contribute as much toward the conversion of the world to Christianity as all other Christian nations are now capable of doing. And if they do not this, their foreign efforts will be but pepper-corn contributions. We must do our own work at home well. God in his providence has called us to lay the foundations of a great Christian empire, and we must see to it that the superstructure rest not on "wood, hay, stubble," but upon "gold, silver, and precious stones."

In this department of the Church's labor the great centers of population, our cities, demand particular attention. Most denominations have their city missionaries, visitors, and tract distributors. And the reports furnished from these scenes and sinks of sin are unsurpassed in appalling features by any from heathen lands. There is no iniquity deeper and deadlier, or half so dangerous to world-wide Gospel triumph as that found in our great cities, under the shadow of our church steeples. Indeed, only under their shadow, and in the midst of Christian civilization, can evil grow so virulent in nature, and to such giant proportions. It is folly, we repeat, to reply, that

being under the shadow of our church steeples they could, if they would, avail themselves of Gospel privileges. They will not, they cannot. It is not expected that they will; it is not designed that they should. They are just as effectually excluded as if they dwelt amid rocks and valleys where the sound of the church-going-bell is never heard. No metaphysical disquisitions on ability, moral or physical, will avail to throw off from the Church the responsibility to provide for such. These centers of population and wickedness are also centers of influence. Great cities are all powerful in civil matters. Our national and Christian character and influence have been greatly impaired already from these sources, and the danger is constantly and fearfully increasing.

We cannot enter in detail upon the moral condition of our cities; it would lead us far beyond the limits we have prescribed to ourselves. We will adduce for the whole subject an extract from a leader in the Christian Advocate and Journal, August 27, 1857:

"New-York, what can we say of it? What but assert that its papal masses, festering amid our suburbs, are chargeable with much of its demoralization, and afford ready instruments for our native public villains. It is said there are one hundred and ninety-two churches in this city, which can accommodate one hundred and forty-two thousand sitters, while five hundred thousand, or four fifths of our whole population cannot attend church, if they would, for want of seats. One of our most respectable papers, the New-York Courier and Inquirer, in a leader commenting upon the state of affairs in California, makes the following remarks upon the condition of New-York: 'Our city is in a similar degree cursed with characters who neither fear God nor regard man. The assassinations, and murders, and assaults, and burglaries, and robberies, which are every day and night occurring, as our police reports testify, and the flagrant frauds which are practised at every popular election, admonish us that we have the same identical class in our midst that at last drove the people of San Francisco to such desperation. Our ministers of the law, too, have been lax. Crime of the most aggravated type daily escapes detection and punishment. This is a matter of indignant complaint among all respectable people. The feeling has become general that our executive officers, our police, and our prosecuting attorneys, and our justices, have been shamefully delinquent in the discharge of their duties, and thus all the regular machinery of justice has sunk into discredit. Such a loss of confidence is in itself a great public calamity. It must be arrested or its ultimate result will be fearful.'"

The statistics in this extract show the falsity of the plea that home is provided for, and hence we are at liberty to go abroad. In the great metropolis of our country the Christian Churches have made provision but for *one-fifth* of the population to hear the Gospel. And it is from amid such destitution that the largest contributions are made for distant lands. The extract also furnishes a dark picture of evils existing and dangers threatened—dangers which will inevitably ensue if the evils are not cured. And it is certain that the Christian religion is the only cure for the evils; and

not to furnish the appliances, and bring its influence to bear upon these "festering masses," is to jeopardise the existence of Church and State. How the Church can sleep upon the heaving bosom of such an earthquake of moral corruption, and fancy herself secure, and dream of doing duty and glorifying God by foreign conquests, is unaccountable. The character and condition of New-York is but a sample of our other large cities. And what is being done for New-York? And what is being done for our many cities, from Portland to New-Orleans, along our coast, and the hundreds on our river courses? We must confess that comparatively nothing is being done. Our few feeble city missions are almost a reproach to the wisdom and piety of the Church, when compared with the overspreading iniquity which they are to assuage. Not a single Church is sufficiently engaged in city work to justify her from the charge of permitting souls to perish at her very door, without an effort to save them. And there are many surrounded, overwhelmed, and borne down amid these corrupt masses in our cities, who are groaning to be delivered; who are watching for the dawnings of hope, more than they that watch for the morning. They are the poor, "the poor whose destruction is their poverty." Hundreds and thousands of these are not hardened in sin and hopelessly polluted, but are approachable and teachable, waiting for words of kindness and messages of mercy, who would if they could, and could if the Church would do her duty toward them, wait upon the Lord in the ordinances of religion, and become good Christians and good citizens. But for even a tithe of these she has not made provision.

In this department of American Missions we include Irish Roman Catholics. This portion of our community demands the special attention of American Christians. They are here in vast numbers, and are constantly increasing. There is no class of immigrants whose influence is so great, and brought to bear so immediately and directly upon our political and religious institutions. And just so far as it is Roman, and it is a unit, it is anti-American, anti-Protestant, and anti-Christian. This conclusion has been logically and practically demonstrated, written with ink and written with blood. Hence it is the paramount duty of every American Protestant Christian to seek the destruction of Romanism on American soil. While as strangers and foreigners they should be received and treated kindly, they must be Americanized and Christianized, or they will remain, as all other Romanists, an element adverse to our national and religious prosperity.

It is true, alarmingly so to the Romish priesthood, that the gen-

eral influence of Protestantism, and the genius of our political institutions, have a powerful tendency to turn them aside from the superstition and slavery of Holy Mother; but these are not sufficient to make good Christians and good citizens of them. They must be brought under the direct influence of Scripture teaching to do this, which can be done only by American Churches devising and executing missionary labor for their special benefit.

But what are the American Churches doing for this vast population in our midst, which, including all its members, others as well as Irish, is estimated by Thomas Darcy M'Gee, in an appendix to a "History of the Irish Settlers in America," published in 1852, to be "nearer four than three millions." It is impossible to reach accurate conclusions on this point; the statistics given in their own publications are very imperfect; but we presume that the nominal Romish population, at the present time, in the United States and territories, cannot be less than *four millions*. Presiding over these four millions of foreigners, politically so to a very great extent, and entirely so religiously, there are about two thousand archbishops, bishops, mitred abbots, secular and regular clergy, whose will is supreme and government absolute. A glance at the list of the names of these Church dignitaries will tell the tale of their nativity and affinities. They run from Daly to Duffy, from Fagan to Flynn, from M'Alier to M'Swiggan, and from O'Beirne to O'Reilly, by scores and hundreds. They have also their convents, colleges, academies, seminaries, free schools, and asylums in large numbers, and are a well-organized and powerful element of opposition; for we reiterate that Romanism is an enemy to our institutions, civil and religious.

Now what are we doing as Churches to reach this vast population? We have one lone star in this section of our dark sky. The "American and Foreign Christian Union." Its object is noble, Protestant, and patriotic. But it is a little one, and a feeble one among "the thousands of Judah." This "Christian Union" is constitutionally set for the defense of pure religion; of religious liberty; of our public school system; of the proper tenure of Church property, and the protection of American citizens in their religious rites when abroad; all of which interests are endangered by Romanists here and everywhere. To name these objects shows the danger of Romanism and the importance of this society, and the strong claims it has upon American Christians. This society employs only about one hundred missionaries to reach the entire body of Romanists in the United States and territories. We sometimes, in order to make impressions in favor of foreign missions,

adduce figures to show the destitution. In this case we have surrounding us a community with one missionary to every forty thousand souls. We are aware that something more is done incidentally by the various Churches to reach this portion of our fellow citizens, yet how little compared with the extent of the field and the interests involved.

But it is the Irish Romanists as speaking the English language, who come directly into this department of the missionary work. These constitute the great bulk of English speaking Romanists in our country. And where are our Irish missions in America? Of the one hundred missionaries employed by the "American and Foreign Christian Union," not more than fifty of them labor with and for the Irish. How strangely inconsistent is this apathy for Ireland at home, with the efforts so lately made in our Churches for Ireland abroad. It is, however, consistent, we fear, with our general missionary operations. "Distance lends enchantment to the view." Or, according to the Irish proverb, "Hills look green far off."

The difficulties in the way of access to Irish Romanists here, is urged as an excuse for doing nothing. But surely it cannot be greater in the United States than on their own green isle, and we hesitate not to give our money to reach them there. What a pity there should be such a lack of faith and interest in the home work! Let the American Churches make an honest and earnest effort to reach the adopted Irishman before they conclude his case as hopeless. The Irishman is not so unapproachable as many suppose. He is warm-hearted, susceptible, and generous by nature. Impulsive and excitable, it is true, but let us excite him and move his impulses toward the good and beautiful. We believe there are more open avenues to the Irishman's heart than to those which beat in the bosoms of other nations. We ought at this moment to have in every city of our land missions to the Irish. The kindness and good-will of Christianity should be exhibited to them in contrast with the hard-hearted simony of Romanism. Religious offices should be performed for them without money. If Protestant missionaries would be as diligent in their efforts as the Romish priests are, we should number our converts from among the Irish Romanists by scores and hundreds. And their misery surely appeals to us most piteously—their squalid poverty, dirty, destitute, ragged, hungry, oppressed condition, crowded into damp cellars and stifling garrets; ignorant, intemperate, beaten, bruised, and wretched, morally and physically. No poor are so poor as the Irish poor, and there are more of them in proportion to their whole number than of any other

people; and they are what they are in these respects, generally, because they are Romanists. Why do we not take pity on them, and rise up to help them? This part of our home field calls loudly for attention.

We are not alarmists. While we look at Romanism striding over our land in all its colossal proportions, we are not terrified by it. And knowing, as we have had opportunity to know, its degrading tendency, tenacious as it is of supremacy in the State, and patient and persevering in pursuing its object, yet we do not despair either of our country or religion. We do not believe that Romanism will ever be supreme in this country, yet she may and will give us trouble if we are not watchful and diligent in duty. And it devolves upon the *Churches* to fight with this foe the political as well as religious battle. The State will not do it, because the State is under the control of politicians and not statesmen. Politicians are not patriots. They seek personal ends, and cannot afford to defer present advantages for future good. And as Romanism is available for present party purposes, politicians pay their court to priest and prelate. Even our federal officers, civil and military, have led in public escorts and honors to the representatives of the pope of Rome. And the spiritual conflict must surely be fought by the Protestant Church, and we think present indications point out our own soil as the battle-ground with this "Man of Sin." It is a grand theater for the contest—free for the marshaling of the forces of truth and error—affording an equality of protection for the combatants which could be enjoyed nowhere else. Rome is moving forward to her fate, concentrating her strength, choosing her positions, perfecting her appointments, training her foreign bands, but concealing her movements, crying Peace, peace, while preparing for vigorous war. Amid all this preparation in front and rear for their extermination, the American Protestant Churches are slumbering; doing comparatively nothing, as we have shown, for offense or protection. Is this wise? Should we permit all this hostile preparation to go forward unmolested? We fear the price of our present ease will be many a hard-fought battle.

There is another department in this general division that deserves a passing notice, consisting of our African population, free and slave. There are in the United States, at the present, about five hundred thousand free colored persons; and slaves in the southern states numbering more than three millions, a grand total of near *four millions.* Here is another extensive field for home missionary enterprise for the American Churches, and among a class whose claims upon us will not be disputed. Persons whose ancestors were torn

from their native land, and enslaved in this, by our fathers; or left free to wander among us, with the mark of outcasts upon their forehead.

For the five hundred thousand free negroes there is nothing directly done or attempted by the American Churches worth naming. They are left to themselves to manage as they may to secure Christian instruction and Church privileges. And to provide these, in their poverty and under all their disadvantages, is an impossibility. The two organizations upon which this population is principally dependent for the means of grace, are the "African Methodist Episcopal Church," and the "Zion Methodist Church," having in all some two hundred and fifty ministers, *such as they are.* To sustain these enterprises, we presume we are perfectly safe in saying that the whole American Church does not contribute five thousand dollars per annum. So far as we have been able to learn, there is not one efficient white missionary consecrated to the service of these five hundred thousand human souls! We do find these two brief notices of a little being done for the colored race. In the last Annual Report of the Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions there is this sentence: "Seven of our missionaries have labored chiefly among the colored people." And in the Report of the American Home Missionary Society it is said: "Eleven missionaries have been commissioned as pastors, or stated supplies of churches of colored people." But whether these missionaries were white or black is not stated; or whether their labors were among the free or slave population. Wherever bestowed, it is a small contribution for Churches so numerous and wealthy as those represented by these societies.

And for the millions of our slaves how little is done. The Southern Methodists and Baptists are about the only laborers in this vast field. The former reports about one hundred and fifty thousand of the colored people in Church membership. But these Churches certainly do not reach one tenth of the slave population. Perhaps all the efforts of the American Churches combined may reach that proportion of the bondsmen of the South, while the *nine tenths* are left to perish in heathenish ignorance on our own shores, or at least without any efficient help from the Church of Christ. There are difficulties in the way of reaching the slave population, we know; but we also know that the American Churches have never set themseves to the task of overcoming these difficulties. Slavery as it exists in these United States is not only a political reproach, but an accuser also of the American Churches before the whole world. And what can they answer? It is very certain that if they had

been faithful, the condition of the colored man would have been greatly ameliorated from what it now is, temporally and spiritually; salvation would have come to thousands who have gone down to their graves without hope. And with all the existing difficulties there are now hundreds of thousands who might be reached by prudent, zealous Christian efforts, and saved from the wrath to come. But the wronged black man, as well as the wronged red man, is left to perish by our American missionary societies.

But we must close our remarks upon the first general division of American missions, under which we have included, first, Indian missions, noticed in our previous article, and, secondly, the destitute English speaking population, as found in our cities, the Irish Romanists, and the free and enslaved negroes, treated in this paper. The aggregate number of the destitute English speaking population dependent upon the American Churches for the bread of life, is not less than *eight millions* of souls! Here is a missionary field of vast magnitude at our very doors, white unto the harvest, inviting us to thrust in our sickle and reap.

But missions in America include *foreign* as well as native work, and we will hastily glance at this field of toil as spread out before the American Churches. For the sake of distinction we designate as foreign the missions to those populations in our country that speak other languages than our own. Here is a work of great extent and variety, accessible only to American Christians.

By the last census, now nearly ten years ago, it was ascertained that the number of foreigners by *birth*, then in the United States and territories, was nearly *two and a quarter millions;* from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Mexico, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, Norway, Portugal, West Indies, South America, Wales, and China, and still others, speaking not less than twenty different languages. The stream of immigration has continued to flow hither ever since, and the number now is undoubtedly much larger than at that time. About one dozen of these languages are spoken by populations sufficiently large to demand missionary service in their own tongue. We do not think that this babel of tongues should be perpetuated in our country. The provisions by Church or State, in schools or religious privileges, should not be such as to prolong their continuance beyond present emergencies; but simply to welcome these strangers and foreigners to our shores, and instruct them in American ideas, spirit, and language. A common language is one of the strongest bonds of national union. No man can be Americanized until he acquires the American language. In our own language are found

our own ideas, and *esprit de corps.* These cannot be translated, they cannot be expressed in a foreign tongue. Most profoundly have we been impressed with this when listening to attempted American legislation in another language.

But while we must not, as American Christians, make provision to perpetuate foreign languages among us, we need at once the use of one dozen languages to reach and bless the thousands who are flocking to our shores. From the statistics we have, it is perfectly safe to estimate the number at the present time in our country who cannot speak our language, at *one million and a half,* who are accessible only through a foreign tongue. Among those who are here in numbers sufficiently large to demand numerous missionary laborers, are the Swedes, 20,000; Welsh, 30,000; Swiss, 15,000; Norwegians, 75,000; Chinese, 10,000, principally in California; French, including Louisiana, not less than 100,000, who cannot speak the English language; the Germans, including Germans proper, and the Prussians, Austrians, etc., not less than 1,000,000; and Spanish, including our Mexican territory, not less than 100,000. And besides these there are a number of smaller communities, yet not so small as to justify neglect by the Church. No argument is necessary to urge the importance of giving attention to these communities. The fact that they are among us as foreigners, to be politically educated, should enlist patriotism in their behalf; and the fact that they are, as a mass, antichristian, varying from downright Atheism to Romish superstition, is enough to enlist the Christian in their behalf. Add to these facts, that they are here to abide, a million and a half of them, to affect all our social, political, and religious interests, and there is sufficient to stir the whole community, from center to circumference, to engage in this mission of patriotism and Christianity; for it is both. There is no way for patriotism to do its work so speedily and so effectually as to bring these masses under the direct influence of Protestant Christianity. We presume that no American, except he be a Romanist, will deny this.

Now to what extent are the American Churches cultivating this field? Let us inquire in connection with the three principal communities, consisting of the French, German, and Spanish, numbering in the aggregate some 1,200,000. The French are a large foreign community, and have precedence in age. By the annexation of Southern territory, they early became a constituent element of American Society. Though American citizens for generations, a large proportion of these Frenchmen have never been Americanized; they are still French in their social habits, domestic institutions, municipal regulations, and religious observances. They are a for-

eign element still, incorporated with, but not conformed to, American Society. This fact is patent in the city of New-Orleans. A part of that old city is still French, recognized and spoken of as French, while another portion is recognized as American.

Here we have a convincing illustration of the inefficiency of our political institutions to Americanize foreigners, and a proof that Protestant Christianity is necessary to do the work; for wherever these Frenchmen have become Protestants they have also become American in spirit and manner. The increase of the American portion of the city of New-Orleans is in about the same ratio with that of Protestantism. There is another fact in this connection deserving attention, especially in view of the prospective extensive annexations of territory. It is this, that the immigrant Frenchman is more readily Americanized than the native-born; those who leave their country, than those who are annexed with their country. And there are reasons for this; the one leaves his home, severs its associations voluntarily, and chooses a new one, and prepares himself for new customs and new associations; while the other remains at home, unchanged in everything except his general political relations. This is one great reason, no doubt, why the French of Louisiana remain French to this day. This result, we think, will be found a general one. And the immigrant will be speedily amalgamated and Americanized, in proportion as he is *isolated* from former associations, and brought under the influence of the Protestant religion. Hence the incompatibility of immigrants settling in large communities in our country, bringing with them and establishing their native domestic and social institutions. All such immigration schemes should be discouraged. We want no New-Germany, Normandy, nor Switzer mountain homes in our country. We want Americans in America.

But we have been led aside from our main point, which is Christian missions among the French. There are some *sixty thousand* European and Canadian Frenchmen in the United States. Many of these are along our northern border, and in our eastern cities, while our native French population is in the South. For this large community the American Churches have not provided, as far as we can learn, one dozen missionaries. The "American and Foreign Christian Union" is doing, or attempting, a little in the North; and the Methodist Episcopal Church reports two French missions! The "American Home Missionary Society" reports none! "The Board of Domestic Missions of the Presbyterian Church" (Old School) reports none! The "American Baptist Home Missionary Society" reports none! And yet, in the face of all this

neglect of Frenchmen in America, the American Churches are anxious to establish missions in France.

The next foreign community to which we call attention is the German. In 1850 there were nearly six hundred thousand of this class, of foreign birth, in the United States. At present there must be *one million* of immigrants and native born Germans, who must be approached chiefly through their native tongue. This is our largest foreign element; a stubborn element to mold, and in many of its features directly antagonistic to American institutions. A large portion of it is politically red republican, whose liberty is license; and religiously it casts off all restraint, and neither fears God nor regards man. The honest industry of the German immigrant has been much lauded by us, and frequently contrasted with the idle vagabondism of the Irish; they have been hailed with many welcomes to our uncultivated lands: this may have been well; but we believe there is not at present a more dangerous element in our midst than the German. It is large and powerful, and impatient of restraint.

It demands, and we are glad to add, receives more attention from the American Churches than any other of our foreign populations. There are some denomiations confined almost exclusively to this class of our citizens, native and foreign. Such are the Lutheran and German Reformed denominations. These, however, are national Churches, brought with the immigrants from their fatherland.

With the above exceptions, if they be exceptions, the Methodist Episcopal Church seems to be the only Church duly impressed with the importance of this missionary field. And we are inexpressibly glad that we can call attention to one Church whose efforts merit commendation. Discouraging as has been our survey of American missions thus far, it is an oasis in the desert to find at least one earnest, hopeful, American Christian effort. The Methodist Episcopal Church has done, and is now doing nobly for this and some other portions of our foreign population. May she increase in this *very* good work a hundred fold! And we will not conceal that one great object had in view by these articles is, to call her to arise and give herself anew, and put on all her strength, and enter the American mission field as the champion for her God and country. In the last report of the missionary society of this Church, we find she has engaged in the German missionary work *two hundred and forty-five* missionaries, and *one hundred and seventy* assistants; having under their care about 16,000 Church members; 307 schools, containing 11,362 scholars. These statistics are cheering. Yet when we recollect that they are to be compared with a population of a

million of souls, and amount to a full half of all that is being done for this vast multitude by the entire American Christian Church, there is no cause for general commendation. The praise is alone due to the denomination whose work it is.

The annual report, in speaking of the mission, says: "This work has spread among the Germans until there are now fifteen presiding elder districts under the care of the several annual conferences, and extending from Baltimore, on the Atlantic, through Philadelphia, New-York, and Boston, to Wisconsin in the northwest, and through Missouri to the confines of Texas in the southwest. These districts are divided into circuits and stations, and are under the pastoral care of two hundred and forty native German ministers, who preach to them in the German language."

The same Church reports well, comparatively, for the Scandinavian races in our country, including the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes, numbering ninety-eight thousand. The report states, concerning this mission: "It has been but a few years, very few, since this work commenced, ... and now it is expanded into two districts, beside the two efficient missions, one in the New-York Conference, and one in the Erie, on the shore of the lake. These missions give promise of much and precious fruit." The aggregate of the statistics is, *thirty missionaries, thirteen assistants, nine hundred and twenty Church members, nine schools, and two hundred and eleven scholars.* Among the Welsh also, the same Church has eleven missionaries and eleven assistants, and four hundred and fifty-two members; eleven schools and two hundred and twenty-five scholars.

From the last Report of the Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions, (Old School,) we quote the following: "In this connection we state that we have continued to employ a number of missionaries among our foreign population. *One* has labored among the French, *two* among the Welsh, and *eighteen* among the Germans." This is the sum total claimed in the report, by this large and wealthy Church, as being done for our foreign population, swarming around us by tens of thousands. We hope that Church is doing more than is here shown. The "American Home Missionary Society," composed of New School Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Reformed Dutch, etc., report for 1858, that they have *forty-one* missionaries who have preached in foreign languages, as follows: Twenty to *Welsh,* nineteen to *German* congregations, and two to congregations of *Norwegians* and *Frenchmen.*" And this is the sum of the reported effort in behalf of our foreign population by these large, and numerous, and wealthy American Christian Churches! How are souls and our

country to be saved and preserved, if such Churches thus slumber on their watch towers!

The twenty-sixth "Annual Report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society," for the year 1858, states that "*twenty* of their missionaries have preached in foreign languages, and *eighteen* of them were natives of foreign lands." But there are no particulars given, to enable us to say how these labors were distributed among the several foreign populations.

We can glance at but one other department in this foreign field of American missions, namely, the *Spanish*. Here is a department of missionary work for the Churches, toward which we look with more than ordinary interest as Americans and Protestants. We have among us, of foreign birth, speaking the Spanish language, about thirty-thousand, from Spain, South America, the West Indies, and Mexico. Added to these we have annexed in New-Mexico between sixty and seventy thousand, giving us a Spanish population, at the present time, of at least one hundred thousand, which can be approached successfully only through the Spanish language. The bulk of this population has come to us with its soil. And the remarks on this subject, in connection with the French, have still greater force when applied to the Mexican. Transferred to us, surrounded by such circumstances as they are surrounded with, it is exceedingly difficult to Americanize and Christianize them. These people come to us deplorably ignorant and debased, having been subjugated for generations and centuries to despotism, civil and ecclesiastical, until they patiently and stupidly crouch beneath their burdens. When annexed to the United States they are released from their political servitude, but the greater tyranny, that of the Romish priesthood, is left in full force, unmolested, nay, encouraged by our government officials.

The process of emancipating, regenerating, and elevating this population to a position of respectable and safe citizenship will be a difficult one. With well directed and diligent labor, generations must pass away before it can be accomplished. Everything is to be done for them, and the American Churches must do it. In our foreign populations, let it be remembered, is the stronghold of Romanism; her position is strong with the immigrants who speak our tongue; it is doubly strong with those who speak a foreign tongue; it is quadrupled in the case of those annexed to us, dwelling still upon their own soil, speaking their own language, surrounded by petrified forms of society, Romanized for centuries, and bringing with them all the established institutions for perpetuating their bondage and blindness.

And every *future accession of territory must be of this stamp*, and will directly strengthen and establish Romanism in our government. And, as already stated, politicians will never molest Romish superstition; this is the work of the Churches. The addition of Romish territory, in our judgment, is quite as important a consideration to our countrymen, as whether it will be a *slave territory.* It unquestionably will be slave territory, if Romish territory, and slavery of the worst and most dangerous form to our government. Will our Christians, will our citizens look at this subject?

The work of annexation will go on. It is "manifest destiny." A revolution has commenced that can never stand still or go backward. Acquisitions will not only be made as they have been in the past, they will be accelerated. Every addition of territory increases the attractive power of the magnet, and they will come thicker and faster, while there remains a foot to be added. Provinces are now standing on the threshold of the door of the American Union, about to knock for admission; and revolution is doing its work all through Mexico, preparing other provinces to tread closely in their footsteps. *And we can only add ignorance, superstition, and idolatry; heathenism and Romanism.*

Now what are the American Churches doing in this field, either to meet the exigencies of the present, or the political certainties of the future? NOTHING! They have been entirely unprepared for the accessions of the past, and are asleep as to the importance of the future. The American government has already far outstripped, with its political ameliorations, the American Churches with their religious instructions. These are now far behind in their territorial work. Our prairies and our plains, our mountain tops and our grassy glens, the long line of our river banks, and our spreading lake shores, are yet many of them moral deserts; many of them are seats of superstition and haunts of heathenism, notwithstanding our hundreds of western missionaries. But in this particular department, in behalf of the Spanish population, we repeat, we are doing *nothing*, present or prospectively. What Church can point to its missionary, a single missionary, for the thirty thousand foreigners speaking the Spanish language? What Church can point to its missionary among the sixty thousand or seventy thousand Mexicans in our annexed territory! Ah, there is one Church that has a poor little sickly mission in New-Mexico; and another Church, and still another Church, that made feeble efforts to reach that portion of our fellow citizens. But these efforts were so feeble and so soon abandoned, that they served only to excite hopes to be cut off. The Churches should have their missionaries in that country. We need

not large and expensive establishments to dazzle to blindness, but we do need and ought to have a few patient, persevering, wise Christian ministers scattered over the territory of New-Mexico, and along the banks of the Rio Grande, sapping, and mining, and blasting for the overthrow of Romanism and the Americanization of the Mexicans.

Where are the Churches making preparations for the future additions from Mexico, from Central America and the West India Islands? Is the American Church ready for her part of the work of our country's world mission? Where are our missionary institutes, an immediate need of the Church, in which our young men can acquire the modern languages to fit them for the vast foreign fields of American missions? The miraculous gift of tongues is almost as necessary to prepare the American Church for her circumstances, as it was for the apostles on the day of Pentecost? And we might almost suppose that the Church was waiting for such a miraculous dispensation.

In obedience to the providence of God, we ought to apply ourselves to the work before us. In view of the signs of the times indicating future enlargement, we ought to lay our plans commensurate with the probabilities of the case, lest God take away our heritage from us. Whatever may be the result of the American government, whether it will hold together or not, under the expansion anticipated, Christianity, pushing its conquest coequal with it, and under it, is designed to fill the whole earth. It is no longer dependent upon civil government. Its conquests hereafter will be maintained May its triumph and establishment in the western world be accomplished by the American Churches!

Art. VIII.—THE OLDEST OPPOSITION TO CHRISTIANITY, AND ITS DEFENSE.

The Evidences of Christianity, as exhibited in the Writings of its Apologists down to Augustine. Hulsean Prize Essay. By W. J. Bolton, Professor at Cambridge. Reprinted at Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854.

The work of Professor Bolton, though not characterized either by eminent learning or ability, gives a tolerably complete view, more so than any other book in the English language, of the literary conflict of Christianity with its earliest opponents, and the rise of apologetic literature. This conflict is one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in the history of the ante-Nicene and Nicene age. It shows that most of the objections of modern infidelity against Christianity have been anticipated by a Celsus, Lucian, Porphyry,

and others, in the second and third centuries, and ably and successfully refuted by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, and other apologists of that age. Its faithful exhibition, therefore, is well calculated to destroy confidence in infidelity, and to strengthen faith in the inherent eternal truth of our holy religion.

Without any further reference to Bolton, and pursuing a very different plan, we shall present first the various kinds of attack made upon Christianity in the first three centuries, and then trace the origin and principal arguments of apologetic divinity, or the scientific defense of the Christian religion.

I. OPPOSITION TO CHRISTIANITY.

1. JEWISH OPPOSITION.

When Christianity first made its appearance in the world it found as little favor with the representatives of literature and art as with emperors, princes, and statesmen. In this point of view, also, it was not of the world, and was compelled to force its way through the greatest difficulties; yet it proved at last the mother of an intellectual and moral culture far in advance of the Græco-Roman, capable of endless progress, and full of the vigor of perpetual youth.

The hostility of the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees to the Gospel is familiar from the New Testament. Josephus mentions Jesus once in his Archæology, but in terms so favorable as to agree ill with his Jewish position, and thus to be, at least in their present form, open to critical suspicion. The attacks of the later Jews upon Christianity are essentially mere repetitions of those recorded in the Gospels; denial of the Messiahship of Jesus, and horrible vituperation of his confessors. We learn their character best from the Dialogue of Justin with the Jew Trypho. The *ἀντιλογία Παπίσκου καὶ Ἰάσωνος*, which has been once unjustly attributed to the Jewish Christian, Aristo of Pella, is lost.

2. TACITUS AND PLINY.

The Græco-Roman writers of the first century, and some of the second, as Seneca, the elder Pliny, and even the mild and noble Plutarch, either from ignorance or contempt, never allude to Christianity at all. Tacitus and the younger Pliny, cotemporaries and friends of the Emperor Trajan, are the first to notice it; and they speak of it only incidentally, and with stoical disdain and antipathy, as an "*exitiabilis superstitio*," "*prava et immodica superstitio*," "*inflexibilis obstinatio*." These celebrated, and in their way altogether estimable Roman authors thus, from manifest ignorance, saw in the Christians nothing but superstitious fanatics, and put

them on a level with the hated Jews; Tacitus, in fact, reproaching them also with the "*odium generis humani.*" This will afford some idea of the immense obstacles which the new religion encountered in public opinion, especially in the cultivated circles of the Roman empire. The Christian apologies of the second century also show that the most malicious and gratuitous slanders against the Christians were circulated among the common people, even charges of incest and cannibalism,* which may have arisen in part from a misapprehension of the intimate brotherly love of the Christians, and their nightly celebration of the holy supper.

3. CELSUS.

The direct assault upon Christianity, by works devoted to the purpose, began about the middle of the second century, and was very ably conducted by a Grecian philosopher, Celsus, otherwise unknown; according to Origen, an Epicurean, and a friend of Lucian.

Celsus, with all his affected or real contempt for the new religion, considered it important enough to be opposed by an extended work, entitled, "A True Discourse," of which Origen has preserved considerable fragments in his refutation. These represent their author as an eclectic philosopher of varied culture, skilled in dialectics, and somewhat read in the writings of the apostles, and even in the Old Testament. He speaks now in the frivolous style of an Epicurean, now in the earnest and dignified tone of a Platonist. At one time he advocates the popular heathen religion, as, for instance, its doctrine of demons; at another time he rises above the polytheistic notions to a pantheistic or skeptical view. He employs all the aids which the culture of his age afforded, all the weapons of learning, common-sense, wit, sarcasm, and dramatic animation of style, to disprove Christianity; and he anticipates most of the arguments and sophisms of the deists and naturalists of later times. Still his book is, on the whole, a very superficial, loose, and light-minded work, and gives striking proof of the inability of the natural reason to understand the Christian truth. It has no savor of humility, no sense of the corruption of human nature and man's need of redemption; and it could, therefore, not in the slightest degree appreciate the glory of the Redeemer and of his work.

Celsus first introduces a Jew, who accuses the mother of Jesus of adultery with a soldier named Panthera,† adduces the denial of

* Οἰδιπόδειοι μίξεις, incesti concubitus; and θυεστεῖα δεῖπνα, Thyesteæ epulæ.

† Πάνθηρ, *panthera*, here, and in the Talmud, where Jesus is likewise called יֵשׁוּ בֶן פַּנְדִּירָא, is used, like the Latin *lupa*, as a type of ravenous lust, hence as a symbolical name for μοιχεῖα.

Peter, the treachery of Judas, and the death of Jesus, as contradictions of his pretended divinity, and makes the resurrection an imposture. Then Celsus himself begins the attack, and begins it by combating the whole idea of the supernatural, which forms the common foundation of Judaism and Christianity. The controversy between Jews and Christians appears to him as foolish as the strife about the shadow of an ass. The Jews believed, as well as the Christians, in the prophecies of a Redeemer of the world, and thus differed from them only in that they still expected the Messiah's coming. But then, to what purpose should God come down to earth at all, or send another down? He knows beforehand what is going on among men. And such a descent involves a change, a transition from the good to the evil, from the lovely to the hateful, from the happy to the miserable, which is undesirable, and indeed impossible for the Divine nature. In another place he says, God troubles himself no more about men than about monkeys and flies. Celsus thus denies the whole idea of revelation, now in pantheistic style, now in the levity of Epicurean deism; and thereby, at the same time, abandons the ground of the popular heathen religion. In his view Christianity has no rational foundation at all, but is supported by the imaginary terrors of future punishment. Particularly offensive to him are the promises of the Gospel to the poor and miserable, and the doctrines of forgiveness of sins and regeneration, and of the resurrection of the body. This last he scoffingly calls a hope of worms, but not of rational souls. The appeal to the omnipotence of God he thinks does not help the matter, because God can do nothing improper and unnatural. He reproaches the Christians with ignorance, obstinacy, agitation, innovation, division, and sectarianism, which they inherit mostly from their fathers, the Jews. They are all uncultivated, mean, superstitious people—mechanics, slaves, women, and children. The great mass of them he regarded as unquestionably deceived. But where there are deceived, there must be also deceivers; and this leads us to the last result of this polemical sophistry. Celsus declared the first disciples of Jesus to be deceivers of the worst kind, a band of sorcerers, who fabricated and circulated the miraculous stories of the Gospels, particularly that of the resurrection of Jesus, but betrayed themselves by contradictions. The originator of the imposture, however, is Jesus himself, who learned the magical art in Egypt, and afterward made a great noise with it in his native country. But here this philosophical and critical sophistry virtually acknowledges its bankruptcy. The hypothesis of deception is the very last one to offer in explanation of a phenomenon so important as Christianity

was, even in that day. The greater and more permanent the deception, the more mysterious and unaccountable it must appear to reason.

4. LUCIAN.

About the same period the rhetorician Lucian, (born at Samosata, in Syria, about 130, died in Egypt or Greece about 200,) the Voltaire of Grecian literature, attacked the Christian religion with the same light weapons of wit and ridicule with which, in his numerous elegantly written works, he assailed the old popular faith and worship, the mystic fanaticism imported from the East, the low vulgar life of the Stoics and Cynics of that day, and most of the existing manners and customs of the distracted period of the empire. An Epicurean worldling and infidel, as he was, could see in Christianity only one of the many vagaries and follies of mankind; in the miracles only jugglery; in the belief of immortality an empty dream; and in the contempt of death and the brotherly love of the Christians, to which he was constrained to testify, a silly enthusiasm.

Thus he represents the matter in a historical romance on the life and death of Peregrinus Proteus, a cotemporary Cynic philosopher, whom he makes the basis of his satire upon Christianity, and especially upon Cynicism. Peregrinus is here presented as a perfectly contemptible man, who after the commonest and grossest crimes, adultery, sodomy, and parricide, joins the credulous Christians in Palestine, cunningly imposes on them, soon rises to the highest repute among them, and becoming one of the confessors in prison, is loaded with presents by them, in fact almost worshiped as a god, but is afterward excommunicated for eating some forbidden food, (probably meat of the idolatrous sacrifices,) then casts himself into the arms of the Cynics, travels about everywhere in the filthiest style of that sect, and at last, about the year 165, in frantic thirst for fame, plunges into the flames of a funeral pile before the assembled populace of the town of Olympia for the triumph of philosophy. Perhaps this fiction of the self-burning was meant for a parody on the Christian martyrdom, possibly of Polycarp, who about that time suffered death by fire at Smyrna.

Lucian treats the Christians rather with a compassionate smile than with hatred. He nowhere urges persecution. He never calls Christ an impostor, as Celsus does, but a "crucified *sophist*;" a term which he uses as often in a good sense as in the bad. But then, in the end, both the Christian and the heathen religions amount, in his view, to imposture; only, in his Epicurean indifferentism, he

considers it not worth the trouble to trace such phenomena to their ultimate ground, and attempt a philosophical explanation.

The merely negative position of this clever mocker of all religions injured heathenism more than Christianity, but could not be long maintained against either. The religious element is far too deeply seated in the essence of human nature. Epicureanism and skepticism made way in their turn for Platonism, and for faith or superstition. Heathenism made a vigorous effort to regenerate itself, in order to hold its ground against the steady advance of Christianity. But the old religion itself could not help feeling more and more the silent influence of the new.

5. THE NEW PLATONISTS.

More earnest and dignified, but for this very reason more lasting and dangerous, was the opposition which proceeded directly and indirectly from Neo-Platonism. This system presents the last phase, the evening red, so to speak, of the Grecian philosophy; a fruitless effort of dying heathenism to revive itself against the irresistible progress of Christianity in its freshness and vigor. It was a pantheistic eclecticism, and a philosophico-religious syncretism, which sought to reconcile Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy with Oriental religion and theosophy, polytheism with monotheism, superstition with culture, and to hold as with convulsive grasp, the old popular faith in a refined and idealized form. Some scattered Christian ideas, also, were unconsciously let in; Christianity already filled the atmosphere of the age too much to be wholly shut out. As might be expected, this compound of philosophy and religion was an extravagant, fantastic, heterogeneous affair, like its cotemporary Gnosticism, which differed from it by formally recognizing Christianity in its syncretism. Most of the Neo-Platonists, Jamblichus in particular, were as much hierophants and theurgists as philosophers, devoted themselves to divination and magic, and boasted of divine inspirations and visions. Their literature is not an original, healthy, natural product, but an abnormal aftergrowth.

In a time of inward distraction and dissolution the human mind hunts up old and obsolete systems and notions, or resorts to magical and theurgic arts. Superstition follows on the heels of unbelief, and atheism often stands closely connected with the fear of ghosts and the worship of demons. The enlightened emperor Augustus was troubled if he put on his left shoe first in the morning, instead of the right; and the accomplished elder Pliny wore amulets as protection from thunder and lightning. In their day the long-forgotten Pythagoreanism was conjured from the grave and idealized.

Sorcerers like Simon Magus, Elymas, Alexander of Abonoteichos, and Apollonius of Tyana, (A. D. 96,) found great favor even with the higher classes, who laughed at the fables of the gods. Men turned wishfully, especially toward the mysterious East, the land of primitive wisdom and religion. The Syrian cultus was sought out, and all sorts of religions, all the sense and all the nonsense of antiquity, found rendezvous in Rome. Even a succession of Roman emperors, from Septimus Severus, at the close of the second century, to Alexander Severus, embraced this religious syncretism, which, instead of supporting the old Roman state religion, helped to undermine it.

After the beginning of the third century this tendency found philosophical expression, and took a reformatory turn in Neo-Platonism. The magic power which was thought able to reanimate all these various elements and reduce them to harmony, and to put deep meaning into the old mythology, was the philosophy of the divine Plato, which in truth possessed essentially a mystical character, and was used also by learned Jews, like Philo, and by Christians like Origen, in their idolizing efforts and their arbitrary allegorical expositions of offensive passages of the Bible. In this view we may find among heathen writers a sort of forerunner of the Neo-Platonists in the pious and noble-minded Platonist, Plutarch of Bœotia, (129,) who likewise saw a deeper sense in the myths of the popular polytheistic faith, and in general, in his comparative biographies, and his admirable moral treatises, looks at the fairest and noblest side of the Græco-Roman antiquity, yet often wanders off into the trackless region of fancy

The proper founder of Neo-Platonism was Ammonius Saccas, of Alexandria, who was born of Christian parents, but apostatized, and died in the year 243. His more distinguished pupil, Plotinus, also an Egyptian, (270,) developed the Neo-Platonic ideas in systematic form, and gave them firm foothold and wide currency, particularly in Rome, where he taught philosophy. The system was propagated by his pupil, Porphyry, of Tyre, (304,) who likewise taught in Rome, by Jamblichus, of Chalcis, in Cœlo-Syria, (333,) and by Proclus, of Constantinople, (485.) It supplanted the popular religion among the educated classes of later heathendom, and held its ground until the end of the fifth century, when it perished of its own internal falsehoods and contradictions.

From its affinity for the ideal, the supernatural, and the mystical, this system, like the original Platonism, might become for many philosophical minds a bridge to faith; and so it was even to Augustine, whom it delivered from the bondage of scepticism, and

filled with a burning thirst for truth and wisdom. But it could also work against Christianity. Neo-Platonism was, in fact, a direct attempt of the more intelligent and earnest heathenism to rally all its nobler energies, especially the forces of Hellenic philosophy and Oriental mysticism, and to found a universal religion, a pagan counterpart to the Christian. Plotinus, in his opposition to Gnosticism, assailed also, though not expressly, the Christian element it contained. On their syncretistic principles the Neo-Platonists could indeed reverence Christ as a great sage and a hero of virtue, but not as Son of God. They ranked the wise men of heathendom with him. The Emperor Alexander Severus gave Orpheus and Apollonius of Tyana a place in his lararium by the side of the bust of Jesus; and the rhetorician Philostratus, about the year 230, idealized the life of the pagan magician and soothsayer Apollonius, and made him out a religious reformer and a worker of miracles. With the same secret polemical aim Porphyry and Jamblichus embellished the life of Pythagoras, and set him forth as the highest model of wisdom, even a divine being incarnate, a Christ of heathenism.

6. PORPHYRY.

One of the Neo-Platonists, however, made also a direct attack upon Christianity, and was, in the eyes of the Church fathers, its bitterest and most dangerous enemy. Toward the end of the third century, Porphyry wrote an extended work against the Christians, in fifteen books, which called forth numerous refutations from the most eminent Church teachers of the time, particularly from Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollonarius of Laodicea. In 435 all the copies were burned by order of the emperor, and we know the work now only from fragments in the fathers. According to these specimens, Porphyry attacked especially the sacred books of the Christians with more knowledge than Celsus. He endeavored, with keen criticism, to point out contradictions between the Old Testament and the New, and among the apostles themselves, and thus to refute the divinity of the writings. He represented the prophecies of Daniel as *vaticinia post eventum*, and censured the allegorical interpretation of Origen, by which transcendental mysteries were foisted into the writings of Moses, contrary to their clear sense. He took advantage, above all, of the collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch, (Gal. ii,) to reproach the former with a contentious spirit, the latter with error, and to infer from the whole, that the doctrine of such apostles must rest on lies and frauds. Even Jesus himself he charged with equivocation

and inconsistency, on account of his conduct in John vii, 8, compared with verse 14.

Still Porphyry would not wholly reject Christianity, Like many rationalists of more recent times, he distinguished the original pure doctrine of Jesus from the second-handed, adulterated doctrine of the apostles. In another work* he says we must not calumniate Christ, but only pity those who worship him as God. "That pious soul, exalted to heaven, is become, by a sort of fate, an occasion of delusion to those souls from whom fortune withholds the gifts of the gods and the knowledge of the eternal Zeus." Still more remarkable in this view is a letter to his wife Marcella, which A. Mai published at Milan in 1816, in the unfounded opinion that Marcella was a Christian. In the course of this letter Porphyry remarks, that what is born of the flesh is flesh; that by faith, love, and hope we raise ourselves to the Deity; that evil is the fault of man; that God is holy; that the most acceptable sacrifice to him is a pure heart; that the wise man is at once a temple of God and a priest in that temple. For these and other such evidently Christian ideas and phrases, he no doubt had a sense of his own, which materially differed from their proper Scriptural meaning. But such things show how Christianity in that day exerted, even upon its opponents, a power to which heathenism was forced to yield an unwilling assent.

7. HIEROCLES.

The last literary antagonist of Christianity in our period is Hierocles, who, while governor of Bithynia, and afterward of Alexandria, under Dioclesian, persecuted that religion also with the sword, and exposed Christian maidens to a worse fate than death. His "Truth-loving Words to the Christians" has been destroyed, like Porphyry's work, by the mistaken zeal of the later emperors, and is known to us only through the answer of Eusebius of Cæsarea. It appears to have merely repeated the objections of Celsus and Porphyry, and to have drawn a comparison between Christ and the Apollonius of Philostratus, which resulted in favor of the latter. "The Christians," says he, "consider Jesus a God, on account of some insignificant miracles falsely colored up by his apostles; but the heathens far more justly declare the greater wonder-worker Apollonius, as well as an Aristeas and Pythagoras, simply a favorite of the gods and a benefactor of men."

8. SUMMARY OF OBJECTIONS TO CHRISTIANITY.

In general the leading arguments of the Judaism and heathenism of this period against the new religion are the following:

* Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας.

1. Against CHRIST: his illegitimate birth; his association with poor, unlettered fishermen, and rude publicans; his form of a servant, and his ignominious death. But the opposition to him gradually ceased; while Celsus called him a downright impostor, the Syncretists and Neo-Platonists were disposed to regard him as at least a distinguished sage.

2. Against CHRISTIANITY: its novelty; its barbarian origin; its want of a national basis; the alleged absurdity of some of its facts and doctrines, particularly of regeneration and the resurrection; contradictions between the Old and New Testaments, among the Gospels, and between Paul and Peter; the demand for a blind, irrational faith.

3. Against the CHRISTIANS: atheism, or hatred of the gods; the worship of a crucified malefactor; poverty, and want of culture and standing; desire of innovation; division and sectarianism; want of patriotism; gloomy seriousness; superstition and fanaticism; and sometimes even unnatural crimes, like those related in the pagan mythology, of Œdipus and his mother, Jocaste, (*concubitus Œdipodei*,) and of Thyestes and Atreus, (*epulæ Thyesteæ*.) Perhaps some Gnostic sects ran into scandalous excesses; but as against the Christians in general, this last charge was so clearly unfounded, that it is not noticed even by Celsus and Lucian. The senseless accusation that they worshiped an ass's head, may have arisen, as Tertullian already intimates,* from a story of Tacitus, respecting some Jews, who were once directed by a wild ass to fresh water, and thus relieved from the torture of thirst; and it is worth mentioning only to show how passionate and blind was the opposition which Christianity in this period of persecution had to contend.

II. THE DEFENSE OF CHRISTIANITY.

These assaults of argument and calumny called forth in the second century the Christian apologetic literature, the vindication of Christianity by the pen, against the Jewish zealot, the Grecian philosopher, and the Roman statesman. The Christians were, indeed, from the first "ready always to give an answer to every man that asked them a reason of the hope that was in them." But when heathenism took the field against them, not only with fire and sword, but with argument and slander besides, they had to add to their simple practical testimony a theoretical self-defense. The Christian apology against non-Christian opponents, and the contro-

* Apologeticus c. 16: Somniastis caput asininum esse deum nostrum. Hanc Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem ejusmodi dei inseruit, etc.

versial efforts against Christian errorists, are the two oldest branches of theological science.

The apologetic literature began to appear under the reign of Hadrian, and continued to grow till the end of our period. Most of the Church teachers took part in this labor of their day. The first apologies, by Quadratus, Aristides, and Aristo, addressed to the Emperor Hadrian, and the similar works of Melito of Sardis, Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and Miltiades, who lived under Marcus Aurelius, are either entirely lost, or preserved only in fragments. But the valuable apologetical works of the Greek philosopher and martyr, Justin, (166,) we possess. After him come, in the Greek Church, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and Hermias, in the last half of the second century, and Origen, the ablest of all, in the first half of the third. The most important Latin apologists are Tertullian, (about 220,) Minucius Felix, (between 220 and 230; according to some, between 161 and 180,) and the later Arnobius; all of North Africa.

Here at once appears a characteristic difference between the Greek and the Latin minds. The Greek apologies are more learned and philosophical, the Latin more practical and juridical in their matter and style. The former labor to prove the truth of Christianity, and its adaptedness to the intellectual wants of man; the latter plead for its legal right to exist, and exhibit mainly its moral excellency and salutary effect upon society. The Latin also are, in general, more rigidly opposed to heathenism, while the Greek recognize in the Grecian philosophy a certain affinity to the Christian religion.

The apologies are addressed in some cases to the emperors (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius) and the provincial governors, in others to the intelligent public. Their first object was to soften the temper of the authorities and people toward Christianity and its professors by refuting the false charges against them. It may be doubted whether they ever reached the hands of the emperors; at all events the persecution continued. Conversion commonly proceeds from the heart and will, and from the understanding and from knowledge. No doubt, however, these writings contributed to dissipate prejudice among honest and susceptible heathens, and to induce more favorable views of the new religion.

Yet the chief service of this literature was, to strengthen believers and advance theological knowledge. It brought the Church to a deeper and clearer sense of the peculiar nature of the Christian religion, and prepared her thenceforth to vindicate it before the tribunal of reason and philosophy; while Judaism and heathenism

proved themselves powerless in the combat, and were driven to the weapons of falsehood and vituperation. The sophisms and mockeries of a Celsus and a Lucian have none but a historical interest; the apologies of Justin and the Apologeticus of Tertullian, rich with indestructible truth and glowing piety, are read with pleasure and edification to this day.

The apologists do not confine themselves to the defensive, but carry the war aggressively into the territory of Judaism and heathenism. They complete their work by positively demonstrating that Christianity is the Divine religion and the only true religion for all mankind.

1. THE ARGUMENT AGAINST JUDAISM.

In regard to the controversy with Judaism, we have two principal sources, the Dialogue of Justin Martyr with the Jew Trypho,* based, it appears, on real interviews of Justin with Trypho; and Tertullian's work against the Jews.†

1. The *defensive* apology answered the Jewish objections thus:

(*a.*) Against the charge that Christianity is an apostasy from the Mosaic law, it was held that the Mosaic law was only a temporary institution for the Jewish nation, and the Old Testament itself points to its own dissolution, and the establishment of a new covenant;‡ that Abraham was justified before he was circumcised, and women, who could not be circumcised, were yet saved.

(*b.*) Against the assertion that the servant-form of Jesus of Nazareth, and his death by the cross, contradicted the Old Testament idea of the Messiah, it was urged that the appearance of the Messiah is to be regarded as twofold, first, in the form of a servant, afterward in glory; and that the brazen serpent in the wilderness, and the prophecies of David in Psalm xxii, and of Isaiah in chapter liii, themselves point to the sufferings of Christ as his way to glory.

(*c.*) To the objection that the Divinity of Jesus contradicts the unity of God and is blasphemy, it was replied that the Christians believe likewise in only one God; that the Old Testament itself makes a distinction in the Divine nature; that the plural expression: "Let us make man,"§ the appearance of the three men at Mamre,‖ of whom one was confessedly God,¶ yet distinct from the Creator,** indicate this; and that all theophanies, (which in Justin's view

* Διάλογος πρὸς Τρύφωνα Ἰουδαῖον.

† Adversus Judæos. Also Cyprian's Testimonia adv. Judæos.

‡ Isa. li, 4 sq.; lv, 3 sqq.; Jer. xxxi, 31 sqq. § Gen. i, 26: comp. iii. 22.

‖ Gen. xviii, 1 sqq. ¶ xxi, 12: ** xix, 24.

are all Christophanies,) and the Messianic Psalms,* which ascribe Divine dignity to the Messiah, show the same.

2. The *aggressive* apology, or polemic theology, urges as evidence against Judaism:

(*a.*) First and mainly, that the prophecies and types of the Old Testament are fulfilled in Jesus Christ and his Church. Justin finds all the outlines of the Gospel history predicted in the Old Testament; the Davidic descent of Jesus, for example, in Isa. xi, 1; the birth from a virgin in chapter vii, 14; the birth at Bethlehem in Micah v, 1; the flight into Egypt in Hosea xi, 1, (rather than Psalm xxii, 10?) the appearance of the Baptist in Isaiah xl, 1–17, Malachi iv, 5; the heavenly voice at the baptism of Jesus in Psalm ii, 7; the temptation in the wilderness under the type of Jacob's wrestling in Genesis xxxii, 24 sqq.; the miracles of our Lord in Isaiah xxxv, 5; his sufferings and the several circumstances of his crucifixion in Isaiah liii and Psalm xxii. In this effort, however, Justin wanders also, according to the taste of his uncritical age, into arbitrary fancies and allegorical conceits; as when he makes the two goats, of which one carried away the sins into the wilderness, and the other was sacrificed, types of the first and second advents of Christ; and sees in the twelve bells on the robe of the high priest a type of the twelve apostles, whose sound goeth forth into all the world.†

(*b.*) The destruction of Jerusalem, in which Judaism, according to the express prediction of Jesus, was condemned by God himself, and Christianity was gloriously vindicated.

2. THE ARGUMENT AGAINST HEATHENISM.

1. The various objections and accusations of heathens, which we have collected above, were founded for the most part on ignorance or hatred, and in many cases contradicted themselves; so that we need to notice here but a few.

(*a.*) The attack upon the *miraculous* in the evangelical history the apologists could meet by pointing to the similar element in the heathen mythology; of course proposing this merely in the way of *argumentum ad hominem*, to deprive the opposition of the right to object. For the credibility of the miraculous accounts in the Gospels, particularly that of the resurrection of Jesus, Origen appealed to the integrity and piety of the narrators, to the publicity of the death of Jesus, and to the effects of that event.

(*b.*) The *novelty* and *late appearance* of Christianity were justified

* Psa. cx, 1 sqq; xlv, 7 sqq; lxxii, 2–19, and others.

† Psa. xix, 4; comp. Rom. x, 18.

by the need of historical preparation, in which the human race should be divinely trained for Christ; but more frequently it was urged, also, that Christianity existed in the counsel of God from eternity, and had its unconscious votaries, especially among the pious Jews, long before the advent of Christ. By claiming the Mosaic records, the apologists had greatly the advantage, as regards antiquity, over any form of paganism, and could carry their religion, in its preparatory state, even beyond the flood, and up to the very gates of paradise. Justin and Tatian make much account of the fact that Moses is much older than the Greek philosophers, poets, and legislators. Athenagoras turns the tables, and shows that the very names of the heathen gods are modern, and their statues creations of yesterday. Clement of Alexandria calls the Greek philosophers thieves and robbers, because they stole portions of truth from the Hebrew prophets and adulterated them. Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and others, raise the same charge of plagiarism.

(*c.*) The doctrine of the *resurrection* of the body, so peculiarly offensive to the heathen and Gnostic understanding, was supported, as to its possibility, by reference to the omnipotence of God, and to the creation of the world and of man; and its propriety and reasonableness were argued from the Divine image in man, from the high destiny of the body to be the temple of the Holy Ghost, and from its intimate connection with the soul, as well as from the righteousness and goodness of God. The argument from analogy was also very generally used, but often without proper discrimination. Thus Theophilus alludes to the decline and return of the seasons, the alternations of day and night, the renewal of the waning and waxing moon, the growth of seeds and fruits. Tertullian expresses his surprise that anybody should deny the possibility and probability of the resurrection, in view of the mystery of our birth and the daily occurrences of surrounding nature. "All things," he says, "are preserved by dissolution, renewed by perishing; and shall man, the lord of all this universe of creatures which die and rise again, himself die only to perish forever?"*

(*d.*) The charge of *immoral conduct* and *secret vice* the apologists might repel with just indignation, since the New Testament contains the purest and noblest morality, and the general conduct of Christians compared most favorably with that of the heathens. "Shame! shame!" they justly cried, "to roll upon the innocent what you are openly guilty of, and what belongs to you and your

* Apolog., c. 43. Comp. his special tract, *De resurrectione ramis*, c. 12, where he defends the doctrine more fully against the Gnostics, and their radical misconception of the nature and import of the body.

gods!" Origen says, in the preface to the first book against Celsus: "When false witness was brought against our blessed Saviour, the spotless Jesus, he held his peace, and when he was accused returned no answer, being fully persuaded that the tenor of his life and conversation among the Jews was the best apology that could possibly be made in his behalf. . . . And even now he preserves the same silence, and makes no other answer than the unblemished lives of his sincere followers; they are his most cheerful and successful advocates, and have so loud a voice that they drown the clamors of the most zealous and bigoted adversaries."

2. To their defense the Christians, with the rising consciousness of victory, added direct arguments against heathenism, which were practically sustained by its dissolution in the following period.

(*a.*) The popular religion of the heathens, particularly the doctrine of the gods, is unworthy, contradictory, absurd, immoral, and pernicious. The apologists and most of the early Church teachers looked upon the heathen gods, not as mere imaginations or personified powers of nature, and deifications of distinguished men, but as demons or fallen angels. They took this view from the Septuagint version of Psalm xcvi, 5,* and from the immorality of those deities, which was charged to demons, (even sexual intercourse with the daughters of men, according to Gen. vi, 2.) "What sad fates," says Minucius Felix, "what lies, ridiculous things, and weaknesses we read of the pretended gods! Even their form, how pitiable it is! Vulcan limps, Mercury has wings to his feet, Pan is hoofed, Saturn in fetters, and Janus has two faces, as if he walked backward . . . . Sometimes Hercules is a hostler, Apollo a cowherd, and Neptune Laomedon's mason, cheated of his wages. Then we have the thunder of Jove and the arms of Æneas forged on the same anvil, (as if thunder and lightning did not exist before Jove was born in Crete;) the adultery of Mars and Venus; the lewdness of Jupiter with Ganymede, all of which were invented for the gods to authorize men in their wickedness." "Which of the poets," asks Tertullian, "does not calumniate your gods? One sets Apollo to keep sheep; another hires out Neptune to build a wall; Pindar declares Æsculapius was deservedly scathed for his avarice in exercising the art of medicine to a bad purpose; while the writers of tragedy and comedy alike take for their subjects the crimes or the miseries of the deities. Nor are the philosophers behindhand in this respect. Out of pure contempt, they would swear by an oak, a goat, a dog; Diogenes turned Hercules into ridicule; and the Roman Cynic, Varro, introduces three hundred Joves without heads." From the

* Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια.

stage abuses the sarcastic African father selects, partly from his own former observation, those of Diana being flogged, the reading of Jupiter's will after his decease, and the three half-starved Herculeses! Justin brings up the infanticide of Saturn, the parricide, the anger, and the adultery of Jupiter, the drunkenness of Bacchus, the voluptuousness of Venus, and appeals to the judgment of the better heathens, who were ashamed of these scandalous histories of the gods; to Plato, for example, who for this reason banishes Homer from his ideal state. Those myths which had some resemblance to the Old Testament prophecies or the Gospel history, Justin regards as caricatures of the truth, framed by demons by abuse of Scripture. The story of Bacchus, for instance, rests, in his fanciful view, on Gen. xlix, 10 sq.; the myth of the birth of Perseus from a virgin, on Isa. vii, 14; that of the wandering of Hercules on Psalm xix, 6; the fiction of the miracles of Æsculapius on Isaiah xxxv, 1 sqq. Origen asks Celsus why it is that he can discover profound mysteries in those strange and senseless accidents which have befallen his gods and goddesses, showing them to be polluted with crimes, and doing many shameful things; while Moses, who says nothing derogatory to the character of God, angel, or man, is treated as an impostor. He challenges any one to compare Moses and his laws with the best Greek authors; and yet Moses was as far inferior to Christ as he was superior to the greatest of heathen sages and poets.

(*b.*) The Greek philosophy, which rises above the popular beliefs, is not suited to the masses, cannot meet the religious want, and confutes itself by its manifold contradictions. Socrates, the wisest of all the philosophers, himself acknowledged that he knew nothing. On Divine and human things Justin finds the philosophers at variance among themselves: with Thales water is the ultimate principle of all things; with Anaximander, the infinite; with Anaximenus, air; with Heraclitus, fire; with Pythagoras, number. Even Plato not seldom contradicts himself: now supposing three fundamental causes, (God, matter, and ideas;) now four, (adding the world-soul:) now he considers matter as unbegotten, now as begotten; at one time he ascribes substantiality to ideas, at another makes them mere forms of thought, etc. Who, then, he concludes, would intrust to the philosopher the salvation of his soul?

(*c.*) But on the other hand the Greek apologists recognized also elements of truth in the Hellenic literature, especially in the Platonic and Stoic philosophy, and saw in them, as in the law and the prophecies of Judaism, a preparation of the way for Christianity. Justin attributes all the good in heathenism to the divine Logos,

who, even before his incarnation, scattered the seeds of truth, and incited susceptible spirits to a holy walk. Thus there were Christians before Christianity; and among these he expressly reckons Socrates and Heraclitus. Besides, he supposed that Pythagoras, Plato, and other educated Greeks, in their journeys to the East, became acquainted with the Old Testament writings, and drew from them the doctrine of the unity of God, and other like truths, though they in various ways misunderstood them, and adulterated them with Pagan errors. This view of a certain affinity between the Grecian philosophy and Christianity, as an argument in favor of the new religion, was afterward further developed by the Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen.

III. THE POSITIVE APOLOGY.

The Christian apology completed itself in the positive demonstration of the divinity of the new religion, which was at the same time the best refutation of both the old ones. As early as this period the strongest historical and philosophical arguments for Christianity were brought forward, or at least indicated, though in connection with many untenable adjuncts.

1. The great argument, not only with Jews, but with heathens also, was the PROPHECIES; since the knowledge of future events can come only from God. The first appeal of the apologist was, of course, to the prophetic writings of the Old Testament. But even a Clement of Alexandria, and, with more caution, an Origen, a Eusebius, and St. Augustine, employed also, without hesitation, apocryphal prophecies, especially the Sibylline oracles, a medley of ancient heathen, Jewish, and in part Christian fictions about a golden age, the coming of Christ, the fortunes of Rome, and the end of the world.* And, indeed, this was not all error and pious fraud. Through all heathenism there runs, in truth, a dim unconscious presentiment and longing hope of Christianity. Think of the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, with its predictions of the "virgo" and "nova progenis" from heaven, and the "puer," with whom, after the blotting out of sin and the killing of the serpent, a golden age of peace was to begin.

2. The TYPES. These, too, were found not in the Old Testament only, but in the whole range of nature. Justin saw everywhere, in

* Comp. Dr. FRIEDLIEB: Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen vollständig gesammelt, mit Kritischem Commentare und metrischer Uebersetzung, Leipz., 1852. We have at present twelve books of χρησμοὶ σιβυλλιακοί in Greek hexameters, and some fragments.

the tree of life in Eden, in Jacob's ladder, in the rods of Moses and Aaron, nay, in every sailing ship, in the wave-cutting oar, in the plow, in the human countenance, in the human form with outstretched arms, in banners and trophies, the sacred form of the cross, and thus a prefiguration of the mystery of redemption through the crucifixion of the Lord.

3. The MIRACLES of Jesus and the apostles, with those which continued to be wrought in the name of Jesus, according to the express testimony of the fathers, by their cotemporaries. But as the heathen also appealed to miraculous deeds and appearances in favor of their religion, Justin, Arnobius, and particularly Origen, fixed certain criteria, such as the moral purity of the worker, and his intention to glorify God and benefit man, for distinguishing the true miracles from satanic jugglerics. "There might have been some ground," he says, "for the comparison which Celsus makes between Jesus and certain wandering magicians, if there had appeared in the latter the slightest tendency to beget in persons a true fear of God, and so to regulate their actions in prospect of the day of judgment. But they attempt nothing of the sort. Yea, they themselves are guilty of the most grievous crimes; whereas the Saviour would have his hearers to be convinced by the native beauty of religion and the holy lives of its teachers, rather than by even the miracles they wrought."

The subject of *post*-apostolic miracles is surrounded by much greater difficulties in the absence of inspired testimony, and in most cases even of ordinary eye and ear witnesses. There is an antecedent probability that the power of working miracles was not suddenly and abruptly, but gradually withdrawn, as the necessity of such outward and extraordinary attestation of the Divine orgin of Christianity diminished and gave way to the natural operation of truth and moral suasion. Hence Augustine, in the fourth century, says: "Since the establishment of the Church God does not wish to perpetuate miracles even to our day, lest the mind should put its trust in visible signs, or grow cold at the sight of common marvels." But it is impossible to fix the precise termination, either at the death of the apostles or their immediate disciples, or the conversion of the Roman empire, or the extinction of the Arian heresy, or any subsequent era, and to sift carefully in each particular case the truth from legendary fiction. It is remarkable that the genuine writings of the ante-Nicene Church are more free from miraculous and superstitious elements than the annals of the middle ages, and especially of monasticism. Most of the statements of the apologists are couched in general terms, and refer to extraordinary cures from

demoniacal possession, which probably includes, in the language of that age, cases of madness, deep melancholy, epilepsy, and other diseases, by the invocation of the name of Jesus. Justin Martyr speaks of such cures as a frequent occurrence in Rome and all over the world, and Origen appeals to his own personal observation; but speaks in another place of the scarcity of miracles, so as to suggest the gradual cessation theory, as held by Dr. Neander, Bishop Kaye, and others. Tertullian attributed many, if not most of the conversions of his day to supernatural dreams and visions, as does also Origen, although with more caution. But in such psychological phenomena it is exceedingly difficult to draw the line of demarkation between natural and supernatural causes, and between providential interpositions and miracles proper. The strongest passage on this subject is found in Irenæus, who, in contending against the heretics, mentions, besides prophecies and miraculous cures of demoniacs, even the raising the dead among cotemporary* events taking place in the Catholic Church. But he specifies no particular case or name; and it should be remembered, also, that his youth bordered yet almost on the Johannean age.

4. The MORAL EFFECT of Christianity upon the heart and life of its professors. The Christian religion has not only taught the purest and sublimest code of morals ever known among men, but actually exhibited it in the life, sufferings, and death of its Founder and true followers. All the apologists, from the author of the Epistle to Diognetus down to Origen, Cyprian, and Augustine, bring out in strong colors the infinite superiority of Christian ethics over the heathen, and their testimony is fully corroborated by the practical fruits of the Church. "They think us senseless," says Justin, "because we worship this Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, as God next to the Father. But they would not say so if they knew the mystery of the cross. By its fruits they may know it. We who once lived in debauchery now study chastity; we who dealt in sorceries have consecrated ourselves to the good, the increate God; we who loved money and possessions above all things else, now devote our property freely to the general good, and give to every needy one; we who fought and killed each other now pray for our enemies; those who persecute us in hatred we kindly try to appease, in the hope that they may share the same blessings which we enjoy."†

5. The RAPID SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY by purely moral means,

* Adv. hær. I. 31, § 2, and I. 32, § 4: ἤδη δὲ καὶ νεκροὶ ἠγέρθησαν καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἱκανοῖς ἔτεσι. These two passages can hardly be explained, with Heumann and Neander, as referring merely to cases of *apparent* death.

† Apol. I. c. 13 and 14, (p. 35 sq. ed Otto.)

and in spite of the greatest external obstacles, yea, the bitter persecution of Jews and Gentiles. Origen makes good use of this argument against Celsus, and thinks that so great a success as Christianity met among Greeks and barbarians, learned and unlearned persons, in so short a time, without any force or other worldly means, and in view of the united opposition of emperors, senate, governors, generals, priests, and people, can only be rationally accounted for on the ground of an extraordinary providence of God and the Divine nature of Christ.

6. The REASONABLENESS of Christianity, its agreement with the intellectual wants of man, and with all the true and the beautiful in the Greek philosophy and poesy. All who had lived rationally before Christ were, in the opinion of Justin, really, though unconsciously, already Christians. Thus all that is Christian is rational, and all that is truly rational is Christian. Yet on the other hand, of course, Christianity is supra-rational, not irrational.

7. The ADAPTATION of Christianity TO THE DEEPEST NEEDS OF HUMAN NATURE, which it alone can meet. Here belongs Tertullian's appeal to the "*testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ;*" his profound thought that the human soul is, in its inmost essence and instinct, predestined for Christianity, and can find rest and peace in that alone. The soul, says he, though confined in the prison of the body, though perverted by bad training, though weakened by lusts and passions, though given to the service of false gods, still no sooner awakes from its intoxication and its dreams, and recovers its health, than it calls upon God by the one name due to him: "Great God! good God!" and then looks, not to the capitol, but to heaven; for it knows the abode of the living God, from whom it proceeds.* This deep longing of the human soul for the living God in Christ, Augustine, in whom Tertullian's spirit returned purified and enriched, afterward expressed in the grand sentence: "Thou, O God, hast made us for thee; and our heart is restless till it rests in thee."†

* Tert. Apolog. c. 17. Compare the beautiful passage in *De testim. animæ*, c. 2: Si enim animæ aut divina aut a Deo data est, sine dubio datorem suum novit, et si novit, utique et timet .... O testimonium veritatis quæ apud ipsa dæmonia testem efficit Christianorum.

† August. Confess., l. i, c. 1: Fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te.

Art. IX.—POPULAR DENTAL KNOWLEDGE.

From all accounts, in ancient Egypt dentistry seems to have originated as a separate branch of the healing art; and as in all old countries the profession or calling of the father generally descended to the son, there is no reason why this branch should not in time have made great progress under those to whose care it was committed, or at least that part appertaining to tooth extraction. And from the fact that among Egyptian remains there have been found forceps made of copper in the offices of those who followed the occupation of barbers, it may be inferred that to those persons, as for centuries after in various countries, the operations on the teeth were intrusted.

From the writings extant of the early physicians, and authors of works on anatomy and physiology, it would appear that their knowledge of the structure and diseases of the dental organs was extremely limited and erroneous; and as all knowledge was more or less under the jurisdiction of the seers, prophets, and priests, who controlled both the social and religious opinions of those days, we can readily account for such an idea as was advanced by Arætacus, that the cause of toothache was only known to God. Five hundred years before Christ Herodotus, the traveler and historian, informs us that the Egyptian physicians divided the healing art into different parts, one taking that of the head, another the eyes, another the teeth, etc. The mode of extracting practiced and recommended by some of the earlier practitioners was, to shake the teeth well, and then remove them. Others advised the application of the hot iron, or boiling oil, to make them exfoliate; but it is unnecessary here to enumerate the absurd practices recommended. And although, during the lives of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Herodotus, Thucydides, Eristratus, Celsus, Pliny, Galen, and others, the healing art may be said to have made great advances, the state of dental surgery remained nearly the same. Little or no change, in fact, took place for the better until about the time of the great anatomist John Hunter, of England, who published his work on the teeth in 1778. He has since been followed by numerous other authors and practitioners, both European and American, who by their labors and researches, combined with anatomical and physiological erudition and mechanical skill, have elevated dental surgery to a high position among the arts and sciences of the present day. The last half cen-

tury has witnessed the operations on the mouth that were formerly left to the care and tender mercies of the ignorant knight of the razor and shears, assumed as a calling by men of education and refinement; and the world at large acknowledges its indebtedness to the dental surgeon for that comfort and happiness that can only be derived from a healthy condition of this part of the animal economy, without which the "Hell of all diseases" would reign supreme, for who that has suffered from the pains of an aching tooth and its direful concomitants would say that it was the least of the "ills that flesh was heir to?"

The student and practitioner of this branch of the healing art now takes his position beside the student and practitioner of medicine. Dental surgery has now its colleges and its quarterly and monthly periodicals, presided over and edited by men who, by their learning and skill, take the highest rank among the profession of their choice; and the degree of D.D.S., Doctor of Dental Surgery, as truly indicates having passed through a regular course of scientific preparation as the degrees of A.M. or M.D. in other professions. Twenty five to thirty years only have passed since the vail of secresy has been removed from dental operations. Previous to that time the dentist hid his operations from his brother practitioner. His female patients, with faces concealed and hesitating steps, groped their way with secrecy to his door, not desiring to have it known that they needed or were obliged to wear artificial teeth. But a few years have passed since a few dentists only were to be found in any of our large cities; now our city dentists are numbered by hundreds, while every village or country town has one or more as a permanent fixture. Eighteen years ago the first dental college established in the world had its origin in the city of Baltimore; since which time there have been three others, one in Philadelphia, one in Cincinnati, and one in Western New-York. These institutions have professors of dental surgery, dental medicine, anatomy and physiology, dental mechanics, dental practice, chemistry, and metallurgy; also lectures on microscopic, and comparative anatomy of the teeth.

So much for the origin and progress of dentistry. We will now attempt to place before our readers the practical part in such a manner that we hope may enable every individual not only to keep in good preservation their own dental organs, but those of other persons intrusted to their care. Every one should be familiar with the fact, that the decay of the teeth always commences externally, or in other words, decay always shows itself upon the enamel, or bony structure of the teeth, and never internally, as was at one time supposed to be the case. It may be said to be in most cases the result of chemical

action, produced by the decomposition of particles of food that collect or lodge in the interstices or depressions of the teeth, while eating These fissures are caused by the imperfect uniting of the edges of the enamel while the tooth is being formed; any individual can readily detect them on examination. Every one will, therefore, readily see how necessary it is to prevent all particles of food or foreign matter from remaining a sufficient time to produce decomposition. Numerous experiments have been instituted for the purpose of ascertaining the length of time necessary for various kinds of food to so decompose as to produce injury. All food in a state of decomposition generates an acid. From experiments by Professor Amos Wescott, it was found that "acetic and citric acids so corroded the enamel in forty-eight hours that it could be readily removed with the finger nail. Acetic acid, or common vinegar, is one of our principal condiments, and he says is "formed in the mouth whenever substances liable to fermentation are suffered to remain for any considerable length of time."

Citric acid, or lemon juice, of which many, especially young females, are so fond, readily acts upon the lime of which the teeth are composed, when brought into contact with them. Malic acid, or the acid of apples, in its concentrated state, also acts promptly; also muriatic, sulphuric, and nitric acids, although greatly diluted. And here let us caution all persons against using any preparation to whiten the teeth; for as the teeth are mostly composed of phosphate and carbonate of lime, anything that produces this effect acts on their material, and will ultimately seriously injure or destroy them. Keep the teeth clean, and they are as white as nature intended. Professor Wescott also found that "raisins so corroded the enamel in forty-eight hours that its surface presented the appearance and consistency of chalk." The condition of the saliva is also, at times, very acidulous. In view of what we have above stated, it will be seen how careful every one should be, for self or for children, thoroughly to cleanse the teeth from all substances that come in contact with them.

Preparations for cleansing and purifying the mouth should be free from all acids, and contain, as one of the principal ingredients, an alkali, (such as enters into saponaceous substances,) to neutralize the acid, and destroy the animal and vegetable parasites that are secreted by the fluids of the mouth. It has been found by microscopical examination, that the secretions of almost every person's mouth contain more or less of vegetable and animal life that will withstand the application of acids and astringents, and will only succumb to alkalies, which not only appear fatal, but a preventive

to their formation. The mouths of persons who have been in the habit of using soap freely as a dentifrice are completely free from these productions. Every preparation, then, should contain this substance. But a soap alone is not sufficient properly to cleanse the mouth and keep it in a healthy condition. Some substance should be combined with it that shall produce a gentle friction, sufficient to create a healthy circulation of blood in the gums, and remove from the surface of the enamel any extraneous accumulation that would otherwise disfigure it. Prepared chalk and a little orris-root to flavor, with pure castile soap, make a simple and at the same time effective dentifrice, all-sufficient to answer the purpose for which tooth-powder should be used. By no means use powdered charcoal as a dentifrice. This substance is the same that is used to polish the surface of iron and steel; it is insoluble, and so acrid in its nature that, no matter how fine you may reduce it, its little black grains will not only insinuate themselves between the neck of the tooth and the gum, causing an irritation of the parts which, in the end, may destroy the investing membrane of the tooth, but it scratches the surface of the enamel. Not long since we had to remove the four upper incisors of a young lady who had been in the habit of using charcoal as a dentifrice, because their surfaces were seamed over with minute black lines that could not be erased, and the teeth loosened, and the gums abraded and irritated from its constant use. It would be well for every one, before using a tooth-powder, to see if it will scratch glass, moistened and rubbed over its surface. If so, it will produce the same effect upon the glossy, glass-like surface with which God has covered the teeth. The use of tooth-powder is to keep the teeth clean, and not to change their natural color. If the teeth are of a dark or yellow hue, they never can be made white, except at the expense of the material of which they are composed; any powder, then, that whitens such teeth is only acting chemically, and therefore injuriously, upon their structure.

We have remarked that any one, on examination, could detect the fissures or depressions in the enamel. When these fissures present a dark appearance, which the brush or toothpick cannot remove, you may rest assured that decay in its first stages has commenced, and no time should be lost in consulting a competent dentist, who will, by thoroughly eradicating it, and filling the tooth with some suitable material, preserve it. No matter how small the cavity, or how little the decay, it should receive immediate attention. The smaller the cavity the better, if it can be filled. Have your family dentist as you have your family physician, and consult him two

or three times a year. His province is to prevent as well as to arrest disease. When you have actually experienced pain from a tooth it can never be preserved with the same certainty as if it had given no trouble. Many there are who, perfectly conscious that their teeth are decaying, neglect proper attention to them, simply because they have experienced no pain. If a tooth has actually ached the dentist can do but one of two things: either extract it, or destroy the nerve, if it has one, and fill it. In the first operation a tooth is lost that can never be restored; and the second increases the danger of losing the tooth by inflammation. Toothache does not always originate, as many suppose, from an exposed nerve. In fact, a majority of the teeth that are extracted because they are painful have no nerve, it having long since died. Inflammation is, in such cases, the cause of the trouble, having attacked the living membrane of the tooth and socket. A toothache from an exposed nerve, on the other hand, is a quick lancinating pain, or in common parlance a "jumping toothache," and is usually caused by the contact of some substance with the exposed nerve. Inhaling cold air or hot or cold drinks will also produce it. This toothache immediately subsides when the cause or tooth is removed. On the other hand, a toothache from the other cause, inflammation, is a steady aggravating pain, overspreading the affected side of the face, sometimes even the neck and shoulders. If allowed to proceed, The gum swelling, finally breaks, and discharges pus. If the tooth is removed while in this state the pain still continues, even abscess or "gum-boil" is produced, and suppuration of the parts. more severe than before, and some time elapses before it entirely ceases. As there is no nerve to kill in a case of this kind, the tooth should be removed upon the first symptoms of trouble. This species of toothache is usually caused by taking cold; yet there are other minor causes, the most prominent of which is tartar, a calcareous deposit supposed to be from the saliva. In its soft state this is of a creamy consistency and color, accumulating around the necks of the teeth where they enter the gums, and if allowed to remain any length of time it becomes hard and dark colored, and almost imperceptibly pushes away the gum from the tooth, and by insinuating itself between it and the tooth, deprives it of its support, and allowing irritating substances to come in contact with the investing membranes produces a looseness of the tooth and inflammation, with its accompanying results. This substance also causes a bad breath, and by eating away the gums from the teeth, causes them to present, oftentimes, an unsightly appearance. All these effects can be guarded against by a thorough use of the brush and powder.

Many persons for years suffer this substance to collect around their teeth, supposing it to be a part of their structure, entertaining the idea that its removal would injure the enamel. After a while the teeth becoming loose, and the gums tender and inflamed, they consult a dentist, and are surprised to learn that it has no more connection with the teeth than a lump of clay has with the leather of the boot to which it adheres. Tartar in its soft state can readily be removed by the brush and powder, but when it becomes hard it requires the dentist.

Our remarks relative to the origin and cause of the decay of the teeth, are intended to be taken in a general sense, and must not be understood to mean that decay never originates from any other source than from the effects of decomposed food, acids, and tartar. These, however, are the most prominent, and more completely under the control of the dentist and patient. There are many minor causes, such as a constitutional predisposition to disease, malformation, a crowded state of the teeth, imperfect structure, as well as the indirect effects of constitutional derangements, all of which are little understood by individuals not belonging to the medical or dental profession. Our remarks thus far have been mostly intended to apply to the permanent or second growth of teeth. We will now offer some suggestions in relation to the care necessary for the deciduous or first growth.

The same care and attention required for the preservation of the permanent teeth is necessary for the deciduous teeth. Nature never intended that the teeth of children should be lost or removed by decay; but that they should remain to fulfill their offices until she should hang out her signal for their removal by causing them to become loose, and give way for the permanent set by the absorption of their roots. If nature had her course we should seldom witness a case of irregular or deformed teeth or mouth, now so common. The principal reason of this deformity is, that one or more of the temporary teeth have been removed, on account of pain and decay, before its time, in consequence of which the space that nature had reserved for the permanent tooth becomes so contracted that when it does appear it is crowded from its position, and is either left thus crowded, (in which case it is not only unsightly, but tends to destroy the symmetry that nature intended,) or a sound tooth has to be sacrificed to make room for it. Scarcely a week passes that the dentist is not called upon to correct some irregularity in this manner. Children have twenty temporary or deciduous teeth, the germs of which, as well as of the permanent, exist in the jaw even previous to birth, and begin making their appearance about the sixth or seventh

month, although the time varies in different children. The period of the eruption of these teeth is the most dangerous and troublesome of the child's existence, and every parent would do well to consult a competent dentist, who will, by proper remedies, palliate the disorders incidental to this period. About the second or third year the temporary teeth are complete, and are fully developed, and require the same care to preserve them their proper time, both for usefulness and beauty, as is exercised toward the permanent set. All parents should be impressed with the importance of this fact, as they value the health, comfort, and beauty of their offspring. Protect the first set of teeth from the spoiler. Rather let the face or hands of your child remain unwashed, than the child's mouth, and breath, and health suffer from unclean and thereby rotten teeth. Early initiate the child into the mysteries of the dental toilet, by teaching him to use powder and the brush. Teach him that it is necessary that the mouth should be clean to eat his morning meal, as this time is generally best to clean the teeth, as it removes all vitiated secretions that have accumulated through the night. Then have the toothpick (an instrument more requisite than the brush for healthy teeth) brought into requisition after eating, so as to remove all particles of food that remain lodged between the teeth. Many a child would be saved from a great amount of suffering, and the parents spared a great amount of trouble, if these rules were observed.

About the sixth year, or soon after, four permanent molar or double teeth make their appearance. Let every parent remember this, as it is generally supposed that these four teeth belong to the first set, and that if they decay and are removed they will come again. This is a mistaken idea. They are permanent teeth, and if lost will be lost for ever. No teeth that come after the sixth year are ever shed. At twelve years the second set is usually complete, with the exception of the *dens sapientiæ*, or wisdom teeth, which make their appearance from the eighteenth to the twenty-fourth year. During the eruption of the second set the beauty and character of the child's countenance is completed, and everything depends upon proper care and attention at this time, to see that the teeth come with regularity and without being crowded. Should this be the case the parent may expect a finely formed mouth; and such deformities as we often see, as a rabbit narrowness of the mouth, contracting the lips and altering the whole expression of the face, as well as the projecting chin, etc., caused by neglect of early dental attention at this period, will be avoided.

Another very important reason why the teeth should early in life

receive the utmost care and professional attention, is the effect they exert upon the articulation. The loss of a single tooth affects the utterance, and invariably produces a hissing or lisping sound in articulating certain words containing the dental vowels, such as *t*, *d*, *s*, *q*, and *j*. All public speakers, especially lawyers, clergymen, and others, should, as they value a correct enunciation and articulation, remember that the teeth were placed by nature to form a certain arch for the express purpose of giving force and purity of utterance. The modulation of the voice, also, is in a great measure dependent upon the shape of the mouth, and healthy condition of the teeth and their contiguous parts. Dr. Hill, in his valuable and interesting paper on the Teeth and Voice,* says, when speaking on this subject, that "the experience and observation of every thinking man may be called to our aid in support of this position. For it cannot have escaped them, that many individuals of profound intellects and brilliant parts make but a sorry figure in their fruitless attempts at oratory and elocution. Every one who has had experience in regard to matters of this kind must have been conscious of great disappointment in not realizing his expectations in regard to certain distinguished men with whose writings he has been long familiar. Having fancied to himself that because they could wield a pen so successfully they must, therefore, be accomplished speakers, and finding himself sadly mistaken, he is at a loss to account for a circumstance so strange, and apparently contradictory. But where lies the difficulty? Certainly not on the score of intellect, for their acquirements are demonstrable from their writings; nor is it because they have never enjoyed the advantages of tuition where elocution was taught. What, then, is the obstacle? We answer, it is to be found in the peculiar conformation of the mouth and the wretched condition of the teeth, giving rise to impediments and difficulties which constitute their misfortune, and of which they are most painfully conscious. Let any one visit a dentist's laboratory, and view the casts of different mouths, and he will readily see one reason why people have voices and articulation so various and unlike each other. Some casts represent a mouth not unlike a squirrel's, very narrow and contracted, the upper jaw projecting far over the under, giving a squeaking, effeminate intonation to the voice. Such a shaped mouth is incapable of producing perfect language. We have in our possession two such casts, having the appearance of having been pressed together in a vice. The possessors of these mouths never actually talked, but rather squeaked. No amount of learning, or talent, or study of elocution could ever enable the possessor of such a mouth to become an orator. The whole

* Published in the October number of the Dental Journal, 1847.

cause of such deformity was owing to the neglect of the parents while the teeth were being shed. Had a dentist been consulted, the crowded condition of the teeth could have been remedied. There were too many for the space to be occupied; so they became irregular, pressing each other, and thereby deforming the mouth. The above case of deformity is but one in thousands that could be related. But even allowing that all due care has been exercised to preserve the symmetry of the dental arch by having at the proper time the teeth removed, so that there is no crowding or malformation, still, unless the teeth are preserved from decay by proper attention to their health, there will be a difficulty of articulation and enunciation.

Dr. Hill relates a case that occurred in his own practice: "The Rev. Mr. S. was deeply afflicted with a diseased bicuspid, situated on the right side of the upper jaw. He called at our office for relief; we advised extraction, and it was removed. On the following Sabbath, while engaged in the performance of Divine service, he became so annoyed by the loss of that tooth, and so difficult was his enunciation, that he was compelled to stop in the midst of his discourse, and explain the cause of his difficulty to his congregation. And this from the loss of a single tooth." If such a case of inconvenience arises from the loss of a single tooth, what must be the effect where, from neglect, almost all are lost. A clergyman not long since called upon us to have some slight operation performed, who had, by inattention and neglect, allowed tartar to collect and remain around his teeth, so that his breath was not only very offensive, but a number of his teeth were lost from this cause, and others were loose. Such was the condition of his mouth, that when he spoke in the pulpit a hissing sound was audible throughout the church. The teeth cannot have too much room. If they were a little separated, they would be less liable to decay. Such men as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Patrick Henry, and others, had broad, well-formed mouths. It behooves every one, especially public speakers, to seek to remedy, as far as possible, any deformity that may arise from the loss of the teeth. In a great measure this may be effected by artificial substitutes. In this age of dentistry there is no deformity or loss that cannot be readily remedied and supplied by the competent dental surgeon in such a manner that, after a little practice, the artificial teeth may be said to make up the deficiency occasioned by the loss of the natural, and fulfill to a wonderful degree all purposes of mastication, articulation, and beauty.

Artificial teeth are now made and set on various material, principally on gold and platina. Those on gold are mostly parts of sets,

for which purpose it is the best; but for whole upper or under sets, Dr. John Allen's invention of continuous gum-work, or, in other words, a porcelain body baked on a base of platina, is now taking the place of all other materials. One of the principal reasons is that the materials are perfectly pure, being porcelain, pure gold, and platina, so constructed that no impurities of the mouth can tarnish or penetrate them; then again it is in one piece, and can be so enameled and carved as to almost defy detection, or awaken the suspicion that they are artificial.

The use of false teeth is very ancient. Although we have no reliable information in what country or among what people they originated, there are accounts of these appliances in the works of Grecian and Roman authors; but they must have been of the rudest kind, and of far different make and material from those of the present day. It was not until the present century that anything like perfection and comfort were attained in the manufacture and use of artificial dentures. It is, in fact, but a few years since the principal material of which artificial teeth were composed was either that of various animals, or human teeth; all of which answered but partially, as all such material was more or less liable to decay, and become offensive in the mouth. Then, again, the metal and other attachments were of the rudest kind, soon wearing and injuring the teeth to which they were attached. Within a few years this branch of dentistry has advanced with rapid strides, so that now, as we have remarked above, artificial teeth of the purest material and perfect adaptation to the mouth can be obtained, answering all purposes for which they are needed.

Art. X.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

Protestantism. — A number of BILLS RELATING TO RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS have been acted upon by the Parliament in the usual manner. Spooner's Anti-Maynooth bill has been defeated by a large majority. A bill for the abolition of Church rates has been carried in the House of Commons, but rejected by the House of Lords. The Jews have at length forced their entrance into Parliament, the House of Lords having passed a bill to permit the House of Commons to admit Jews. THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO INDIA will not be changed. Its countenance and aid will not be given to the means of bringing the Christian religion under the notice of the native population, but the strictest neutrality will be observed as before. The petitions for a division of the diocese of Calcutta, and the erection of several new episcopal sees have not been granted. So much the greater have been the efforts of the MISSIONARY SOCIETIES, most of which have had, during the past year, a considerable in-

crease of income. The strife of PARTIES IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH has continued with great violence. The Bishop of London has withdrawn the license of the Rev. Mr. Poole, of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, for grave charges brought against him in connection with his use of the confessional and of private absolution. On appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, this withdrawal has been confirmed. The Puseyite friends of Mr. Poole contest the charges of immorality brought against him, and insist that his conduct is wholly in conformity with the letter of the English Prayer Book. A writer in the Union even thinks that "with such fellows [who charge Mr. Poole and the ladies who work for the Church of St. Barnabas] there is no other way of dealing than the *argumentum ad baculum*." The special services at Exeter Hall have been resumed by a clergyman of the Established Church, and twelve clergymen have been announced to preach on twelve successive Sundays. As the laws forbid any person to "officiate" in a parish without the incumbent's consent, they will use, not the Prayer Book, but *extempore* prayers, and a made up service of their own. Thus, they say, they do not "officiate," but merely avail themselves of a law which gives to every Englishman the right to address his countrymen in any place and on any subject, provided public order be be not disturbed. Mr. Edouart, the incumbent, appeals strongly to his bishop to protect him, but the bishop leaves him to the law.

The Roman Church. — A circular has just been issued to the supporters of THE TABLET, signed by one of the proprietors, announcing that it is impossible to carry on that paper without some assistance, stating that the circulation has fallen off from 5,200 to 2,000, and that it entails a positive loss of $250 per annum. It is a remarkable fact that the mortality of the leading Roman Catholic papers in nearly every country of Europe is greater than that of any other class of periodicals.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

Protestantism. — THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE LUTHERAN AND THE EVANGELICAL PARTIES IN PRUSSIA continues without abatement. The third party, the Rationalists, seem to be, at least among the clergy, without any organization. In the province of Pomerania, a petition to the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, of about seventy clergymen, and some patrons and magistrates, for the maintenance of the Union, has been followed by petitions with by far more numerous signatures for the protection of the Lutheran Confession. The supreme head of the Church tries hard to satisfy both parties, but on the whole, its decisions are in favor of the Union. The "Central Verein" of Saxony, the oldest of the orthodox societies of the clergy, has expressed, with all votes against ten, the wish that the consistory may bind the clergymen, at their ordination and appointment, to the *unaltered* Confession of Augsburg, of 1530, as a symbolical book. This is considered as an important move toward an entire identification with the Lutheran party. On the other hand, the evangelical "Union Association," under the leadership of Dr. Stier and Professor Jacobi has likewise largely increased the number of its members, as now nearly three hundred clergymen of the province belong to it. An effort of THE LUTHERAN PARTY IN BAVARIA to start a Lutheran Church Diet in opposition to the German Church Diets, has been frustrated by a prohibition of the Supreme Consistory of Munich, "because there seemed to be no need for it." THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION OF WIRTEMBERG will soon undergo important changes. The Evangelical Synod, which consists of the members of the Royal Consistory and the six Superintendents-General, has, in the name of the Church, expressed the wish that the Supreme Ecclesiastical Board be reinstated in its former or a similar relation to the Evangelical seminaries; that the Church have the right of concurrence in the appointment of theological professors at the University of Tubingen; that the congregations have a right of participation in the filling of the local Church offices; that provision be made for a restitution of the property of the Church, and for a suitable administration of local donations. It also prays for the convocation of a General Synod, to consist, besides the present members of the Evangelical Synod, of a theological professor of Tubingen, of one of the presidents of the Evangelical seminaries, of one dean, three clerical and three lay deputies of each of the six dioceses. No doubt is entertained that the government will grant these points. THE RATIONALISTS still flourish in the Thuringian states; but in Prussia a pastor of the State Church has been deposed for having acknowledged his disbelief in the divinity of Christ, while in Hesse-Darmstadt, another minister, who

had preached against the existence of a devil, has come off with a reprimand. THE BAPTISTS have at length been recognized as legally constituted in Hamburg and Nassau, and in Hesse Cassel orders have been given to be more lenient toward them.

The Roman Church. — The great INFLUENCE OF THE JESUITS IN AUSTRIA is still on the increase. In Innsbruck, the capital of Tyrol, where the government gave to them all the chairs in the theological faculty of the University, they now establish a large seminary, after the example of the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, in order to train, the more efficiently, the candidates for the secular ministry in an unreserved obedience to Rome. In Vienna, where likewise a Jesuit and a Dominican have been appointed professors of theology, the archbishop urges the younger members of the clergy to meet the two Italian monks from time to time in theological discussions. A letter of the General of the Jesuits to Count Thun, the Minister of Public Instruction, which has recently been published, claims for the members of the order who are appointed as professors of state institutions, an exemption from the usual examination by the proper authorities of the state, and for the superiors of the order the right of appointing, without any concurrence on the part of the state ministry, the most suitable persons. At an ASSEMBLY OF GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN BISHOPS, at Fulda, which is to meet every other year for the purpose of holding a spiritual retreat, no more than eight bishops appeared. THE MONASTIC ORDERS and religious associations among laymen multiply in all parts of Germany to an extraordinary degree, and also in Austria the increase has been greater than usual. THE GOVERNMENT OF WIRTEMBERG has abolished the so-called Royal Catholic Church Council, a board of state officers, mostly laymen, whose duty it was to guard the rights of the state against any encroachment on the part of the Roman hierarchy. Its existence has been for many years among the principal complaints of the Catholic party. The same party exults at another success in the kingdom of Hanover, where, at its request, the professors of Catholic colleges have been exempted from the provisions of a new law, which classes the professors of the colleges among the state officers. The teachers of the elementary schools, though paid by the state, had already before been recognized as officers of the Church. The alliance between the Protestant aristocracy of Hanover and the Roman bishops is complete. The Prussian government has this year given the permission which in former years was repeatedly refused, that the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CATHOLIC OR PIUS ASSOCIATIONS be held in Cologne. Several foreign bishops, and some of the leaders of the Catholic party in France and Belgium, are expected at this assembly, which is likely to surpass in importance any of the preceding ones. The editors of THE LEADING POLITICAL DAILY of the Catholic party, Deutschland, have been arrested on account of debts, and the paper for one day stopped. It is doubted, if the paper, which has never been self-sustaining, but chiefly supported by the Archduchess Sophia, the mother of the Emperor of Austria, will survive the present year.

SWITZERLAND.

Protestantism. — THE FIRST EVANGELICAL HELVETIC CONFERENCE, which was held in Zurich on April 27th and 28th, was attended by representatives of all the fifteen Protestant State Churches. Four cantons, Zurich, Vaud, Geneva, and Neufchatel, were represented by clergymen and laymen, the others only by clergymen. It was resolved to recommend to all the cantonal Church governments to have, in future, Good Friday observed as a holy day. The answers of the cantons will be heard at the next conference, which is to meet in Zurich in the spring of 1859. With regard to the Protestant chaplains in the federal army, no memorial will be addressed this year to the federal government, but it was resolved to draw up a liturgy for Divine services in the army, and to discuss the whole subject more fully next year. Although the questions that came up this year were of minor importance, the establishment of regular General Conferences is considered by the whole Protestant press as an important bond of union between the cantonal Churches on the one hand and Switzerland and Germany on the other, and thus as the beginning of a new era in the Church history of Protestant Switzerland. Several cantons have lately recommended to celebrate THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEWLY ELECTED GRAND COUNCILS by a special divine service. In Zurich the services on this occasion were attended by nearly all the members of the new Grand Council, and a large assemblage of people.

The Roman Church.—The Roman Catholics of TESSIN, one of the largest cantons, have long complained that they are under the spiritual jurisdiction of two Austrian bishops, (of Milan and Como,) who are appointed by the Austrian emperor, without consulting the government of Tessin, and that the whole clergy of the canton are educated in Austrian seminaries. The efforts of the Grand Council to obtain from Rome the appointment of a bishop for Tessin alone, have hitherto proved fruitless. The Federal Assembly at Bern has now resolved to demand the ecclesiastical separation of Tessin from Austria as a federal affair. After reformatories for youthful delinquents have been for several years in successful opperation in Protestant Switzerland, the Roman Catholics will establish the first CATHOLIC REFORMATORY in Lucern, for which eighty thousand francs have been collected.

SCANDINAVIA.

Protestantism.—THE INTOLERANCE OF SWEDEN has not been satisfied with rejection of the several bills introduced in the Diet for establishing greater religious toleration, but has even dared actually to revive the penalty of exile for secession from the State Church. Six married women, who had joined the Roman Church, have been sentenced to exile and the loss of the rights of citizenship and inheritance, and the sentence has already been executed. In 1853 (of so ancient a date is their offense) a lawsuit commenced against them was quashed by the Chancellor; but several months ago, at the instigation of the Prince Regent, the nobility, and the clergy, the documents were returned to the court with the request to give the decision as soon as possible. On the 19th of May judgment was pronounced, and the victims of Lutheran intolerance transported to Denmark, where they now live unmolested. In view of such outrages, committed by a Protestant people and priesthood, it is gratifying to know that the intolerance of Sweden has everywhere been repudiated by Protestants as entirely inconsistent with the principles of Protestantism. The Archives du Christianisme, the organ of the Independent Evangelical Churches of France, have even opened a subscription, in order to give the French Protestants an opportunity "to make partly good the wrong inflicted on these poor women by a Church which calls itself Protestant." In the first list of contributors, we find the names of Lutheran, Reformed, Evangelical Reformed, (Independent,) Methodist, and Baptist ministers. Among the Swedish people there is at present A GREAT RELIGIOUS AWAKENING. The Rev. Dr. Steane writes from Sweden that there is not a parish where the awakening is not taking place, and persons of every grade of life are coming under its influence. "There is a freshness and simplicity in the new religious life here, which contrasts strangely with the old fixed and conventional forms in which we (in England) are accustomed to see it."

The Roman Church.—A great EXCITEMENT AGAINST THE ROMAN CATHOLICS seems to reign at present in Christiania and other parts of Norway. In Christiania the Lutheran pastors have commenced a suit against the Catholic priest for not having informed the police of the transition of a Protestant woman to the Roman Church, as the Dissenter Law of 1845 requires, and the priest having been found guilty, has been sentenced to a fine of one hundred dollars. The Catholic congregation of STOCKHOLM is erecting a spacious hospital, which will be conducted by the Sisters of Mercy, and will serve also as an orphanage and poor-house. The necessary means they hope to raise in Austria, whose emperor has permitted them to take up a collection in the whole empire.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—The great Roman Catholic MISSIONARY SOCIETIES which center in France, report for the year 1857 a considerable increase of their income. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith received 4,101,716 francs, an increase of 286,000 francs over the preceding year. The Children's Missionary Society ("Society of the Holy Childhood") had an income of 1,037,629 francs, an increase of 80,705 francs. The French-Spanish expedition to Farther India, which is to put a stop to the persecution of the French missionaries and the native Catholics, was to sail in July. Also on the peninsula of Corea the French missionaries entertain and propagate the opinion that Corea will soon be taken possession of by France. The number of missionaries is constantly increasing; no less than eighty-four young men were ordained priests by Archbishop Morlot, of Paris, on May 31, nearly all of whom will go into the foreign missions. The

LENT SERMONS preached last year in the Imperial Chapel of the Tuilleries, by an Italian Monk, Father Ventura, on the Christian Political Power, have been published with a preface of Louis Veuillot, the editor of the Univers. The author declares it to be the duty of a Catholic government not to confer any favor whatever on Protestants; and if he does not demand that they be extirpated by fire and sword, he at least adroitly insinuates that they should be prevented from extending themvelves. The feelings of the French Protestants are greatly offended at the emperor having selected such a fanatic as a court preacher. A better reception the new volume of the "Conferences" of Father Lacordaire has found, which the celebrated Dominican (who, on account of his republican sympathies, is still exiled from the pulpits of Paris) held two years ago in Toulouse. They are said to be the best which the greatest Catholic pulpit orator of France has written. During the last months the good understanding between THE GOVERNMENT and the Roman Church has been seriously endangered by a decree which intends to force all beneficent institutions to sell their landed property, and to invest the whole proceeds in state rents. It has called forth a very energetic protest on the part of the Catholic party and the Catholic press, and it is believed that the government will recede from its position. Better pleased is the Catholic party with a decree on the colportage of books, which calls on the Prefects to prevent foreign societies which dispose of considerable resources, sending agents into France to call forth agitation. It of course hints at the British Bible and other societies.

Protestantism. — The religious ANNIVERSARIES in Paris were celebrated, as usual, in the month of April. Many of the societies were enabled to report, for the past year, considerable progress, and none showed a decrease of zeal and eagerness. Several societies had again to complain of persecutions to which Protestants are exposed on the part of prefects and other magistrates; it was especially Guizot, who entered a solemn protest against the policy of the government in cautious yet eloquent and decided words. The anniversaries, as well as the Protestant life in France in general, are distinguised for the almost entire ABSENCE OF HIGH-CHURCH VIEWS, and the principles of the Evangelical Alliance meet no where with a more general and hearty support than in France.

ITALY.

The Roman Church. — The honor of THE CATHOLIC PARTY IN SARDINIA has been greatly compromised by the investigations instituted with regard to the late elections, which clearly establish that the clergy have not only intimidated the electors with threats of exclusion from the Church, of eternal damnation, and the like, if they should refuse to vote for the Catholic candidates, but have even resorted to bribery. A number of elections, for example those of both the publisher and editor of the Armonia, the ultramontane paper of Turin, had to be annulled on that account. New salutary laws have been passed on PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, and the erection of normal schools in the provinces, which was resolved upon by the Senate with twenty-six votes against twenty-three, cannot fail to promote the education of the people. The reorganization of the MONASTIC ORDERS, which is one of the favorite schemes of the present pope, has again made some progress, the influential order of the Benedictines having lent a favorable ear to the papal suggestions. Also the erection of NATIONAL SEMINARIES for foreign nations is progressing. The Illyrian bishops are erecting, at their expense, a large Illyrian seminary, and a convent has been assigned by the pope for the establishment of a North American Seminary. In LOMBARDY the Bishop of Bergamo has carried his point, the silencing of the anti-Catholic press. The suppressed Gazette of Bergamo has not reappeared before having recanted all that had been said in its columns against the Catholic Church. In Naples a new seminary for foreign missions will be established. The subscriptions for its erection have had a satisfactory result: it has already been presented with a library of five thousand volumes, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples himself will be its first superior.

Protestantism.—The Potestant HOSPITAL OF GENOA, which was dedicated on June 8, 1857, has published an interesting annual report. The original number of eleven beds has already been increased to twenty-three. Up to the end of December forty-one patients, among them twelve Italians, were received. The annual expenses in its present state are estimated at about nine thousand francs.

It is conducted by evangelical deaconesses. The EVANGELICAL CONGREGATION OF NAPLES, which was founded in 1826, under the patronage of the Prussian embassy, and consists of Germans, Swiss, and French, has now a flourishing boarding and day-school, attended by sixty-five pupils. On February 1st a reading-room was opened for the members of the congregation. Divine service is now celebrated once a month in SALERNO, which has one hundred evangelical Germans. The Protestants of Naples have won golden opinions for the Protestant name by the liberal aid bestowed on the sufferers from the late earthquake. The English opened a subscription, and had a considerable sum distributed through the Catholic clergy. The German, Swiss, and French Protestants distributed thirty-two thousand francs themselves, and remitted an equal sum to the government.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—THE LARGEST EDIFICE OF THE GREEK CHURCH, the Church of St. Isaac, at St. Petersburg, was consecrated on June 10th. The pageants and processions were grand, and good seats, at a window favorably situated, were paid for as high as one hundred and fifty silver roubles each. The cost of the whole magnificent building is reckoned (though this is probably a gross exaggeration) at £13,500,000. The interior, comprising a space of sixty thousand square feet, and taken up neither by seats nor by organs, (in the place of the organ there is a choir of one thousand men's voices,) is very imposing. The hope for an official introduction of THE NEW STYLE in the secular and ecclesiastical chronology of Russia has been for the present disappointed. There is no doubt of the enlightened views of the emperor on this subject; but the Greek clergy oppose it in Russia, as well as in Turkey and Austria, from a blind aversion to anything that proceeds from the "Latins." If the recent intelligence that a RESTRICTION OF THE POWER OF THE ORTHODOX GREEK CLERGY has taken place, is true, we may soon hear of more and greater reforms. THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS is prosperously progressing. According to the latest accounts, committees of emancipation had been formed in not fewer than thirty-eight governments of Russia, in which there are 9,713,000 serfs.

Protestantism.—The German periodicals of the Baltic Protestant provinces, especially the "inland," occupy themselves seriously with the question of PUBLIC INSTRUCTION and the means of enlarging and improving it. Prussia is generally pointed out as the model that deserves to be imitated. Some speak even of an emancipation of the school from the Church. The theological periodical of Riga apprehends some danger from these incipient movements, and talks ironically of peasant boys who have learned to hold a pen between their dirty fingers. At all events, it sounds well to read in a Russian paper that it has the proud consciousness to be in the midst of a powerful development, such as the country has never been in before.

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—Several new outbreaks of MOHAMMEDAN FANATICISM leave no doubt that the Mohammedan population is in an extraordinary fermentation. In Bosnia six thousand Christians have been compelled to seek refuge on the Austrian territory; in Belgrad the house of the English consul had been attacked; the war with Montenegro has lost nothing of its fierceness; new massacres of Christians were feared in Syria; the population of Candia has handed to the consuls of the Christian powers a long list of complaints against the governor and the Mohammedan population; and, finally, Jiddah, a small town of Arabia, the port of Mecca, was, on June 15th, the scene of a horrid tragedy, no less than twenty Christians, among them the English and French consuls, having been cruelly massacred by the fanatical Mussulmans. Twenty more would have shared the same fate, if they had not found refuge on board the English frigate Cyclops. It is feared that these outbreaks have their origin in a far extending conspiracy of the Mohammedan world against the growing influence of Christians. The good intentions of the Turkish government no one doubts; for in every one of the above named cases it has taken measures to curb the fanatical spirit of the Mohammedans; but it is seriously doubted if it will have the power to prevent much longer a general combat of the Mohammedan and Christian races.

The Greek Church.—The Patriarch and his Council are very slow in complying with the provisions of the Hatti-Hoomayum, which demands a REORGANIZATION OF THE GREEK CHURCH. They use all the

means that are in their hands to delay the fatal moment when the numerous sources of their rich revenues will cease to flow. On May 22d, a note of Mahmud Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs *ad interim*, called for an explanation why the twenty delegates who are to form the new Council of Administration, had not yet arrived at Constantinople. The Council of the Patriarch pleads a deficit of ten millions of piasters in the treasury, and wants to know who is to pay the sum if the bishops are no longer permitted to levy it on their flocks. The Turk has promised to make up the deficit, if only the patriarch and bishops will accelerate the reorganization of the Church. It is reported that the bishops are again quarrelling with THE PATRIARCH, and that he will soon be compelled, after the example of so many predecessors, to resign.

The Roman Church. — The character of THE CONQUESTS OF ROME among the Eastern Churches has recently received a striking illustration by the example of two bishops, one a Greek and the other an Armenian, who, on their wish to join the Roman Church, were admitted without any further examination, loaded with presents, honored with letters from the pope, and with the patronage of the French consuls, and turned out impostors as soon as their object had been reached. On the other hand, it is again reported that several Armenian villages and about four hundred Jacobite families have acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. THE MONASTIC ORDERS, especially those whose superiors reside in France, display an amazing activity. They vie with each other in establishing churches, schools, and hospitals. Several superiors-general have lately made exploring tours through Asia Minor, and declared themselves well satisfied with their reception on the part of the population. A great influence on the Eastern Churches is exercised by the College of the Jesuits of Ghazir, which was founded in 1844, for the education of a native clergy. It counts at present nearly two hundred pupils, all of whom are educated for the priesthood. In order to connect the Eastern Churches which have acknowledged the pope, but still retain many peculiar usages, for example, the marriage of the priests, more closely with Rome, the Jesuits endeavor to induce their pupils to take vows of celibacy. Already six Arabians have been ordained priests, and taken the same obligations as the Roman priests in the Occident. One of them has founded a congregation of native school sisters, who now teach many schools and receive numerous novices. THE LATIN PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM, Bishop Valverga, who displays likewise an extraordinary zeal, has in his theological seminary at Jerusalem twenty-six pupils, all native candidates for the priesthood.

Protestantism. — The Protestant CONGREGATIONS AMONG THE ARMENIANS have received large accessions, for example, in Marash, where, at one time, forty-nine persons presented themselves for examination, twenty-eight of whom were received to Christian fellowship. In CONSTANTINOPLE the Protestants are indebted to the munificence of the sultan for a large cemetery, which has been enclosed with a wall at the joint expense, of the Protestant governments, (England, Prussia, United States of North America, Holland, Sweden, the Free States of Germany, and Denmark,) each of which states will receive a separate part of it. The congregation of BELGRADE, in Servia, has received from the prince five thousand florins as a contribution for church and parsonage, and an annual contribution of six hundred florins for the support of a clergyman, but admits on that account the same disastrous influence of the government on its ecclesiastical affairs, which has proved so fatal to the growth of Protestantism in the other European states. In JERUSALEM deplorable misunderstandings have occurred between the English and Prussian Protestants, and Bishop Gobat, who was arrested by order of the English Consul, thought of resigning his post.

Art. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, July, 1858.—1. John Wycliffe, (Second Article:) 2. Abelard, (Second Article:) 3. The Antecedents of the Moravians: 4. The General Assembly of 1858: 5. The Mosaic Account of Creation, Scientific.

II. The Theological and Literary Journal, July, 1858.—1. The Principle of A. O. Brownson's Successive Theological Opinions: 2. The Prophetic Periods of the Apocalypse and Daniel: 3. Notes on Scripture: John the Baptist: Christ: 4. The Annals of the American Pulpit: The Presbyterian: 5. The Religions of India and China: 6. The Land of Promise.

III. The North American Review, July, 1858.—1. Pierce's Analytic Mechanics: 2. George Stephenson: 3. The Missouri Valley and the Great Plains: 4. Contemporary French Literature: 5. The Phillips Family and Phillips Exeter Academy: 6. The Aquarium: 7. Laws of Association and Ornmental Gardening: 8. Ozanan's Civilization of the Fifth Century: 9. Lord Normanby's Year of Revolution in Paris: 10. The Basques and their Country: 11. Recent Commentaries on the New Testament.

IV. The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, July, 1858.—1. Sprague's Annals of the Presbytetian Pulpit: 2. Historical Value of the Pentateuch: 3. Missions in Western Africa: 4. The Present State of India, (with map:) 5. The General Assembly.

V. Universalist Quarterly and General Review, July, 1858.—1. The Grace of God: its Nature: its Superiority to Sin: 2. Female Education: 3. Water Baptism: 4, If a Man Die, shall he Live again? 5. Universalism as a Purpose and a Power: 6. Hope, Sympathy, Destiny: 7. Tradition: 8. The Jewish Church: 8. Literary Notices.

VI. The Freewill Baptist Quarterly, July, 1858.—1. Infant Baptism and its Relative Errors: 2. Slavery: 3. Leprosy in Israel: 4. Temptation: 5. The Relation of Christianity to Public Wrongs: 6. Evil Speaking: 7. The Love of God as Manifested in his Works: 8. Ministerial Success and Usefulness.

VII. Southern Baptist Review, June, 1858.—1. Avenging of the Elect: 2. The Rise of the Dutch Republic: 3. Duelling: 4. Christian Union: 5. The Rise, Progress, and History of Infant Baptism and Rhantism: 6. The Allegory of Dante's Divine Comedy: 7. The Present Age; 8. Theology: The Philosophy of Religion: 9. Breckenridge's Theology.

VIII. Evangelical Review, July, 1858.—1. The Review: the Church: 2. Select Analytical Bibliography of the Augsburg Confession: 3. The three Saxon Electors of the Era of the Reformation: 4. Christ Preaching to the Spirits in Prison: 5. Mormonism: 6. Baccalaureate Address: 7. Liturgical Studies: 8. Olsshausen's Commentary: 9. Livingstone's Travels in Africa; 10. Manual of Church History.

IX. Brownson's Quarterly Review, July, 1858.—1. Revivals and Retreats: 2. Rome and its Ruler: 3. Conversations of Our Club: 4. Necessity of Divine Revelation: 5. Clapp's Autobiographical Sketches.

X. The Southern Presbyterian Review, July, 1858.—1. Alexander Von Humboldt: 2. The Trinity of the Godhead, the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, (Continued:) 3. Dr. Wayland on the Limits of Human Responsibility: 4. Popular Objections to Science: 5. The Mind of Man, the Image of God: 6. The Religious Awakening of 1858: 7. The General Assembly of 1858.

XI. The American Quarterly Church Review, and Ecclesiastical Register, July, 1858.—1. The Jewish and Christian Dispensations historically considered: 2. The Rev. Charles Tomes: 3. The Church and our Foreign Population: 4. Christianity and the Caucasian Theory: V. Professor Fisher's History of the Church of Christ in Yale College: 6. Skepticism or Superstition: 7. The Memorial Movement—Church Unity: American Ecclesiastical History, (Continued.)

XII. The Christian Review, July, 1858.—1. The Authorship of the Epistle of Jude: 2. The Religion of Phrenology: 3. Randall and the Free-will Baptists: 4. Alleged Discrepancies in the Bible: 5. Christianity in the Legal Profession: 6. Hanserd Knollys in America: 7. The Plague of Blood.

XIII. The Quarterly Review of the M. E. Church, South, July, 1858.—1. German Philosophy: 2. Use and Abuse of the Pulpit: 3. Power of the Press: 4. Popular Education: 5. The Fourth General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South: 6. Address of the Bishops to the Fourth General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South: 7. Pastoral Address of the Fourth General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South: 8. Reports on Education, adopted by the Fourth General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The Southern Methodist Quarterly Review has disappeared from our synopsis during the past year because, for cause unknown, it has disappeared from among our exchanges. Upon the accession of its present able editor, the Rev. T. O. Summers, D.D., it has resumed its visitations as a welcome cotemporary. We are gratified that it has survived the perils of the last General Conference, and continues its existence under favorable auspices. Its price is raised to two dollars without discount. Arrangements are made for the aid of able contributors, and a special effort is to be made by the friends of an elevated Church literature to sustain the work. We earnestly hope that the friends of the Review will succeed in enabling it to fulfill its high mission as a bulwark of a true evangelical Arminian theology in the southern states of our American Union.

XIV. The New-Englander, August, 1858.—1. The History of Modern Philology: 2. Ellis on the Unitarian Controversy: 3. Lewes's Biographical History of Philosophy: 4. Theodore Parker and "The Twenty-eighth Congregational Society," of Boston: 5. The Right of Search: 6. The American Tract Society: 7. The Religious Awakening of 1858: 8. The Literature of Spiritualism: 9. The Ante-Mosaic Origin of the Sabbath.

We have before noticed the two articles on Comparative Philology in the Bibliotheca Sacra, by Rev. B. W. Dwight, of Brooklyn, now of Clinton, N. Y. The first article of this number of the New-Englander is from the same pen, and is the best of the three. Mr. Dwight goes rapidly over the rise and progress of the new science of modern philology with a very complete mastery, clearness, and life. With some of the idiosyncracies of an enthusiast, he attains results which nothing but enthusiasm could attain, and which, as often, revels in idiosyncracies not only pardonable but rather pleasing. The young student who has caught glimpses of the fascinating field of philology, but is still so bewilderd by its mazes as not to know where to begin or whither to direct his steps, can find no better hand-book in our language to point his path than this article.

Article ninth is from the pen of Professor Gibbs, and is one of the choice monographs of that profound scholar and penetrating thinker.

XV. The Christian Examiner, July, 1858.—1. The Church of Rome in her Theology: 2. The Material Condition of the People of Massachusetts: 3. The Composition of the Apocalypse: 4. Curtis's History of the Constitution: 5. Mr. Combe on Sculpture and Painting: 6. Oriental Christianity and Islamism. 7. Bancroft's American Revolution: 8. Review of Current Literature.

On the eighth page of this number of the Examiner we have the following surprising information in regard to the Methodist view of the doctrine of Assurance: "The Methodists ignore it, or, rather, are completely ignorant of it; although, like Spurgeon, they practically adopt it in revival preaching, thereby making unconscious *self*-sufficient Christian converts."

For reckless assertion like this the plea of ignorance might be allowed, were not the author so self-complacent in his style, and were not the knowledge so abundantly within his reach. If, rising from his study, he had walked into the streets, and put to the first plain, earnest Methodist he met, the question: Do your people hold that a man may and should know his sins forgiven? the prompt and clear-eyed affirmative he would have received would have convinced him that his informant well understood both the question and the true answer. Would the said writer next go to a place where he might learn many things he sadly needs to know, namely, to a Methodist prayer-meeting, and put, not to the pastor, but to the people there, the same question, he would receive an answer so unanimous and so hearty, as would show him that the doctrine was not confined to a period of special "revival preaching." Would he then condescend to look into a Methodist Hymn Book, more copies of which are probably scattered through his own single state of Massachusetts than of any Socinian volume of Psalmody through the whole world, he would find a department of some thirteen pages, headed at each page with crowning capitals, "Adoption and Assurance;" upon which pages the hymns would contain stanzas like the following:

> "His Spirit which he gave
> Now dwells in us, we know;
> The witness in ourselves we have,
> And all its fruits we show."

If then he would proceed to open Wesley's Sermons, more copies of which have been doubtless circulated throughout our land during the last thirty years than of any other three divines extant, he will find no less than three sermons on the Witness of the Spirit as an *assurance of our salvation* to our own spirits. If he will open that widely-circulated body of divinity, Watson's Institutes, in which our young ministry are trained, he will find the doctrine clearly discriminated and ably elaborated. If, finally, he will look into our humble Quarterly Review, which circulates a larger subscription than any other quarterly in the United States, he will find, in our last October number, an able article on the subject, of some fifteen pages. And so lately as our January number, (p. 138,) in stating the positions of our theology as against Calvinism, our own words were: "And then, while both Calvinisms dread the doctrine of *Assurance*, knowing that, joined to the doctrine of infallible *Perseverance*, it produces a bold presumption of not only *present*, but *eternal* salvation, Methodism teaches us the duty and the joy of knowing a present salvation; and knowing it each hour of life for just that hour!"

And now, having put this peremptory gentleman through this course of study, we benevolently offer him this parting piece of caution. Whenever you attempt to make sweeping imputations of ignorance upon your neighbors, be sure you are not yourself the *ignoramus.*

Yet one word more. This writer, on the authority of Sir William Hamilton, affirms that the doctrine of Assurance was the "salient point" of the Reformation, and that the orthodox Protestants have abandoned their own ground, and coincided with the Romanists on this point. If he will turn to the eighteenth number of the British and Foreign Evangelical Review, he will find Sir William Hamilton somewhat refuted on that point, and will, perhaps, conclude that he is himself as much mistaken in his second-hand erudition as in his first-hand imputations.

XVI. Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1858.—1. The Greek Church: 2. The True Theory of Missions to the Heathen: 3. Was Peter in Rome, and Bishop of the Church at Rome? 4. The Scriptural Doctrine of a Future State: 5. Congregationalism and Symbolism,

The second article is a discussion, the most able we have ever seen, of the true view of *heathen salvability* as the basis of missionary enterprise. It ranges the various views upon the subject under three theories:

I. The worldly or unevangelical theory, which acknowledges the vast intellectual and moral benefits produced by missions, of a temporal character, but wholly ignores the truly spiritual and eternal results. Of such acknowledgments the Westminster Review is liberal, while it denounces and ridicules the idea that heathenism is liable to eternal damnation, and utters hyperboles of abhorrence at all missionary effort based upon such idea.

To this theory the writer ably objects, 1. It is founded upon low assumptions. It recognizes earthly interests alone. It views man only as an animal and forgets his immortal nature. 2. It contradicts the picture of heathen depravity and moral ruin drawn by Scripture, as in the second chapter of Romans and various other passages, as well as the confirmations of that picture given by every visitant of heathen regions qualified by moral sensibilities to judge. In reference to St. Paul's description of heathen depravation, we have the following striking remarks:

"Says the Rev. Mr. Eckard, missionary to India: 'I have read this tremendous catalogue to assemblies of Hindoos, showing from facts which both they and I knew, that each of these sins belongs, in a high degree, to their national character. I have asked the heathen themselves whether the crimes enumerated by the apostle were not their national characteristics. Never, that I remember, did I fail to hear them confess that such was the case.' The Rev. Sheldon Dibble, in his earnest and valuable work entitled 'Thoughts on Missions,' after quoting Paul's language, adds: 'This description is not understood in Christian lands, neither can it be; but missionaries to the heathen, who are eye-witnesses of what is here described, place an emphasis on every epithet, and would clothe every word in capitals.' Again, he says: 'The character of the heathen is no better now than in the days of Paul. It is *worse.* It is impossible to describe the state of degradation and unblushing sin to which the nations, for ages sinking, have sunk. . . . It is impossible to give a representation of their unrestrained passions, the abominations connected with idol worship, or the scenes of discord, cruelty, and blood which everywhere abound. Deceit, oppression, and cruelty fill every hut with woe, and impurity deluges the land like an overflowing stream. Neither can it be said that the conduct of the heathen becomes

sinless through ignorance. From observation for many years, I can assert that they have consciences—that they feel accountable for what they do.' And this last assertion is Paul's inspired testimony also, for he concludes his awful catalogue of heathen crimes with the words: 'Who, knowing the judgment of God, that they who commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them." The heathen are not mere ignorant worshipers of idols, who through wrong education have fallen into the practice of erroneous ceremonies, while living otherwise in a state of savage simplicity and virtue; but they are men who sin against inward and outward light; who are consciously selfish, immoral, cruel, and beastly; who reject the truth when it is brought to them, because it condemns their vices; who, as a mass, doubtless wish to be different from what they are; and who, on being pressed, acknowledge that their course is wrong. The remorse which they express, the sacrifices which they offer, the tortures which they endure, the fear of Divine wrath which they exhibit, all testify to their consciousness of guilt and their desire to propitiate the offended Deity. Those who are brought into contact with them by travels, by trade, by war, or by efforts to instruct and elevate them, all testify to their mental capacity, their shrewdness, their quickness to distinguish between right and wrong, especially where their own interests are involved, and the superiority of their knowledge to their conduct. It is noticeable, also, that the men of the world who are ready to palliate or even deny the guilt of the heathen, when arguing against missions, are fully convinced of their accountability and guilt, when made to suffer by their crimes. Let a sea-captain be cheated in trade, or have articles stolen from his ship by the natives of a heathen land, and how full of indignation he is against their villany! Or, let a ship's crew be murdered and the cargo plundered, and how soon our rulers dispatch a vessel of war to cannonade and burn the native village, and to inflict 'summary justice' upon the criminals! We hear nothing said upon such occasions of the ignorance and innocence of the heathen. All who speak intelligently and candidly, admit that they are sufficiently enlightened to be responsible for their conduct. Therefore the view of the Bible, sustained by all careful observation, condemns the secular theory of missions, which is based on so inadequate an idea of heathen character, as superficial and worthless." Pp. 549–551.

3. The unevangelical theory is inefficient. Philanthropists of the Westminster Review stamp are much more at home in criticising missionary assumptions, systems, and operations, than in setting up any enterprises of their own. They are never missionaries themselves. They establish no missionary societies. They make no missionary speeches. All their missionary writings are of a critical rather than a practical character. They are, in the language of Burns:

> "Sae pious and sae holy
> They've nothing in the world to do
> But mind their neighbors' folly."

II. *The extreme evangelical theory*, which assumes the certain damnation of all who have not learned the name and faith of Christ. This is "the accepted theory of the Romish Church and of a part of the Protestant Church, perhaps of the majority of the latter." He adds in a note the following bold language:

"The Presbyterian Confession of Faith (chap. x, § 4) uses language of remarkable boldness on this point, saying: 'Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come to Christ, and therefore cannot be saved; *much less* can men not professing the Christian religion be saved in any other way whatever, *be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature* and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested.' This is sufficiently posi-

tive; especially as it contradicts both our Saviour and the apostle Paul. It represents heathen who live according to their light as '*much less*' able to be saved than men who hear the Gospel and reject it, thus directly contradicting our Saviour, who declared that those who rejected his words would receive a heavier condemnation than even the depraved, unrepentant inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, or Tyre and Sidon. Matt. xi, 20–24. The 'Confession of Faith' declares the salvation of conscientious heathen to be 'much less' possible than that of unbelieving hearers of the Gospel; while Christ asserts that even the most flagrant sinners of the heathen shall find it 'more tolerable' in the day of judgment, than such unbelievers. Equally at variance with the 'Confession of Faith' is the declaration of Paul in Rom. ii, 14, 26, 27, in which he shows how those 'having not the law may be a law unto themselves,' and how their 'uncircumcision shall be counted for circumcision.'" P. 553.

On this subject the author argues ably:

"1. It is revolting to our moral sense. By this we do not mean that it is simply painful to our sensibilities, and that we shudder at its contemplation. That fact alone would never disprove its truth. We shudder at the execution of a murderer; yea, even at the sight of a company of convicts as they march from their workshops to be locked in their cells. All punishment and all suffering, from whatever cause, is painful to the beholder, and yet is often just and necessary. We object not, therefore, to the idea of the unexcepted perdition of all the heathen, on the mere ground that it is in itself an awful conception, but to the idea in its relations. Nor here, again, do we object to it in its relation to the Divine justice, considered as the retribution on willful sin; but to its relation to Divine mercy in a world which is not governed by mere legal justice. The facts of human history and the declarations of the Bible alike declare, that mercy is a prominent attribute of the Divine character, and that this world is for some reason, known or unknown, under its care. We cannot, therefore, resist the conviction—it is an affirmation of the moral sense of all men—that guilty though the human race may be, and deserving of destruction, yet every man lives under a dispensation of mercy and has an opportunity for salvation. To assert gravely, then, that the heathen who have never heard of Christ are shut out from all possible hope of pardon, and are not in a salvable position in their present circumstances, is to offend the moral sense of thoughtful men as well as that of the common multitude. It is worse than denying that an atonement has been made for all mankind, and restricting it to the elect alone; for that doctrine, however theoretically untrue, is saved from much of its practical evil by our inability to point out the elect in advance; so that our hopes are not cut off for any particular man. But this theory points to actual masses of men, to the entire population of whole countries, and dooms them to a necessary perdition with no present hope of pardon; and it extends this judgment backward to generations in the past, who are represented as having had no share in that mercy which we have such reason to believe to be universal in its offers. Such a theory practically denies the Divine grace by suspending its exercise, so far as the heathen (the majority of the human race) are concerned, upon the action of those already enlightened. It declares that there is no possible mercy for the heathen unless *Christians* choose to carry the Gospel to them. Does it seem rational, or in harmony with the universality and freedom of God's grace, that the only possibility of salvation for the mass of mankind should be suspended, not on anything within their control, but on the conduct of men on the opposite side of the globe? By such representations the minds of men are shocked, and a reaction takes place, which is unfavorable not only to the cause of missions, but to evangelical religion as well. They are led to think of evangelical religion as a severe, gloomy, remorseless system, which represents God as without mercy, or which confines that mercy within an exceedingly narrow compass. By describing the salvation of Pagans as absolutely impossible, an influence is exerted in favor of universalism and infidelity." Pp. 554, 555.

His further points on this subject are, 2. No passage in the Bible asserts this theory. 3. Nor does any doctrine of the Bible *imply* this extreme theory.

"That an atonement is necessary under the moral government of God, in order to the pardon of any of our race, is true; but it does not therefore follow that every penitent transgressor shall know, in this life, on what ground pardon is granted.

"We have at once an illustration of our meaning and a demonstration of the correctness of the position for which we contend, in the case of the saints who lived before the coming of the Saviour, and who, though ignorant of the nature of the work which he was to accomplish, were yet, as penitents, accepted for his sake. It is indeed often said that they looked forward to him *as* we look back, so that their faith was the same. But it was not so. There is no reason to believe that (with the possible exception of a few inspired writers) the good men of those days had any definite conception of the atonement. They expected a Messiah who would deliver the nation; but that they at all understood his sacrificial work, is improbable. We know that the apostles, with far more favorable opportunities of learning the truth, from the instruction of the Saviour himself, failed to acquire it, until his death and resurrection, with his subsequent teaching, enlightened their minds. Even the prophets, who foretold his vicarious sufferings, may not have understood what the Holy Spirit meant by the words of their prophecy, but probably wondered at the mystery. Does not Peter imply this when he says: 'Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you; searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow?' The truth is, that all the saints, (except possibly a few specially enlightened persons,) from Adam to Christ, repented of sin, threw themselves upon the Divine mercy by prayer, sacrifice, and such other rites as they were taught to use, and were accepted for Christ's sake, without knowing anything distinctly of his atonement. And we see no reason why a dark-minded but penitent sinner among the heathen may not be saved in a similar manner." Pp. 557, 558.

III. The *true evangelical theory* regards the preached Gospel as an indispensable instrumentality to induce repentance on a general scale among heathen nations. Here he argues the importance of missionary effort. 1. To reveal the *facts* of salvation. 2. To present the most powerful motives to repentance. 3. To elevate the temporal condition and character. We have no doubt, in point of fact, that this last motive figures much more largely in the minds of the supporters of missions than it does in the formal missionary argument either of our author or of other eloquent advocates.

Nevertheless it is under this third head that our reviewer presents his case with least force. Let us suggest in addition the following points: 1. Millions who now reject the Gospel in heathen lands would be Christians if they had the full blaze of Gospel truth and the full power of Christian education upon them. They have light enough now to save them; enough to condemn them for rejection. And yet a larger amount would save them. 2. Millions are now so ignorant as to be but barely responsible. They can never be happy, they will not be deeply miserable; but with the full Gospel they would attain eternal life. 3. The conversion of heathendom would react blessedly upon Christendom. Infidelity and unchristian secularism would cease. A stronger faith, a higher style of piety would arise. None would remain unconverted. And as all would then be Christendom, the millenial glory would be truly as intensive as extensive. 4. This millennium (predicted Rev. xx) we hold to be a prophetic year-day period. It is the long DAY of the Christian dispensation of which we have thus far had the *dawn* and are yet in its gray *twilight*. Blessed Saviour, what will be its *noontide!*

The FOURTH article is a brief but scholarly and effective discussion of the doctrine of destructionism as presented in the late work of Prof. Hudson. It deals with the doctrine in a purely argumentative spirit, as a heresy not in itself damnable should be treated. Indeed, when we consider the immense amount of occult and subtle Universalism pervading not only the age but the congregation and the Church, we have sometimes thought that there is perhaps a large class of minds whom this doctrine—substituting a less for a greater evil—may rescue from doctrinal and moral ruin. At the same time it is a counteractive of the vagaries of spiritism, just as the infidelity of some of our foreign population is a counterbalance against the Romanism of the remainder. Yet the spread of this theory would as surely, though in a less degree, produce that lax theology, that low morality, and that "lukewarm Church" which Olshausen found, to his cost, resulted from Restorationism.

Article FIFTH, by Prof. Shedd, of Andover, is a hortatory lecture in favor of reviving the life of effete Calvinism in New England Congregationalism. It calls for a revival of a more intense creed spirit in that part of the Christian Church. We imagine this to be a very hazardous proposition. Prof. Shedd recounts, we imagine in vain, the imaginary triumphs of old Calvinism over Arminianism—of Robinson over Episcopius. Episcopius not only still stands upon our shelves a monument of theological greatness unsurpassed by anything Calvinism can show, but his doctrines are now quite more truly the doctrines of New England Congregationalism itself than the doctrines of Calvin or Robinson. To revive the dogmatic tone of the Puritan Churches would be to revive not life but feud, not peace but a sword. This very number of the Bibliotheca Sacra bears in its pages, as we have above quoted, a signal instance with how little respect a minister of a professedly Calvinistic Church at the present day may speak of real Calvinism.

This is a superior number of this most scholarly of all the quarterlies in the English language on either side the ocean.

II.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1858.—1. Buckle on Civilization—Destiny and Intellect: 2. Political Economy in France: 3. Swainson on the Creeds: 4. Montaigne—his Life and Writings: 5. Dr. Samuel Brown and his Theories: 6. Guizot's Memoirs: 7. Dr. Trench's Sermons; 8. India and the House of Commons: 9. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

II. THE LONDON REVIEW, July, 1858.—1. Inspiration of Scripture—Current Theories: 2. Lover's Lyrics of Ireland: 3. Points in English Grammar: 4. Sacred Typology: 5. Volcanoes: 6. German Lutheranism: 7. Novels by the Author of the Heir of Redcliffe: 8. Buddhism: 9. Marriage with a deceased Wife's Sister.

III. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, JULY, 1858.—1. Calvin at Geneva: 2. The Last Days of Church Rates: 3. Domestic Animals of Scotland: 4. Cardinal Wiseman's "Recollections:" 5. Medical Education: 6. Women Artists: 7. Recent Astronomy and the Nebular Hypothesis.

IV. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1858.—1. Professor Baden Powell on Christianity without Judaism: 2. The Tenth Century:

3. Edwards and the Theology of New-England: 4. The Revival of the Slave Trade: 5. The Office of Deacon: 6. Dr. Barclay on the City of the Great King: 7. Brownson's Exposition of Himself: 8. St. Hilaire on the Reformation in Spain: 9. Calvinism and Arminianism—Whately and Faber.

V. The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, July, 1858.—1. Exegesis of the Old Testament—Genesis: 2. The Relation between the Teaching of the Apostles St. Peter and St. James on Justification: 3. Life and Times of Zwingli: 4. Wisdom as a Person in the Book of Proverbs: 5. Observations on the Chronology of our Lord's Birth, Death, and Duration of his Ministry: 6. Biblical Revision—the Epistle to the Romans: 7. Syriac Literature—the Acts of Addi.

VI. The Christian Remembrancer, July, 1858.—1. The Choephoræ of Æschylus: 2. The Collects of the Church: 3. The Church Missionary Society and the Indian Episcopate: 4. Christian Societies: 5. Sermons: 6. Bishop Gobat and the Jerusalem Bishopric: 7. Catholic Antidotes: 8. The Declaration of the Six Scottish Bishops.

VII. The Quarterly Review, July, 1858.—1. Admiral Blake: 2. Buckle's History of Civilization in England: 3. Iron Bridges: 4. Life of Wycliffe: 5. Professor Blunt and his Works: 6. Shipwrecks: 7. The British Museum: 8. The Condition and Future of India.

VIII. The Church of England Quarterly Review, August, 1858.—1. The Protector: 2. Recent Fictions: 3. The Religions of India; 4. History of the Jesuits: 5. The English Language: 6. Philosophy of History: 7. Reign of Henri IV: 8. Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

IX. The North British Review, August, 1858.—1. Châteaubriand: 2. Gladstone's Homer: 3. State Papers—Pre-Reformation Period: 4. Biblical Interpretation—Epistles to the Corinthians: 5. British Art—Painting and Sculpture: 6. The Modern English Drama: 7. Egypt and Syria—Western Influence: 8. Researches on Light—Sanatory—Scientific and Æsthetical: 9. Our Indian Army: 10. The Literary Fund Reformers: 11. Political Parties.

It is saying much to affirm as we do that the North British is nearly fulfilling the promise of its early days.

The article on Châteaubriand does justice to the epochal character of his literary productions, to the great influence and great errors of his statesmanship, and to the real mutual injury done by his literary and statesmanly reputations to each other. Gladstone's work on Homer is reviewed by a scholar who appreciates with scholarly enthusiasm both the great original and the eminent commentator. The article on Biblical Interpretations severely criticises the neologism of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, and contrasts his Commentary on Corinthians with that of Dr. Hodge, of Princeton. The article on Light is a specimen of the essays so frequent in the English quarterlies, treating scientific topics in a popular spirit and with brilliant style.

From the article on the Modern English Drama, we quote part of a very unique notice of a poem by an unknown writer, published in America:

"Of 'Saul: a Drama, in Three Parts,' published anonymously at Montreal, we have before us perhaps the only copy which has crossed the Atlantic. At all events we have heard of no other, as it is probable we should have done, through some public or private notice, seeing that the work is indubitably one of the most remarkable English poems ever written out of Great Britain. This copy was given to the writer of the present article by Mr. Nathaniel Hawthorne, to whose recommendation of this, to him and to us, unknown Canadian poet, our readers and English literature generally are beholden for their first introduction

to a most curious work. 'Saul' is in three parts, each of five acts, and altogether about ten thousand lines long. What much adds to the startling effect of this poem is the manifest fact that the writer is some person who has received little or no education, in the ordinary sense of the term. Not only does he make ridiculous mistakes in the commonest Latin quotations—for example, he has '*from* DE PROFUNDUS' twice over—but he is apparently ignorant of English grammar, and even of spelling. There are two things, however, which he proves that he knows, namely, the Bible and human nature; and a poet cannot be said to be really uneducated who knows these well. Shakspeare he also knows far better than most men know him; for he has discerned and adopted his method as no other dramatist has done. He takes not virtue and morality, and their opposites *generally*, as other dramatists do, but these under the single aspect of their dependence upon *spiritual influences*, of whatever kind: the direct influence of the divine Spirit, and the influence of good spirits, and of the principalities and powers of darkness, and even the mysterious influences of music, the weather, etc., upon the moral state of the soul. Like most of Shakspeare's plays, this drama has the appearance of being strangely chaotic. There are hundreds of passages for the existence of which we cannot account, until the moral clue is found, and it would never be found by a careless and unreflecting reader; for the work is exceedingly artistic, and there are few things in recent poetry so praiseworthy as the quiet and unobtrusive way in which the theme is treated. In a work written upon this noble symbolic method, one is never sure of *exactly* stating the author's meaning—indeed, as we have said of Shakspeare, the meaning is too full to be stated more briefly than by the whole poem; but we are sure that we are not far from the writer's intention when we say that in Saul he represents a man who is *eminently* the creature of spiritual influences; who is of the happiest sensitive and perceptive constitution, but lacks the one thing needful, the principle of *faith*, which would have given the will to submit himself to the good influence and resist the bad. 'Faith wanting, all his works fell short,' is the only *explicit* statement in the whole poem of this idea; but the whole poem indirectly implies it. This view of Saul's character, which is amply justified by Scripture history, is carried out and illustrated with an elaborate subtlety of which it is impossible for us to give our readers an adequate idea. The evil spirit of the king is brought personally, under the name of Malzah, upon the stage; and we are made to understand Saul's nature, and the nature of all who are the more or less passive slaves of natural and spiritual influences *ab extra*, by the exaggeration of this character in the spirit himself, who is depicted with an imaginative veracity, which we do not exaggerate in saying has not been equaled in our language by any but the creator of Caliban and Ariel. Malzah is decidedly 'well-disposed,' like many another evil spirit, human or otherwise; he knows his faults; is almost changed, for the moment, into a good spirit by artistic influences, especially music; he has attained to be a deep philosopher through the habitual observation of himself; and does not at all like the evil work of destroying the soul of Saul—a work which he undertook voluntarily, and to which he returns as the fit takes him. The following passages will carry out what we have said, and will illustrate the oddity, subtlety, and originality of this writer's language. Malzah tries to exonerate himself, in soliloquy, from the guilt of destroying Saul:

> "I've had no part in this. I'm sorry too
> (Like thee, king,) that I ever came to thee.
> Zounds! Why, I ought to have strong penance set me,
> Or else be branded with some sign of shame
> For having volunteered for his undoing,
> There's no essential honor nor good i'th' world,
> But a pure selfishness is all in all.—
> Nay, I could curse my demonhood, and wish
> Myself to be thrice lost for that behavior;—
> But I believe I am a very mean spirit."

X. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1858.—1. Hugh Miller: 2. Thiers's History of the Consulate and the Empire: 3. The Progress and Spirit of Physical Science: 4. Canning's Literary Remains: 5. The Health of the Army: 6. The Celts and the Germans: 7. Posthumous Memoirs and Songs of Béranger: 8. Chronicles

of the Teutonic Knights: 9. Froude's King Henry VIII: 10. The Hindú Drama: 11. Earl Grey on Parliamentary Government.

FROM the splendid article on The Progress and Spirit of Physical Science we extract a passage on a point where physics and metaphysics come in curious contact. In the doctrine of definite proportions, the science of chemistry seems to establish the principle of molecular action, demonstrate the old atomic theory, and land in rather homœopathic results:

"If seeking to devote in a few words the most striking characteristic of modern science as directed to matter, we should come at once to the principle of molecular action, in its present application to physical research. Through this doctrine has been made man's deepest inroad into the secrets of the natural world. No single principle is so variously applicable to every branch of knowledge; none has done so much to promote discovery, or to authenticate and give the form and force of law to the results obtained. And yet it may be said to have had a lawless origin, and to have been long a play of human phantasy under the garb of science. We cannot here travel back to those early speculations on atoms which entered so largely into the staple of the ancient philosophy; and which the poetry of Lucretius has better consecrated to later times than the most subtle prose of the Greek philosophers. In every intermediate age, even the darkest, the atomic doctrine, in one form or other, has kept a certain hold on the minds of learned or speculative men; a natural effect of the facility with which it lends itself to any hypothesis, however crude, regarding matter and material phenomena. It was reserved for our own time to render it at once the subject and instrument of legitimate science, the foundation of laws next to mathematical in scope and exactness, and the most powerful of all aids to ulterior research.

"This great achievement, for such it is, we owe mainly to Chemistry; and to John Dalton, the Quaker chemist, more appropriately than to any one besides. Close approaches had been made before to the doctrine of *definite proportions*, as represented by the molecules of matter in their combinations. Such anticipations are recorded in the case of every great discovery. But Dalton (speedily seconded indeed by other great chemists) first gave clear declaration to the principle; and illustrated its applications, mighty in their universality, with a simple sagacity belonging to the genius and habits of the man. The simplicity of his early experiments is, indeed, characteristic also of the manner in which many of the highest truths in science have been reached. Facts the most familiar to common observation, and thence disregarded by common intellects, have furnished better materials and suggestions for discovery than the most recondite theories.

"It has been justly said by Sir J. Herschel, that *number*, *weight*, and *measure* are the foundations of all exact science. The atomic doctrine has acquired from chemistry these conditions, which give it substance and certainty as a physical truth. When analysis and synthesis, carefully applied to compound bodies, disclosed a constant and definite proportion of the combining elements, and an equivalent or multiple ratio of parts in every chemical change, the requirements of number and weight and measure were all met by the discovery. Numbers became needful to express the proportion of the combining molecules; and in every case, even of the most complex chemical compounds, they have been found to fulfill this object so exactly, that combination, yet unknown, may be predicted with assurance as the results of future research. The *absolute weight* of these elementary molecules is unresolved, and will probably ever remain so; but their *relative weight* is known to us through the proportions in which they severally combine; and this method is checked and counter-checked through such vast variety of compounds, that every chance of error is done away. Measure, the third condition proposed, is expressed chiefly in the combining volumes of gases —invariable always, whether under the simplest proportions shown by analysis, or the multiple measures of other chemical compounds.

"Here then we have a great law, or group of laws, thoroughly attested; of

high generality; and proving, because based upon, that atomic or molecular constitution of matter which alone could afford such results. Whatever name we give to them, these atomic parts exist in all bodies, and determine by their own nature or arrangement the properties and functions of each. That they are minute beyond all human measure is proved, not only by the chemical relations just denoted, but also by those relations to heat, light, electricity, and mechanical force which experiment has demonstrated to us.

"No hindrance to belief need exist on this score. When, even in organic or compound material structure, the microscope tells us, by computation, that two cubic feet of the Tripoli slate of Billin contain one hundred and forty billions of fossil infusoria; that there are some millions of distinct fibers in the crystalline lens of the cod-fish, and that a single fungus (Bovista Giganteum) is composed of cellules far exceeding this number—we infer in reason, though not by comprehension, what the elementary molecules must be, so organised into living forms. Looking to simple inorganic matter, or what we suppose such, we have before us a recent memoir of Faraday's on the 'Optical Phenomena of thin Gold Films and Gold Fluids,' where in one experiment a ruby tint, equal to that of a red rose, was given to a fluid by a quantity of gold not exceeding $\frac{1}{600000}$ part of its weight. We quote another instance from this paper, as well expounding the spirit which prompts and guides these bold incursions into the atomic world. In seeking to procure the thinnest film of gold, *retaining continuity*, for the purpose of noting its effects on light passing through it, he obtained by a chemical action on gold-leaf, films not exceeding $\frac{1}{2500000}$ of an inch in thickness. The number of vibrations in an inch of the red ray being thirty-seven thousand six hundred and forty, it follows that each such film cannot occupy more than a hundredth part of the vibration of light—a deduction derived in such way from the premises as to compel belief, hard though it be for the imagination to follow it. But if in these and other cases the imagination fails, yet reason accepts this next to infinite divisibility of matter, and the conception of polarities and mutual relations of atoms so constituted, as the sole method of expounding the phenomena ever present around us." Pp. 95–97.

Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Sermons*, by the Rev. John Caird, M. A., Minister of the Park Church, Glasgow; Author of 'Religion in Common Life.' A Sermon Preached before the Queen." (12mo., pp. 398.) New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. It is a pleasing incident which rendered Mr. Caird a noticeable man, and, in a good degree, made a volume of sermons from his hand an acceptable present to the public. Queen Victoria was one of his audience once, and was so impressed with the excellence of his sermon as to wish its publication for a broader circulation. Our republican principles do not forbid our sympathizing with the interest excited by this royal notice, and experi-

encing a pleasure at the liberality, the desire for the people's moral good, and we would trust, the piety expressed in this simple matter. Moreover, we approve the royal judgment, and think, as her majesty evidently thought, that Mr. Caird's sermons are good enough for a queen.

Mr. Caird's sermons are evangelical in spirit and eloquent in style. They do not abound in strong graphic imagery. They are little doctrinal. There is no terseness or sententious depth; but there is a brilliancy, perhaps sometimes an ambitiousness of language, a glow of feeling, and a transparency of style, which render them attractive to the reader. One of the most suitable specimens is his sermon on Spiritual Influence, from John iii, 7, 8, founded on the analogy between the operation of the Spirit and the blowing of the wind. He introduces the subject with a paragraph drawing the analogy between a regeneration of soul and a regeneration of body, (suggested by Nicodemus's materialistic question,) somewhat diffuse yet not a little beautiful: "Marvelous though it would be for the old man to become a little child again—for one surrounded with the cares and responsibilities of manhood, or sinking into the feebleness of age—to feel the shadow on the sun-dial of life going back, and the light of life's morning once more shining around him; yet might such a return from the maturity or decline of the infancy of man's outward life involve nothing so wonderful as the entering upon a new spiritual history—the second birth of the soul. Could we for a moment entertain the supposition that some one here who is now far advanced in life, had this day become conscious, as if by some mysterious spell passing over him, that a new freshness was beginning to be infused into the springs of his physical life, that the form and features on which Time's impress had unmistakably been set, were being molded anew into the roundness and softness of childhood, and the worn and withered man was by some strange influence transformed again into the bright and buoyant creature of days long by-gone; yet even then, I repeat, extravagant and incredible as such a conception seems, we should have before us a transformation not at all so wonderful, so momentous as that of which the text affirms the possibility. For it speaks, not for the re-construction of the outward form, but of the re-creating of the inward life; not of a mere external metamorphosis, but of an inner and vital change. And it cannot be doubted that mental and moral changes are far more momentous than physical; that a transformation of soul would revolutionise a man's being far more completely than a mere modification of bodily form and feature. The soul is the true essence of man's nature. The character, spirit, moral temper of the inner being constitutes the man, and everything else is outward and incidental. The physical form and life, amidst a thousand changes, may leave the real man unaltered, or as little changed as the inhabitant by the reconstruction of the house, or the person by the new making of the vesture that clothes it."

Founded on the analogy opened in the text, the eloquent preacher proceeds to the solution of three difficulties, namely: The supernaturalness, the sovereignty, or apparent arbitrariness, and the secresy of the Spirit's influences.

Under the first head he traces the progress of men's minds from the age of mythology, in which every process of nature was traced to an animating

Deity, toward the period in which science begins to ignore Deity and recognise natural causations alone in the processes both of physical and moral nature.

"Accustomed to the observation of natural causes at work around them, men cease to think of any other. The tendency becomes habitual to refer everything to the laws of nature, and to imagine that when we have specified the outward and physical causes of any phenomenon, we have completely accounted for it. The voice of God is no longer heard in the thunder when the laws of electricity begin to be known. In the darkened luminary there is no shadow of the Almighty's wing to the observer who can calmly sit down and calculate the period and duration of the solar eclipse. The region of marvels is thus driven further and further back; but the territory lost to superstition is seldom won for religion. The old gods of heathenism have long vanished from the woods, and meadows, and fountains; but it is not that the one living and true God, but only gravitation, light, heat, magnetism, may be recognised as reigning in their forsaken haunts. And we carry the same tendency into the moral world. The outward agents in moral and spiritual changes are those on which we chiefly dwell. The power of motives, the influence of education, the natural efficacy of instructions, appeals, admonitions, warnings—it is to these almost exclusively, and not to any direct operation of the Spirit of God that we are apt to trace changes of character. We may be ready, indeed, decorously to remark, that no good can be done without the blessing of God, but we seldom realize the true significance of this statement. The interposition of a Divine agent in every instance of moral improvement may not be denied or controverted, but it is too often practically ignored. A child grows up gentle, amiable, pious; and when we say that he had the benefit of a careful and religious education, we seem to ourselves to have given the whole account of the matter. A careless youth develops into a thoughtful and serious manhood, and we remark on the sobering and mellowing effect of years. An irreligious man becomes devout, and the dangerous illness, or the severe domestic affliction, or the influence of a Christian friend or minister, has made him, we perhaps observe, a wiser and a better man. Seldom does the mind naturally turn to the thought—'the finger of God is here;' to many it would seem fanatical or irrational thus to speak. The idea of a mysterious Holy Spirit coming down from the heavens, and working in the man's mind, would but too often be regarded, if not avowedly, yet in our secret judgment, as a strange mystical notion, peculiar to the domain of theology, but quite apart from our ordinary experience, having nothing in common with the plain realities of every-day life."

To all this he replies by showing that God is the life of all causations. The universe might stand like a motionless machine did not God actuate its parts and give it intelligent and regulated motion. A true science must recognize an orderly supernatural in nature. What impropriety then in recognizing the same God in regeneration.

There seems a failure in this answer. It reduces regeneration to the category of ordinary natural processes. Thereby God is no more specially recognized in regeneration than in grass growing, or in natural mental education.

At least he leaves himself exposed to this reply, and we have at present no intention to defend him.

Under the head of sovereignty he is ingenious and logical as well as eloquent. The arbitrariness of the Divine operations are only relative and apparent, not absolute. Just as the wind blows "as it listeth," the Spirit comes in power at its own subjective will. It is *like* caprice, and it *is* real mystery. But modern science, as he tacitly assumes, is gradually mounting to the discovery of a higher law for the apparent vagaries of winds and storms. So, fuller understanding of the laws of God's spiritual operations would disclose a higher reason on which the Spirit acts.

"The capriciousness, fitfulness, lawlessness of the wind's motions is only in appearance. The wind never really does act at random. Its endless inconstancies, its ceaseless and unaccountable changes, are the result of material laws as fixed and stable as that by which the planets revolve, or the sun rises and sets. Science, indeed, with all its modern aids and appliances, has made but slight progress in the attempt to trace out the laws of winds and storms, and perhaps this is a province in which our knowledge must ever be imperfect and vague; but the vagueness and imperfection is not in nature but in us. It is only because of the limits of our faculties that we cannot explain the reasons of every vagary of the restless wind, every motion of each ever-changing cloud that forms, and floats, and dissipates, and forms again in the heavens, as easily as we can tell why a stone falls to the ground. And so, too, undoubtedly, it is with that of which the wind is set forth as a type, the agency of the Spirit of God. In his most mysterious dealings with the souls of men, God never acts without a reason. Where to us there seems inconsistency, to Him all is order. What arrogant impiety rejects as harsh and arbitrary, is, to the Mind that alone can comprehend the universe, luminous with the traces of beneficence and wisdom. And all that to the human eye seems dark, unaccountable, capricious, in the economy of grace, is so only, we may be well assured, because our feeble minds are incompetent to grasp the explanation. A time was when the starry firmament presented to the eye of man only the aspect of a maze of luminous points, scattered hap-hazard, or moving at random over the heavens; but at length the great thought was struck out which evolved from all this seeming confusion the most perfect order and harmony. And so, perhaps, a time may come when light shall be thrown on many things that seem mysterious in the arrangements of providence and in the dispensation of grace, and when the undiscovered spiritual law of gravitation shall reduce all seeming arbitrariness to perfect order and beauty. But meanwhile, in presence of the inscrutable order of God's government, it is the befitting attitude of a creature so weak and ignorant, even in earthly things, as man's experience proves him to be, not to criticise, to question, to doubt, but to submit and to adore."

Perhaps there is more revealed of God's laws of spiritual operation than the preacher here acknowledges; and perhaps there is more law to be discovered in the history of spiritual operations in the world, as well as the nature of probation and free will than he tells us. What he does tell is excellent, and excellently told.

Under the third head he traces what the text does not teach, namely, not only the imperceptibility, but the unconsciousness in the subject of the work of regeneration:

"Momentous though the change be, which, in regeneration, the soul is supposed to undergo, it is one of which we have no direct consciousness—no immediate evidence. The finger of the mighty Agent is not felt as it works in the secret depths of our being. Nor is there any external sign, any glory resting on the countenance, any hovering flame or rushing wind, to intimate the presence of the heavenly visitant. Unseen He comes, unseen He departs. We reach and pass the crisis of our spiritual history all unconscious that an event so extraordinary is taking place within the breast."

But are we unconscious of the blowing wind as it comes upon our bodies? At this moment the refreshing breeze of a July morning pours its current through our green shutters, very visibly discomposing the papers on our table, very sensibly strengthening our languid frame in the task of penning this notice for our reader's eye, and very consciously received in its effects by the mind in the unwelcome work of questioning our preacher's orthodoxy.

The author then proceeds to expand his error into beautiful paragraphs. The mightiest agents in nature are imponderable and invisible; cognizable only by their effects. The *results* of wind, of magnetism and gravitation, are stupendous and visible; the *agents* are unseen, unknown. True, we reply, the Spirit and the wind are invisible, and in themselves unfathomable. But *is their contact on our sensibilities unconscious?* That is the author's proposition; and that his analogies do not prove and Scripture does not assert. On the contrary the Spirit *itself beareth witness;* and, like every other witness, attests and authenticates itself in the very act and by the very nature of its testimony to the experience of the child of God. As the voice of a familiar friend not only utters its words, but by its very quality identifies itself, so does the voice of the Spirit to the ear of faith. As the cool breeze not only refreshes but discloses its own nature and presence, so does the Spirit that vivifies the soul attest its own identity.

(2.) "*Border Methodism and Border Slavery:* being a Statement and Review of the Action of the Philadelphia Annual Conference concerning Slavery at its late session at Easton, Pa. By Rev. J. MAYLAND M'CARTER, of the Philadelphia Conference." (8vo., pp. 88. Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine. 1858.) There is no question at the present time upon which the Church entertains a deeper interest, a more conscious right to be informed, or a more sympathising desire to find all right, than the disposition upon our southern border to maintain the discipline and doctrines of our fathers. With regard to the southwestern section, the omens are propitious, and the future appears providentially certain. Perhaps no organ of our Church utters a more certain note, or with more telling effect, than the gallant Central Advocate. To our own mind its tone gives a most unequivocal proof that our southwestern section is anti-slavery, *with a practical meaning to it.* To that point of locality we trust that the energies as well as the interest of the Church will concen-

trate, and render every possible aid in the contest our brethren so nobly there maintain with those who "speak proudly concerning oppression."

Our southeastern horizon is dimmed with less auspicious tokens. Disloyalty, if less bold than formerly, and calmed by immediate and present opposition, is still vocal and moving. A conference resolution still on record (interpretable only as a threat) that certain action by our General Conference, however constitutional, will be followed by secession; a marked discourtesy to a General Conference officer officially present, followed by an elaborate effort to withdraw support from the Church periodical under his charge, because it persisted in inculcating the holy principles of our Church upon our children; the projection of a periodical illegitimate in its birth, unmethodistical in its principles, trenching upon the territory of one existing official periodical, and assailing in its specimen number another regular periodical for its loyalty to the Church, amply serve to erase all title to the epithet of conservative on the part of such, and render less forcible the due rebuke upon certain slight but reprehensible imprudences in anti-slavery sections; while the evident falter that has attended these bold projects and efforts has delightfully proved that there is a conservatism, true, firm, and free, just where the malcontents would least desire it.

It is to contribute a share of a satisfactory answer to the inquiry of the Church as to the loyalty of this general section that Mr. M'Carter has published the pamphlet before us. He is a presbyter of our Church in regular standing, true in adherence, eminent for talent, and a hearty sharer in the scenes he describes. How far his earnest one-sidedness in position and feeling impairs his impartiality of coloring, his readers must judge for themselves. Of the truth of his main facts, the very incidental and irrelevant character of the exceptions made by his opponents, are full proof, while no impartial critic will deny that the style and temper of his pamphlet are as permeated by Christian mildness as they are animated with ardor for truth and righteousness.

We shall pass no definite opinion on the Conference action or the episcopal administration he details. In the early disposal of the Long prosecution, we may, however, say, that the Conference, with great conservative good sense, giving cheering omens for the future, administered a lesson the first to the section of extremists. Whether it was well to discard a conservative plan of frank and unconcealing investigation, proposed and sanctioned by such wise counsellors as Durbin, Hodgson, and Castle; whether the freedom of inquiry established by precedent into the slaveholding *status* of several members, was not illegally suppressed both by episcopal and Conference action; whether there are not unjustifiable slaveholders now members of that Conference; whether there are not a large body of slaveholders, many of them official dignitaries, maintaining a position defiant of discipline; and whether an emancipation of slaves at thirty-five years of age, thereby allowing it possible for any minister in the Conference, nay, every minister in the Church, to be a perpetual slaveholder, shall be held to fulfill the Discipline and satisfy the Church; all these are grave, very grave, questions, which we do most solemnly think it to be the duty of the Church, as we know it is her most earnest wish, conscientiously to consider, and for this Conference most conscientiously

to reconsider. Such consideration and such reconsideration, we are most cheerfully confident, will bring the Conference, the Church, the Discipline, and the Gospel of God into ultimate and complete harmony. He who would form his conclusions after a survey of the whole ground, will find Mr. M'Carter's pamphlet an indispensable source of evidence.

(3.) "*A Compendium of Methodism*, embracing the History and Condition of its various Branches in all Countries; with a Defense of its Doctrinal, Governmental, and Prudential Peculiarities. By Rev. JAMES PORTER, D.D., Author of the 'True Evangelist,' 'Revivals of Religion,' etc. Fifteenth Edition." (Pp. 551. New-York: Carlton & Porter.) The attainment of a fifteenth edition, and its publication at our Book Concern, independently of all interest on the part of its author in its sale, justifies a renewed notice of Dr. Porter's valuable Compendium. Its character as a standard work is established, a fact attested by its occupancy of a place in the local preacher's "Course of Study."

But the completeness and symmetry of the work, its presentation of its topics in a condensed form, and in a style of idiomatic clearness which renders it easy to read, and one would think easy to write until he has made the attempt, gives it a unique character as a manual of Methodism. It is not so much a *multum in parvo*, a much in little, as *totum in parvo*, the whole in little. If a preacher desire to do what should be often done, present in the pulpit the principles of our doctrinal, and governmental history and system, he will here find an armory whence to draw his weapons and his ammunition. If a Methodist layman wishes (as what layman should not?) to walk about our Zion, tell her towers, and mark her bulwarks, he will here find their exhibition. If a Methodist family needs to be supplied, for the indoctrination of all its members, as every Methodist family should be indoctrinated, let this manual be their instructor, well studied by all its members, and lying in its most elegant finish, as our Book Rooms are well able to furnish it, upon the parlor table; just as if folks were not ashamed of the Church of their choice, or of the mementos of her able defenders. And for the young convert, during the period of his probation, let the pastor see that this book is furnished; to answer all his earnest inquiries and render him an intelligent and loving child of the Church; knowing why he loves, and able to give a reason to all who ask, and a refutation to any who object.

The historical part is specially interesting as a narrative, and forcible as an argument. How strikingly is the fact patent upon the face of the story, that the blessing of God has little rested upon secessions from the body. Green and flourishing branches, as they are upon the parent trunk, when the rude axe of the schismatic severs their connection, they are cast off either totally withered, or surviving in feeble life, while the noble old tree, shaken indeed by the concussion, rears her still loftier top in triumph, refreshing herself with the very drip of the storm, and renewing her strength by the shock for still higher ascent and still broader ramifications. Since the Whitefieldian separation (which was rather a primary division than a secession) no schism upon doctrine has ever transpired. Every secession has had a governmental ground,

and the result has demonstrated who was right. The seceder has had a popular theory, but the Church has had the possession of a practical form and polity which has attained Divine success. The popular theory was proved by failure to be wrong. Success is the test of a polity. The theory or the form which promises no self-sustaining, self-extending vitality is worthless, and its adoption, however plausible in promise, is a blunder in result. Over these facts of our history let the radical, the malcontent, and the secessionist pause. We believe there is in the Church a calm and living purpose to remove, as Providence points the way, every needless pressure which chafes, and every evil that impairs or impedes. For such purpose fraternal discussion, not organic and partizan agitation, is necessary. And every end of this kind that any true Methodist is likely to desire, is, to all appearance, attainable through the normal and healthful action of our present institutions.

(4.) "*Christ and Missions; or, Facts and Principles of Evangelism.* By the REV. WILLIAM CLARKSON, late Missionary to India, Author of 'India and the Gospel,'" etc. (12mo., pp. 400. London: John Snow, Paternoster Row. 1858.) This is a general view of the missionary field by a practical missionary, who has looked heathenism in the face and done long labor in the service. It proposes to unvail the subjects and show us things as they are. The unconverted world is presented, and the reality of its actual depravity is exposed to view. The stupendous systems of superstition that stand towering toward an insulted heaven on all the four continents are analyzed, and their degraded and degrading elements are depicted with a graphic yet practical pencil. The projects and prospects of Christian enterprise are then calculated with a rigid exactness, yet with that lofty faith which inspires every true missionary, and under influence of which the missionary enterprise has put to shame the sordid skepticism and self-complacent jeers of worldly-wise assailants. The whole is expressed with an eloquence brilliant with allusion and imagery. No work on missions has lately come from the press more calculated at once to inculcate plain accurate truths, and inspire missionary zeal in the heart.

We entertain a cheerful trust that the future of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the missionary work will be more abundant than the past. We believe that there are energies not yet framed into purpose, slumbering in her heart, that need to be called forth. Our laity are becoming more able; our great work of home church building has arrived near to a state of completion; the world-wide field is opening before the intelligent eye of the Church, and will awaken a holy ambition to possess it. We believe that the day is approaching for an *excitement* on this subject. We admire cool statesmanship; we appreciate the clear eye, the wise head, the projecting hand; but we subscribe not to the doctrine that appeals to feeling, the arousement, the loud, deep-heaving, healthful agitation, are to be deprecated. When our moral or spiritual sea-level is too low, it is a powerful stirring movement that raises first its immediate and then its permanent mark. *Principle* is good; but our best principle is always the residium of some past moral excitement. *Our highest and holiest principle is excitement crystalized.* What the Church needs, then,

is a Church-wide missionary revival, to raise the tone of feeling higher and still higher; destined to leave behind, not, indeed, its momentary level, but an elevation far above the present delinquent ebb.

(5.) "*Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Numbers:* designed as a General Help to Biblical Reading and Instruction. By GEORGE BUSH, late Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in New York City University." (12mo., pp. 475. New York: Ivison & Phinney; Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1858.) The peculiar views of Professor Bush do not modify his interpretation of the literal text of the Pentateuch, and therefore do not affect the intrinsic value of his Commentary. His previous volumes have for years formed a part of our regular Biblical apparatus, and we consider them model in their class. Erudition, fullness with conciseness, animated piety, and, notwithstanding the supposed mysticism of his present tenets, judgment, are the prominent characteristics of his volumes. You consult him generally with reliance and satisfaction as telling you very much the thing you want to know, and saying just about the thing he ought. They may be equally recommended to the Biblical scholar, the preacher, and the intelligent layman, as, on the whole, unsurpassed in our language as a commentary on the Pentateuch.

(6.) "*The Sinlessness of Jesus*: an Essay for Christianity. By DR. C. ULLMANN. Translated from the Sixth German Edition." (12mo., pp. 323. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1858.) The original germ of this able work, (received from Heylin, London,) was an Essay published in 1828, in the *Studien und Kritiken.* It was translated and published in this country in the "German Selections" of Professors Edwards & Park. During the thirty subsequent years the subject has matured and expanded itself in the author's mind, to the extent of the present volume. It discourses with wonderful clearness in the light of the Saviour's character, some of the questions of Agency, Sin, and Holiness. It presents a singular and impressive interior demonstration of the Gospel narrative from its exhibiting with such unity and power the transcendantly unique character of Jesus.

(7.) "*Essays in Biography and Criticism.* By PETER BAYNE, M. A. Second Series." (12mo., pp. 392. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1858.) Without being "himself the great sublime he draws," Mr. Bayne is a very readable portrayer of literary character. In this series we are presented with admirable delineations of Charles Kingsley, Macaulay, Sir Archibald Alison, Coleridge, Wellington, Napoleon, and Plato. We have a very rich Lecture on the Characteristics of Christian Civilization. Indeed this lecture presents a topic upon which Mr. Bayne is eminently successful. As a delineator of Christian life he has excelled himself. His next two essays upon the Modern University and upon the Pulpit and the Press are successful efforts. His closing defense of Hugh Miller's Testimony of the Rocks is not as thorough as we could wish.

(8.) "*The Voice of Christian Life in Song;* or, Hymns and Hymn-Writers of many Lands and Ages." (12mo. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1858.) A book of special interest to the numerous and increasing class of Christians interested in the subject of hymnology. What the reader will scarce find anywhere else in the English language is a full account, written in a style of much beauty, of the best hymn-writers of the early Church, with specimens of their productions. The earliest anonymous Greek hymns are precious fragments. Then come Clement of Alexandria, Ephrem the Syrian, (whose works exhibit specimens of true genius,) and Gregory of Nazianzum. Thence the author traces his theme through all the ages of the Christian Church, briefly but with true love of his subject, and much interest to all lovers of the subject.

(9.) "*The Gospel according to Mark explained by* JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER." (12mo., pp. 444. New-York: Charles Scribner. 1858.) Dr. Alexander's reputation as a commentator stands high in England and America. The present work on Mark is peculiar in treating the second gospel not as a dependent abridgment of Matthew, but as an original production, well calculated to be the introductory book of gospel history. Hence it has a completeness and an independence of reference not often found in commentaries on this book.

(10.) "*Immersion not Baptism.* By Rev. JOHN H. BECKWITH." (24mo., pp. 47. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1858.) A neat and clear, but no way original, treatment of the old subject of the mode of baptism.

II.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(11.) "*The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism*, considered in its different Denominational Forms, and its relations to British and American Protestantism. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D. Vol. I. From the Origin of Methodism to the Death of Whitfield." (12mo., pp. 480. New York: Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry-street; London: A. Heylin, 28 Paternoster Row. 1858.) The oft-told story of the "religious movement of the eighteenth century" was never so well told. Southey narrated with rare philosophic insight and grace of language; but his standpoint was false and his history a failure. Watson, with all his giant intellect, could never so doff the apologist and give his biography the air of historic freedom and literary attraction as to win the attention of the world and render us satisfied with our advocate before its audience. But such is now the changed temper of the thoughtful world, such the distance at which we stand from the narrated scenes, and such the acknowledged permanence and wide-spread growth of the "movement," that a competent narrator who shall restate the case with proper power of thought and grace of style, will not fail to find "fit audience" and that not "few." We are satisfied that Dr. Stevens shall state the case. His is a voice the world will hear. We have read the volume suf-

ficiently to feel like a millionaire whose fortune is in litigation; but who sleeps on a quiet pillow because his lawyer is equal to the ease.

More we should say, but the volume will be the subject of a future article in our Quarterly.

(12.) "*The Cruise of the Betsey;* or, a Summer Ramble among the Fossiliferous Deposits of the Hebrides. With Rambles of a Geologist; or, Ten Thousand Miles over the Fossiliferous Deposits of Scotland. By HUGH MILLER, LL.D., Author of the Testimony of the Rocks." (12mo., pp. 524. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858.) By a special arrangement with the author, Gould & Lincoln were the authorized American publishers of his works. By a similar arrangement with his family since his decease, they will publish his Posthumous Works, of which the present volume is first.

"The Cruise of the Betsey" was mostly published originally in the "Witness," the periodical of which Miller was editor. The volume, though not treating upon topics so interesting to the theologian as the "Testimony of the Rocks," is redolent of the inspiration of Miller's rare mind. The geology, history, and literature of the scenes he visits are wrought up into a work rich with the romance of the northern seas.

Of the life and works of Hugh Miller a full review will appear in a future number.

(13.) "*History of King Richard the Second of England.* By JACOB ABBOTT. With engravings." (18mo., pp. 346. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) One of the attractive series of Abbott biographies. It introduces the youthful reader to the days when the feudal system was in all its glory. The book opens with a rehearsal of the immediate predecessors of the unfortunate Richard, beginning with his more illustrious namesake Richard the First. The plentiful maps and engravings acquaint the reader with the countries and objects of the olden time. No better induction into the first knowledge of history can be found than these fine volumes.

III.—*Educational.*

(14.) "*A Text-Book of Vegetable and Animal Physiology*, designed for the use of Schools, Seminaries, and Colleges in the United States. By HENRY GOADBY, M.D., Professor of Vegetable and Animal Physiology and Entomology in the State Agricultural College of Michigan, and formerly Director of Minute Anatomy to the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Embellished with upwards of four hundred and fifty illustrations." (8vo., pp. 313. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) Michigan is fast attaining a fine preeminence for the splendid endowment of her higher literary institutions, opening their doors, with all the freeness of a public common school, for gratuitous education. The State University at Ann Arbor and the Agricultural College at Ypsilanti are placed by national and state bounty upon the most

liberal foundation, and bid fair to confer a luster upon that young state. The publication of this elegant volume is one of the signs of promise.

The work, suggested, as the author states, by the able Superintendent of Public Instruction, Hon. Ira Mayhew, is marked by a mastery of the subject, by great clearness of style, and by a freshness and independence of treatment derivable from original investigation alone. It is properly a preparatory to the most advantageous study of human physiology, which can be completely understood in its true philosophy only by thoroughly grounding the pupil in a knowledge of lower physiology. The author therefore commences with the simplest elements of inorganic life, and traces the germs of constructive existence through the vegetable and animal natures up to the actual completion of the lower rudiments in the crowning capital of the whole structure, man. All this can be successfully accomplished, because this development, organic if not historical, exists in the wonderful system of nature. The educator, whose purpose is to present nature as she stands in all her forms and relations, finds it important therefore to delineate the inferior preparatory to the superior.

Yet, if we mistake not, Dr. Goadby's book, complete and masterly as it is, closes with an unnecessary abruptness with the completed development of a single human organ. Another volume is needed from the same or another hand, in uniform style, to finish the temple of living nature, to which all of Human Physiology will properly belong.

The beauty and copiousness of the illustrations form a characteristic of the work at its first opening, pleasantly saluting the eye. The figure is in white lines upon a dead-black ground; mostly uncolored; many of them original with the author; and the whole highly creditable to the genius of the youthful artist.

(15.) "*A new Latin-English School Lexicon* on the basis of the Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. C. F. Ingersley. By G. R. Crooks, D.D., late Adjunct Professor in Dickinson College, and A. J. Schem, A.M., Professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages in Dickinson College." (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1858.) One step or two forward of all its predecessors. For even in lexicography progress reigns and works her new devices and ever fresh improvements. The two accomplished scholars who have issued this work have availed themselves of past advances, have studied well the principles by which they should be guided in the construction of a practical manual, and have added some happy methods of their own. Between this and any other Lexicon yet published in our language the student has, we think, no reason to hesitate.

We are expecting a full review of the work.

IV.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(16.) *The Literary Attractions of the Bible;* or, A Plea for the Word of God considered as a Classic, by Leroy J. Halsey, D.D. (12mo., pp. 441. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1858.) This work is a noble and

successful attempt to bring before the popular notice the beauties of the inspired word, considered merely as a classic, and as such it deserves to be regarded with favor. The cool eye of criticism, intent on searching out defects, might, indeed, occasionally espy a slight blemish of style. A little too much discursiveness and a trifling verbal excrescence may now and then be discovered; but these defects, if defects they may be called, appear very small indeed when placed in contrast with the obvious and decided excellences of the work.

In prosecuting the task on which he enters, our author examined some of the general characteristics of the Bible, and from these he educes a weighty argument in favor of its use as a text-book in our common schools and higher institutions of learning. He contends earnestly and ably that it is the right and the duty of American Protestants to teach the word of God to their children, not only at home but in the school, and that spirit of antichrist that would trespass upon this sacred right, receives at his hand a graceful though cutting rebuke. He justly holds, that without the Scriptures a thorough education is impossible. He next proceeds to an examination of the poetry and bards of the Bible, and at his bidding, the rare beauty and matchless sublimity of the Hebrew poesy stands boldly forth to greet the reader's admiring gaze. The orators and eloquence of the Bible also pass in appreciative review, while the types of female character, and the representative young men of the Bible, comprise that portion of the work more specifically devoted to the consideration of the biography of the Scriptures. The author next treats of the science and sages of the Bible, and of the objects of sublimity and beauty which it contains. Taken as a whole this book justly merits a place among the best religious literature of the day. We commend it heartily to such as appreciate earnest and elevated thought, expressed in chaste and beautiful language, and to all who would perceive and value the glorious and sublime attractions of the word of God. A.

(17.) "*A Compendium of American Literature;* Chronologically arranged, with Biographical Sketches of the Authors, by CHARLES D. CLEVELAND." (8vo., pp. 740. Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle, 508 Minor-street; New York: A. O. Moore. 1858.) A fine collection of American literature, furnished with appropriate biographies, and selected with pure taste and high moral purpose. It is a transcript of the best American mind, a vehicle of the noblest American spirit. No parent who would introduce his child to a knowledge of our country's literature, and at the same time indoctrinate his heart in the purest principle, need fear to put this manual in the youthful hand.

We commend Mr. Cleveland that while in his selections he has presented the well-filled constellation of American ideas in their complete circle, he has not allowed what was the noblest and most cental idea of all in the better days of our republic, FREEDOM, to be like a lost pleiad, missed. In our own young days, the reading books of our schools contained choice lessons of pity for the bondsman, eulogy upon the heroes of liberty, and thrilling assertion of

the rights of man. Let those noble lessons be again restored, and our youth be indoctrinated with those same old generous impulses. This is bravely, yet not obtrusively done in this choice volume by its judicious compiler, furnishing a book that is a book, by a man that is a man.

There are in this volume, from the lips and pens of American orators, prose writers, and poets, some of the finest specimens of talent in the English language. Of the earlier writers Edwards, Ledyard, Franklin, Hamilton, Ames, and Dwight appear, not in the hackneyed selections which have become trite by repetition, but in draughts freshly drawn from the original fountains. Of late authors Brainard, Sands, Hillhouse, Cooper, Poe, and Percival. Of living writers, Irving, Everett, Bryant, Wayland, Prescott, Bethune, Willis, Longfellow, Whittier, Mrs. Stowe, and Lowell, are alone sufficient to show that we have a brilliant living literature. And the topics are worthy of the minds that treat them. Patriotism, peace, temperance, education, religion, are among the subjects that, inculcated by such minds, are leading on the age in the path of a glorious future.

(18.) "*The Age;* a Colloquial Satire. By JAMES PHILIP BAILEY, author of 'Festus.'" (12mo., pp. 208. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1858.) Ebenezer Elliot said of Mr. Bailey's "Festus," that "it contains poetry enough to set up fifty poets." It was, indeed, set to a high, bold strain, such as a true poet in the exuberance of a powerful young imagination could maintain. The present is the sport of his easier hours, very much in the tone of irony attributed to the Lucifer of his "Festus."

It is in the form of a dialogue between the author, a critic, and a friend, in which the leading topics of the day are discussed.

The author reads Britain a lecture upon her crimes and her consequent unfitness to rebuke the sins of other nations, and in the following couplet ingeniously presents the opposite poles of our American social system:

> "Can we who once a good example gave
> Taunt Uncle Sam with Uncle Tom his slave?"

The following passage expounds the compendious mode of criticising a book:

> CRITIC.
>
> But now I think of it,—
>
> AUTHOR.
>
> Why yes; I've brought
> A trifling MS. which I hoped—I thought—
>
> CRITIC.
>
> Thank ye. I've seen so many in my day;
> In fact, I read but little any way,
> And manuscript, I must say, least of all,
> Young authors mostly write such wretched scrawl,
> They might have been (so deems a mere outsider)
> Taught penmanship by some demented spider,
> Whose education had been so neglected,
> That what his pupils proved might be expected.

AUTHOR.

I thought you read what you reviewed?

CRITIC.

Sometimes,
When our opinion with the author's chimes.—Pp. 48, 49.

(19.) "*Electron;* or, the Pranks of the Modern Puck. A Telegraphic Epic for the Times. By WILLIAM C. RICHARDS." (12mo., pp. 84. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) A work of considerable frolic, fancy, and graceful versification, founded upon a scientific subject. It is a gem of typographic beauty, and very suitably adorned upon its cover with a beautiful electrotypic design.

V.—*Miscellaneous.*

(20.) "*Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.*" (New York: James M. Edney. 1858.) This is a lithograph of all the bishops of the Church, South, since the separation. The venerable Soule occupies the center, with Early and Andrew on either side. Pierce, Kavanagh, and Paine occupy the summit, and the deceased Bascom and Capers, the base. This will be an acceptable piece to all interested in the annals and magnates of universal Methodism, or specially of the Church, South.

(21.) *Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*" Lithographed by Grozelier. (Boston: Franklin Rand. 1858.) Mr. Rand's handsome sheet presents the best collective "counterfeit presentment" of our venerated bishops yet extant. It is done in the finest style of lithograph, the likenesses are mostly excellent, and the whole is a very acceptable presentation to the friends of our honored Pastors General.

(22.) A full notice of Buckle's "*History of Civilization*" is postponed to the next number. Also of Minturn's "*From New York to Delhi,*" Dunlap's "*Spirit-History of Man,*" and Professor Gesner Harrison's work on the "*Greek Particles.*"

THE following works have also been received, for notices of which we have not room:

(23.) "*Memoir of Joseph Curtis*, a Model Man. By Miss C. M. SEDGWICK." (18mo., pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.)

(24.) "*Christian Hope.* By JOHN ANGELL JAMES." (18mo., pp. 333. New-York: Carter & Brother. 1858.)

VI.—*Periodicals.*

(25.) "*The Knickerbocker;* or, New York Magazine." (New York: John A. Gray. 1858.) The accession to the editorial chair of Dr. J. O. Noyes, a

name familiar and attractive to the readers of our National Magazine, furnishes us occasion to introduce this magazine to the notice of our readers. The Knickerbocker has now arrived at its fifty-second volume; and amid the rises, falls, and various mutations of countless ephemeral and changeable monthlies, it has held its onward way, preserving a certain willful individuality, as well as a characteristic physiognomy, giving token of a vitality and pertinacity quite its own. Its literature is pure, elevated, indigenous. It is not only a permanent, but nigh unto being a venerable institution—*almost* a Knickerbocker *antiquity* in our Knickerbocker city. We trust that the freshness, ambition, scholarship, and talent which will be brought to its pages by our young friend will in time make it not only *almost* but *quite*.

Art. XIII.—MISCELLANEA.

The Doctrine of the Atonement deduced from Scripture and vindicated from Misrepresentation. Six Discourses, preached before the University of Dublin, being the Donnellan Lectures for 1857. By John Cotter Macdonnell. These lectures are said to be unsurpassed by any publication on the subject since the issue of Archbishop Magee's work. The author's purpose is to relate the doctrine of the Atonement, with its evidences, in such a mode as to neutralize the objections of Maurice and Jowett, yet without noticing their objection in detail.

Zaphnath-Paaneah; or, the History of Joseph, viewed in connection with Egyptian Antiquities. By Rev. Thornley Smith, is commended as a work of no ordinary excellence.

A new edition of Shuckford's Connection, with notes by J. Talboys Wheeler, to be followed by an edition of Russell's Connection, in uniform series, is in process of publication, by Tegg & Co., London.

Since Cardinal Wiseman has published his "Personal Recollections of the Four Last Popes," Gavazzi proposes to publish "My Recollections of the Four Last Popes. A Biography and a Reply."

The Life of Dr. Adam Clarke, by J. W. Etheridge, is noticed with high commendation by the British Quarterly.

At Paris, Hachette has published La Philosophie Saint Thomas d'Aquin, per Charles Jourdain; a work in two volumes octavo, which has received the prize of the Imperial Institute of France for an essay on the celebrated Thomas Aquinas. The writer is said to have invested a presumably dry subject with unexpected interest.

A third edition of Cours de Droit Natural, by the late Professor Joouffroy, (whose valuable Introduction to Ethics was translated by George Ripley, and published some years since in this country,) has also been issued by Hachette. Joouffroy was one of the earnest thinkers of his day, less brilliant than Cousin, yet in spite of his being repelled by the absurdities of Romanism into a rationalistic state of mind, to be valued for the impressiveness of his moral teachings.

A valuable work on Comparative Philology had been issued by M. Durand, entitled Aporçu Général de la Science, Comparative des Langues, pour servir d'Introduction à un Traite Comparè des Langues Indo-Européeenes. Par Louis Benlœw, Professor à la Faculté des Lettres do Dijon. 8vo.

The most masterly work on Church hiatory that Protestant France has produced for many years, is noticed by critics, namely: Histoire de Trois Premiers Siécles de l'Eglise Chretienne. Par E. de Pressensé. 8vo., vol. 1. Paris. Pressensé has availed himself of the latest productions of German research.

One of the most brilliant historical writers of France is Arsène Houssayé. His Galerie du Dix-huiteme Siécles, is in fact, criticized as too brilliant; as so wanting in repose as to appear sacrificing truth and nature to point.

The London Eclectic Review has the

following notice of "The Harmony of the Divine Dispensations," etc., by George Smith, LL.D., F.A.S., etc. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans. This is one of the most valuable works on theology we have met with for a long time. The views of the author are, many of them, strikingly original. The work abounds with new ideas on the most important and vital parts of Divine truth, and is adapted to shed light on some of the most difficult passages of Scripture. The author works out all his points with great sobriety of judgment, and a constant appeal to the most learned and competent authorities. His object is to show that one uniform system of revelation has prevailed from the beginning to the end, from the narrative of Genesis to the visions of the Apocalypse."

The Atlantic Telegraph, the topic of all pens, tongues, and minds, creates an epoch so marked, that its inauguration must not pass unnoticed in our Quarterly. So powerful yet so silent a revolution! Like the printing-press, the telegraph is one of those achievements in material mechanism that mount into the sphere of moral interests, and work rare results in the realms of thought and the sphere of society. We delight little in external shows and excitements; we have an overpowering tendency to sheer the huzzaing crowd; but for once we profess a sterling sympathy with banners, illuminations, and cheers, to celebrate a victory, not of one foraying army over another, but a victory of our common humanity over the obstacles of crude nature. There is something so simple and unpretending in the personal presence of Oersted, of Morse, and of Field, that it is hard for the popular mind to hail them as heroes; yet heroes they are of purer triumphs than the sword can ever win.

The genius of Brady has brought to an unrivalled practical perfection the kindred art of Photography. Stop, visitor of our metropolis, at his magnificent gallery on Broadway, which you will find courteously open to your inspection, enriched with the most perfect specimens of his amazing art. Likenesses the most accurate, taken from the living original, you will there find, of our statesmen, merchants, literati, and clergy. It is a compendious mode of making magnificent acquaintances.

Of the desiderata yet remaining in this beautiful art, the North British Review thus subjectively speaks:

"Upon looking into the past history of photography, it would be hazardous to predict its future. But though we dare not venture to shorten the arm of science, or limit its grasp, there are certain steps in advance which we may reasonably anticipate. Optical instruments are yet required to represent on a plane the human face, without deforming its lines and magnifying its imperfections. We still require a more sensitive tablet to perpetuate the tender expressions of domestic life, and to fix the bolder lines of intellect and of passion which are displayed in the forum and in the senate. But above all, we long to preserve the life-tints of those we love; to give to the ringlet its auburn, and to the eye its azure; to perpetuate the maiden blush, and to rescue from oblivion even the hectic flush from which we are so soon to part."

Continue your course down Broadway, and a few steps (there is but a step from the æsthetical to the economical) will bring you to Wheeler & Wilson's exhibition of the wonders of the magic needle. Nor let it be for one moment supposed that an exploit so apparently humble as the solution of the problem of the lock-stitch, or the rotary loop-hook, is unworthy to be mentioned on the same page with the Atlantic telegraph. These simpler inventions may present no ocean-wide sublimity; they may occasion no international celebrations; but more gently and tenderly, they spread a unique delight through a million of happy homes. So beautiful, so cunning, so working its rapid exploits with a delicate witchcraft, the Sewing Machine does not indeed leave a step between the æsthetical and economical; for in form it may be a parlor ornament, and, in fact, it makes needlework one of the fine arts. Our fair ones say that there is a fascination about the thing that transforms task to amusement. Men might as well peal huzzas and light up illuminations over this invention too, which makes happy the hearts that are to men most dear.

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